JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

VOL. LXXIII.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &c.)

(Nos. I–IV., and Extra No.—1904.)

EDITED BY THE

HONORARY PHILOLOGICAL SECRETARY.

"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease."—SIR WM. JONES.

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CALCUTTA:

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,

AND PUBLISHED BY THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY, 57, PARK STREET.

1907.

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JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

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Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. 1.—1904.

The Quatrains of Baba Tahir, edited and translated by
SYED ALI BILGRAMI.

Mr. Edward Heron-Allen has published an English translation of the Quatrains of Baba Tahir, under the title of "The Lament of Baba Tahir." The translation is a very creditable performance, without doubt. But, I am afraid, his version of the text is not always correct, nor are all the sixty-two Quatrains he has put together Baba Tahir's. Those numbering 15, 34, and 56 in Mr. Allen's book bear unmistakable evidence of having been written by someone else. The style, metre, and language employed in no way resemble Baba Tahir's. As for the inaccuracies of the text, I have thought it fit to correct them and give a prose translation, adhering as far as possible to Mr. Allen's words. Indeed at one time I had an idea of issuing a new edition of the Quatrains myself. But the advice of my learned friend, the Hon'ble Nawab Imad-ud-Mulk, Bahadur, whom I consulted on the matter, has prevailed with me so far, that I have decided to restrict myself to the less pretentious task of revising Mr. Allen's translation in the way I have indicated. And I trust that my work will be found useful by the students of Persian Literature.

Before proceeding, however, to point out, and correct the inaccuracies in the text of the Quatrains, as given by Mr. Allen, I should like to say a few words about the date of Baba Tahir's birth.

In his introduction to "The Lament of Baba Tahir," Mr. Allen gives 410 A.H. as the date of the Baba's death. Riza Quli Khan in his volume of "The Majma-ul-Fusaha" gives the same date, and considers the Baba to be a contemporary of the Dailamite Dynasty. I quite agree with Riza Quli Khan in that opinion, as the Dailamites reigned between 321 and 487 A.H. corresponding to 933 and 1094 of the Christian era. The Seljuks began their reign from the time of Mas'ud (1031 Christian era), the grandson of Mahmud of Ghazni. That Baba Tahir lived before Firdusi, Ansuri, and others, there exists no manner of doubt, as these were the poets of the court of Mahmud, and Mahmud was before the Seljuks came into power. The Baba must therefore have died about 410 A.H. because, in the first place, his Quatrain No. 29 he tells us that he was born in 326 A.H., and, next, he died, from all accounts, a very old man. According to the Abjad system of chronography, letters have numerical values; and it is well known that this fact is taken advantage of by oriental writers to denote events. And this is exactly what Baba Tahir has done in the quatrain above referred to which runs as folows:—

موآن نحرم که در ظرف آمد ستم * موآن نقطه که در حرف آمد ستم
بهر الفی الف قدي بر آیو * الف قدم که در الف آمد ستم

Letters have two kinds of values, the زبر *Zabar* "written," *i.e.*, the value of the letter itself, and the بینات *Baiyyinat*, *i.e.*, the value of the other letters, besides the *Zabar* which give the spelling of the name of the letter, and both put together are called *Zabar* and *Baiyyinat*. For instance ا (الف) *Alif* has its own value as *one*, and this is called the *Zabar* of *alif*; but the name of the letter is pronounced الف *alif*, therefore the letters ل *lam* and ف *fa* are the *Baiyyinats* of ا that is ا (الف) has two values, the *Zabar* of الف *alif* is ا = 1; and the *Baiyyinat* of الف are ل *lam* and ف *fa* = 30 + 80 = 110; and the *Zabar* and *Baiyyinat* together will give the value of الف as 111. So the letter ا while generally standing for *one*, may sometimes stand for ا + ل + ف = 1 + 30 + 80 = 111. Now let us apply both these methods of valuation, so to say, to the fourth line of the quatrain quoted above. The poet says "I am the *Alif kadd* who has come in *Alf*." According to the *Zubar* method, adding the values of the letters composing الف قد *alif kadd* and الف *alif* together we get the following result:—

ا = 1; ل = 30; ف = 80; ق = 100; د = 4;
ا = 1; ل = 30; ف = 80

Summing them up we have 1 + 30 + 80 + 100 + 4 + 1 + 30 + 80 = 32 and this 26 is the year of the poet's birth Sometimes an Arabic word

is used but the value of its Persian equivalent is taken. As for instance, in the very first line of this quatrain where the Poet says موآن بحرم *I am that* بحر *bahr* (the sea), meaning دریا *darya*; now the word *darya* is Persian for بحر and the numerical values of the letters of *darya* add up to 215, *i.e.*, د=4; ر=200; ی=10 and ا=1, دریا=215. The numerical values of the letters of his own name طاهر Tahir also number up to 215, so that when he says he is the sea, دریا *darya* he means طاهر Tahir. Similarly, the word الف, *Alf*, a thousand, is Arabic for the Persian هزار *hazar*. If we take the values of the letters of هزار according to the second system, that is the *Zabar* and the *Baiyyinat* together, the result is as follows:—

ها=6; زا=8; الف=111; را=201, total 326, the same figure. He says he is the بحر or دریا=(215)=طاهر Tahir numerically; so again the words الف قد give the same number according to *Zabar*:—

ا=1; ل=30; ف=80; ق=100; د=4;

total 215. Here he says he is the قد, الف *i.e.*, طاهر Tahir. From the preceding statement it will be seen that his date of birth, as given by himself, is 326 A.H. and the fourth line of Quatrain No. 29 is the chronogram of his birth.

1.

1. Happy are they who always see thy face.
2. Who talk with thee, and sit with thee.
3. If I have no leg to come to see thee.
4. I will go and see those who see thee.

There is no such word as زامان for زمان. We have the word هزمان the contraction of هرزمان and the line has been correctly given now as خوشا آنان که هزمان رونه وین.

2.

1. Without thee, I pray to God, may rose never grow in the garden.
2. If it do grow, may none ever smell it.
3. Without thee, should the heart ever open its lips to laugh.
4. May its cheeks never be cleansed of its heart's blood.

The expression یارب literally means "O Lord," but is sometimes used as a prayer and is not directly addressed to God; sometimes it expresses wonder and astonishment. The Quatrain is addressed to the Poet's beloved, and not to God, as it is obvious that nothing will grow without God. The second line supports this, as here the poet says, "if it do grow." Cf. the word یارب in Quatrain No. 57, line 4th, where it is similarly used. From the note on page 67, it appears that the transla-

tor has taken the word بخندهٔ as the dialectal form of بخندد and has translated it as such. But it is not so, the idiom بخندهٔ لب کشودن means *to open the lips to smile or laugh.*

3.

The translation of this Quatrain read with the footnotes is quite correct, and requires no comment.

4.

1. I am troubled by (the phrase) "They said yes."
2. I have more sins than the leaves of trees.
3. When to-morrow the readers of the book (of deeds) read their books.
4. I, book in hand, shall hang my head.

In the 2nd line, the word دارون *darūn*, is the plural of دار a tree. It has no connection whatsoever with دار *dar*, the gallows, nor with دارون *darvan*, an elm. The word برگ *barg* should be read برگ *barg-i*, *i.e.*, "leaves of."

In the 3rd line نومهٔ خونون "the readers of the book" does not mean the Recording Angels. According to the Mussulmans every person's deeds are recorded by the Recording Angels in a book, called نامهٔ اعمال "the book of deeds." On the day of judgment everyone is given his book to read his own deeds out of, in the presence of God. Here the poet says that "when those with clean sheets read their books, I, being a sinful person, with my book in hand, shall hold my head down."

5.

1. Lord! who am I, and with whom should I associate?
2. How long should I be with lashes full of bloody tears?
3. When all turn me away from their doors, I come to thee.
4. And if Thou turnest me away from Thy door, to whom shall I go?

The word بوشم is synonymous with both باشم and بوم. In the 1st and 2nd lines بوشم means باشم; but in the 4th line it means بشوم.

The word وا is synonymous with سو *su*, بر *bari*, and باز *baz*, and means "to," "return to," or "turn to." The expression بازخانه *baz khanah shud* means, "he returned home." سوتهٔ means سوي تو "towards thee," and it is not correct to take it as the dialectal form of بسوختهٔ.

6.

1. In this homeless state to whom shall I go?
2. With this houselessness to whom shall I turn?

3. (When) all drive me away from their door, I come to Thee.
4. If Thou turn me away from Thy door to whom shall I go?

In the text, the 3rd line begins with هم *ham*, but it should be همم *hamam*, otherwise the metre will be injured. It will be observed here that the word بر and شم in برکجانشم respectively mean "to," "toward," and شوم "to go," which has been alluded to in the note on Quatrain No. 5.

7.

1. If Thou killest us miserably, whom fearest Thou?
2. And if Thou drivest (us) with despair whom fearest Thou?
3. I, with this half a heart fear none.
4. Thou (who) possessest a heart as large as the two worlds whom fearest Thou?

In the 4th line دو عالم دل or even دل جهاني translated into English would mean "a world of hearts" or "a world full of hearts." In the 2nd line گر *gar* is better than ار *ar*, since there is no necessity for using this form.

8.

1. If we are the drunkard of drunkards, we are Thine.
2. And if we are helpless, we are Thine (we belong to Thee).
3. Whether we be Guebres, Christians or Muslims,
4. In whatsoever religion we be, we belong to Thee.

The words مستان مست *mastan-i-mast* is similar to the form شاهنشاه - شاهان شاه, *i.e.*, drunkard of drunkards, or arch-drunkard or arch-tippler.

The word ایمون is another plural form of ایم‌ما - هستیم ما and is not the dialectal form of ایمان faith, which is an Arabic word. The poet means that whatever we are, drunkards or indigent and helpless, we belong to Thee. This word ایمون has been misunderstood, hence the error. Observe that the grammatical construction also becomes faulty, by adopting the translator's reading.

9.

1. He who has suffered grief knows the tune of lamentation,
2. (Just as) the crucible knows (detects) the value of pure gold.
3. Come ye heart-burnt that we may lament together,
4. For the heart-burnt knows the worth of the heart-burnt.

The word بوته *buta* means a crucible, as has rightly been translated; but in the translator's remark regarding the elimination of the خ in سوته پوته اندوته it should be observed that in پوته no خ has been eliminated; in اندوته and سوته it has. The word پوته *puta*, means a bag of

money, but it is not applicable here. It also means a place where money is kept, a treasury.

10.

1. A garden the branches of whose trees hang out,
2. Its gardener is ever in bitter grief (always has a bleeding heart).
3. It (the tree) should be plucked out root and all,
4. Even though its fruit be rubies and pearls.

I cannot understand why "the intention of this quatrain completely baffles Mr. Heron-Allen." The meaning is very clear. The author means that when a garden contains a tree whose branches reach out of the garden, *i.e.*, are beyond the vigilance of the gardener, the gardener has always a bleeding heart for this very reason. This alludes to the beloved one who constantly goes out; the lover wants her all to himself, and cannot bear to see her lavishing her charms upon others. Hence the jealousy, and the suggestion to pluck her out (by the root) entirely from his heart, though she be the loveliest. Instances of such expressions of jealousy are constantly found in oriental poetry.

11.

1. O heart, thy path is clear of brambles and thorns,
2. Thy passage (journey) is on the heights of heaven.
3. And if thou canst, thy skin from thy body.
4. Cast off, so that thy load may become light.

The word بي in the 1st and 2nd lines - باشد - هست but in the 4th line it is equal to بشود "may become."

In the 1st line read بي "without," "clear of," instead of پر "full of." I do not find any obscurity in the meaning of this Quatrain; the translator's remark is incomprehensible, where he says "the meaning is exceedingly obscure." The poet addressing his heart says, "thy path is clear of thorns and brambles, and thy road leads to the heavens; in attempting that flight if thou art able to cast off thy skin do so, so that thy burden become lightened and thy progress be still further accelerated."

12.

1. Come, let us, the burnt in heart, gather round,
2. Converse together and exhibit our griefs
3. Let us bring scales and weigh our woes,
4. Whichsoever of us is more burnt, will weigh the heavier.

I have read the 2nd line in the way it is given in my corrected text, as غم رانمائیم instead of غمهاکشائیم. The poet calls the woe-stricken together to converse and exhibit their woes, and to weigh their griefs,

so that whoever has suffered more grief will certainly weigh heavier than the rest.

13.

1. Come, O Ye burnt-in-heart, that we may lament,
2. Let us groan (or lament) over the absence of that lovely rose;
3. Let us go to the rose-garden with the ecstatic nightingale,
4. And if she lament not, let us lament.

14.

1. I was (like) a falcon and I went to chase (my prey),
2. When a black-eyed one struck an arrow on my wing (pierced my wing).
3. Go, but graze not heedlessly on the mountains;
4. He who grazes heedlessly, gets struck with an arrow unawares.

سیه چشم means "black-eyed," but never "evil-eyed," which is شور چشم *shur cashm*.

In the 4th line, the word غافل is used in two different senses, the first غافل means "careless," "heedless," the second "unawares," synonymous with ناگهان. Black-eyes are admired by the Orientals, hence the application of سرمه or *kuhl*-Sulphide of antimony—to make them look black. سیه چشم means one with a black-eye, *i.e.*, a beauty. تیر خوردن = to be struck with an arrow.

16.

1. 'Tis through the mischief working of the heaven's revolution,
2. That the eye of my wound is always full of brine (salt).
3. If the smoke of my sighs soars to heaven,
4. The flood of my tears runs down to Samak.

چشم زخم the eye of the wound, means the opening. When salt is sprinkled on a wound it causes smarting and irritation. Observe the play upon the words شور and نمک; شور means saltish, as well as mutiny, rebellion, a brawl from شوریدن to rebel, to mutiny. The translator has taken چشم زخم to mean "wounded eye" where the word زخم is used adjectively, but that is not correct. چشم زخم means the eye or the opening of the wound, the *Kasra* being for اضافت *izafat* or the possessive, and not for *Sifat*, adjective. The similarity between the shape of a wound or incision and the eye, will not escape the student's detecting eye.

17.

1. O Lord! so afflicted am I by this heart,
2. Night and day I am in torment through this heart.

3. I have groaned so much that it (the heart) has killed me of groaning.

4. Take it from me as I am weary of this heart.

In the 3rd line the word is neither کس *Kas*, nor کشي *Kushi*, but کشت *Kusht*, the past tense of کشتن to kill. *Kushi* cripples the metre too.

18.

1. I, who wander in the desert night and day
2. And shed tears from my eyes night and day,
3. No fever have I, nor does any part of me ache,
4. This only do I know that I am groaning night and day.

In line 2 of Mr. Allen's text the word بارانم should be بارونم. There seems to be no necessity for adding the pleonastic واو in the words جايم- بارونم- بيابونم and نالونم, because in the Raji dialect the letter preceding the final م of the first person has always the vowel point ضمه *zamma*, and the words are pronounced بيابونم *biyabunum* جايم *jayum*, etc. In the note on line 3, page 32, the word ميكنم must be a misprint, and should be, ميكنه as ميكرو corresponds to the Persian ميكند and ميكرم to ميكنم.

19.

1. The heart is a pest, a plague, a plague;
2. The eyes sin, but the heart is afflicted;
3. If the eyes see not a lovely face,
4. What does the heart know, where the beauties are?

Instead of the final يه it is far better to use بي = باشد or بود in all the lines. كرو = كند is correct, and there is no need of using the word كورن as the singular is generally used. The translator in the note on line 4, page 33, translates the line چه دانستي كه خوبان در كجائي as "How wouldst *thou* know my heart, etc.," taking the word دانستي to mean "wouldst thou know," but دانستي here means ميدانست "it would know"; *i.e.*, چه دانستي دلم means "How or what would my heart know."

20.

1. From the tyranny of both eyes and heart I cry,
2. For, whatever the eyes see, the heart remembers.
3. I will make a dagger whose point will be of steel,
4. And shall strike it on my eyes, so that the heart may become free.

It is not necessary to use the letter ذ always instead of د. I have never heard or seen آزاذ or فرياذ spelt with ذ instead of with د. The case is

different with پولاد which has been spelt invariably with both د and ذ. In the 3rd line either بسازم or بساجم may be used, but not بسوجم which is derived from an entirely different verb سوجیدن = سوختن to burn.

21.

1. I have a heart that has no good in it,
2. However I counsel it, it profits not;
3. I cast it to the winds, but the wind does not carry it.
4. I put it on the fire, it does not smoke (or burn).

The word میبرو should be with و which is the dialectal form and not with د which is Persian.

Here, too, as in the preceding Quatrain ذ need not necessarily be used for د in the words بهبود - سود - درد or in باد. It appears like a forced expression and not natural, and savours of affectation. The word نمیباشد - نمیبو.

22.

1. I am that wastrel whose name is Kalandar,
2. I have no home, no abode, and no vessel;
3. When the day comes, I wander round the earth (world).
4. When night falls, I lay my head on a brick.

The word لنگري and لنگر both mean a large vessel here and not an anchor, خشت is an unburnt brick.

23.

1. In the whole world there is no moth like me.
2. In the Universe there is not a mad man like me.
3. All the serpents and the ants have nests,
4. But for poor me, there is not even a ruin.

I have read it somewhere as بکیتي "in the Universe," instead of جهانرا in the 2nd line, and this I have substituted.

24.

1. In the field of my thought naught grows save grief,
2. In my garden nothing grows but the flower of mourning.
3. In the desert of my unproductive heart,
4. Not even the herbage of despair grows.

In the text in the 2nd line, the word بجز injures the metre, and Mr. Allen has rightly noticed it. It should be جز to give the "correct scansion."

In the 3rd line بیحاصل means "giving or yielding no produce," the word حاصل in Agriculture means "the produce."

The dot of ذ had better be omitted in the word اُمیدي.

25.

1. I have a delicate heart like glass.
2. I fear for it whenever I heave a sigh;
3. It is no wonder if my tears are like blood,
4. I am that tree whose roots are set in blood.

The poet likens his heart to the glass; it is so fragile that it may break even by a sigh.

In the 3rd line ني should be substituted for نيست and in the 4th line دارم a tree for ديرم.

26.

1. Had I only one pain (anguish), what should I care?
2. And if my sorrows were trifling, what should I care?
3. Near my bed, my beloved or my physician,
4. If either one were present, what should I care?

Mr. Allen has evidently read the lines in the Persian way and therefore remarks that they are "pure Persian." But in Raji the letter preceding the م of the 1st person has always a *zamma* and so the words would be pronounced دارم *dardum* بالينم *balinum* حبيبم *habibum*, etc., and not دردم *dardam* بالينم *balinam*. It must be observed that the *zamma* represents the pleonastic وار in such cases.

27.

1. In wailing, my heart is like a flute,
2. The anguish of thy separation is ever at my heels
3. I have to burn and be consumed till the day of resurrection.
4. God only knows when that day shall be.

The 4th line is sometimes written as خدا ذرنو قيامت تابكي بي which has been wrongly written as خدا زرنا, *i.e.*, the scribe has changed the ذ into ز and نا in ذرنا *zuna* to تا *ta*. The form خداذرنا is the equivalent of the Persian خداداناد which is used in case of doubt.

28.

1. When spring comes in every garden there are roses,
2. On every bough a thousand nightingales;
3. I cannot set my foot on every meadow,
4. Lest there be one more burnt (in heart) than I.

Note the play upon the words هزار and بلبل; a nightingale is called a هزار or هزاردستان. Hafiz says:—

عندليبان را چه پيش آمد هزاران را چه شد

29.

1. I am that sea which has come in a vessel,
2. I am that point which has come to be pronounced;
3. In every thousand (years) an upright statured person appears.
4. I am the *Alif Kad* (upright one) that has come in (this) *thousand.*

I have discussed this Quatrain at full length on page 2 and shown that it gives the poet's year of birth. *Alif Kad* is numerically equal to طاهر=215; الف *Alf* is a thousand in Arabic, its Persian equivalent being هزار *hazar* which according to *zabar* and *baiyyinat* is equal to 326. The 4th line would thus mean that Tahir has come in 326. Or taking the numerical values of the letters composing الف *Alf*, according to *Zabar* alone, they represent 111, *i.e.*, ا=1; ل=30; and ف,=80, adding to this number the value of الف قد 215, *i.e.*, ا=1; ل=30; ف 80; ق=100, and د=4, we get 111+215=326, the same number which I take to be his year of birth. There was no necessity for making use of such words, if the poet really did not mean to convey this idea.

30.

1. I am that fire-like bird, that, in an instant,
2. Will burn the world if I clap my wings together;
3. And should a painter draw my figure on the wall,
4. I would burn the house from the effects of my image.

Mirza Habib's emendation is very proper, as the context clearly proves. Note the word دیوال which is the equivalent in Raji of دیوار.

31.

1. If my heart is my sweetheart, what is my sweetheart's name?
2. And if my sweetheart is my heart, from what region is my heart?
3. I have my heart and my sweetheart so intimately interwoven,
4. That I do not know which is my heart and which my sweetheart.

In the 2nd line I have substituted از چه بومه " from what country,' as it is not idiomatic to say ازچه نومه, and I think the scribes are responsible for this error. It is not elegant either to use the same rhyme twice in one and the same couplet. I think in the 4th line که و should be adopted instead of کهٔ, as the و expresses the meaning more forcibly.

32.

1. If I am in love with the face of a beloved one,
2. Restrain me not, as I am the thrall of my heart.
3. O, Camel-driver! for God's sake drive slowly,
4. For I am a laggard behind this caravan.

The poet means that he is in love and tells his counsellor not to restrain him, as he is in the power of his heart, which carries him wheresoever his beloved goes. He begs or beseeches the Camel-driver to drive on slowly, so that he may be enabled to catch the caravan by which his beloved is travelling, as through weakness he has lagged behind.

33.

1. That the picture of thy beauty, Love, may not quit my heart.
2. That the thought (or image) of thy down and thy mole, Love, may not escape
3. I have made a hedge from my eyelashes round the eyes,
4. That blood may come and thy image, Love, may not escape.

The translator has evidently taken the word پرچین *parchin*, a hedge, to be پرچین *purchin*, wrinkled, hence the translation "wrinkled eyes." The poet says that he has made a hedge out of his eyelashes, in order to prevent the thought or image of his beloved from getting out as the thorns (the eyelashes) will draw blood, and prevent the escape of the thought or image.

34.

This is not by Baba Tahir, nor is it of the same metre.

35.

1. Of plundered hearts he has more than a thousand,
2. Of bleeding livers (hearts) he has more than thousands;
3. He counted thousands of scars from my wounds,
4. Yet the uncounted are more than the counted ones.

Both the forms اشمرته کرته برته as well as اشمرده کرده برده are invariably used, as د and ت are interchangeable letters. Riza Quli Khan, in the Majma-ul-Fosaha, makes it برتهٔ ویش کرتهٔ ویش, etc., but the *hamza* is not required at all, as it becomes nonsense. The word ویش *vish* should be read *vishan* ویشن "are more;" in Persian caligraphy ویش and ویشن are written alike, the difference being in placing the dot of the ن. The paraphrase of the line in modern Persian will be دل بغارت برده او را از هزار بیش انه, *i.e.*, "plundered hearts with him or in his possession *are more* than a thousand." All the copies have erred in some way or other, and in order to preserve the right scansion, they have altered the lines

to suit their own sweet will. In the 1st line هزارش should be substituted for هزارت, similarly هزارانش for هزارانت in the 2nd line. In the 3rd line, the first is ویش and the second word is ریش a wound. Since اشمرت or اشمرد = "he counted" is the third person singular, the ش in the words هزارش and هزارانش alludes to the same person. The poet says that though he (his beloved) counted more than thousands of scars, داغ from his wounds, و ریش still the uncounted exceed those that have been counted. The last word in the 1st, 2nd, and the 4th lines should be ویشن *vishan*, and not ویشه or ویش - وبش *vishan* is the plural of ویشه. It will be observed that the metre has in no way been affected.

36.

1. Do not twist thy dishevelled hyacinths (*i.e.*, hair),
2. Do not fill thy drunken narcissi (*i.e.*, the eyes) with tears;
3. If thou art bent on cutting off thy love from me,
4. Time will cut it off, do not hasten on.

Instead of خرنار in the 2nd line پرآر would be better, and this reading I have adopted, because it is not necessary to make the beloved shed tears of blood, the mere filling up of the eyes with tears being sufficient. The first وريني is to be pronounced *varini*, and the second *vorini*, and similarly ورينه *vorina* in the 4th line. The first is the Raji form of بريني, and the second is derived from وريدن *voridan*, to cut, sever = Persian بريدن.

37.

1. O, strong-hearted one! thy heart does not burn for me;
2. It would not be strange if stone does not burn;
3. But I will burn till I burn thy heart,
4. For green wood does not burn alone in the fire.

In the 1st line دل‌سوختن means "to take pity," but in the 3rd line بسوجو نم دلت را means that "I will make your heart burn," *i.e.*, "make you feel." There is a proverb تور خشك باهم ميسوزد "green and dry wood burn together." This is made use of to express that in a general conflagration everything is consumed. The poet here alludes to this and says that he will burn himself and so inflame or consume the heart of the beloved also. The 2nd line may also be translated as: "What wonder if stone (*i.e.*, thy heart) does not burn."

38.

1. My heart is distraught through thy love,
2. And when I strike my eyelashes together, a torrent arises;

3. The lover's heart is like green wood,
4. Burning at one end, and pouring blood at the other.

The words ریژ خیژ گیژ are also written ریچ خیچ گیچ, the letters ژ, ز, and چ, being all interchangeable. I have also seen the 1st line written as follows: دلم در عشق خوبان گیچ و ریچه, "My heart is distracted from the love of the fair ones."

39.

1. Without thee my heart is not happy for a single moment,
2. And if I see thy face grief disappears;
3. If they distribute the grief of my heart,
4. No heart in all the world would remain without grief.

40.

1. Thou hast chain-like (curly) locks falling upon thy face,
2. (As if) thou hast Rose and Hyacinth mingled together;
3. But when thou scatterest the strands of thy locks,
4. Thou wilt have a heart suspended from every strand of hair.

41.

1. O may thy sun-like face grow brighter;
2. May my heart be pierced still more by the arrow of thy love;
3. Dost thou know why thy cheek's mole is black?
4. Because, whatever is near the sun is more burnt.

The word ماهن though the plural form of ماه is often used for the singular also.

42.

1. The breeze that comes from the roots of those locks,
2. Is more welcome to me than the perfume of hyacinths;
3. When at night I take thy thought in my arms,
4. At dawn the scent of roses arises from my bed.

In the 3rd line چوشو should be used, as it shows the cause of the scent of roses arising from his bed.

43.

1. O thou, from whose two locks I string my *rabab*,
2. What seekest thou from this my wretched state?
3. When thou hast no wish to be my friend,
4. Why comest thou every midnight in my dream?

In the 3rd line I have used تو گر یامو which is the only correct form, and Mr. Browne's suggestion is very proper. سر یاري داشتن means "to wish to befriend one."

44.

1. Thou whose soft eyes are *surma* dyed,
2. Thou whose flourishing stature (figure) is heart attracting,
3. Thou whose musky hair (plaid) are on thy back,
4. Why askest thou me "Wherefore art thou confounded?"

In Raji سرمه سائی and سرمه سایه = Persian سرمه سامت are used alike; but it is better to use the form سرمه سائی here, to rhyme with چرائی the interrogative in the 4th line. The other words دلربائی and قفائی are the same as دلربایه and قفایه. سرمه سائي is not the 2nd person singular, as the translator remarks on page 50, but the 3rd person singular alluding to چشمون the eyes; سرمه سا means *surma* rubbing or *surma* dyed, and not "shadowed." The word سایه is derived from سائیدن to grind, to rub, and does not mean سایه "shadow." Mr. Browne's rendering is perfectly correct; the poet in another Quatrain of which I remember only two lines, says: ابی واجی چرا بی نام وننگی * کسی کو عاشقه چش نام وچش ننگ

'Why askest thou me, "Wherefore art thou without name or shame." Whosoever is a lover, what is name and shame to him.' The poet means that when you have such ravishing eyes, such a lovely figure, and such musk-scented (or may be musk-coloured) hair, it is strange to ask me why I am confounded; that is, with all these forces arrayed against me it is difficult for me to keep myself safe.

45.

1. How pleasant it is when love is reciprocal,
2. Because one-sided friendship is a trouble;
3. If Majnun had a distracted heart,
4. Leila's heart was still more distracted.

In the 1st line چه is the correct word, as it means "how," while چو means "whereas" or "because." Mr. Browne is right regarding the use of the word از for هر in the same line.

46.

1. Come one evening and illumine my chamber;
2. Do not leave me in the affliction of the day of separation.
3. By the pair of thy eyebrow's arches I swear,
4. That I am yoked to grief since I am separated from thee.

The 4th line of Mr. Allen's edition will not scan properly, and should be تا از تو instead of از تو.

It is strange that in the note on this line, page 52, Mr. Allen gives تو. تب = تو does not mean "fever" here but "thou" or rather "thee" after از.

47.

1. Art thou a lion or a leopard, O Heart, O Heart?
2. That thou warrest ever with me, O Heart, O Heart?
3. Shouldst thou fall into my hands, I'll spill thy blood,
4. To see of what colour thou art, O Heart, O Heart.

In the 3rd line فتی *feti* is the contraction as well as the dialectal form of اُفتی *ufti* and not of افتادی; it is the subjunctive of افتادن.

The 4th line is not correctly rendered. چه رنگی means "of what colour thou art," and alludes to the heart and not to the blood; the expression چه رنگی means "of what material thou art made."

In the 3rd line وربژم and بربچم are both correct; but in the 4th line, I would use بو نیم as it is not elegant to bring two واو *vāvs* together, as in چه رنگ هستی = چه رنگي . و وینم.

48.

1. O, my Beauty! thou hast my heart and soul,
2. Thou hast all my apparent and hidden effects;
3. I know not from whom I have this grief (pain);
4. I only know that thou holdest the remedy.

The 2nd line will not scan correctly with نهانم, and پنهانم is right, and so I have substituted the correct word پنهانم.

49.

1. Shouldst thou come, I will welcome thee with my soul,
2. Shouldst thou not come, I will burn from thy separation.
3. Whatever sorrows thou hast, lay them on my heart,
4. Whether I die of them, or be consumed by them, or bear them.

From the note on page 82, on line 1, it appears that the translator has taken the word بجانت to mean بجان تو and translates it "by thy life," whereas بجانت means بجان ترا "with my soul (welcome) thee," the ت being in the accusative. Then again in the note on the 3rd line he says, "*i.e.*, the pains thou canst inflict;" but this is not what the poet means. The poet says, if you have any grief or sorrow, lay it on my heart, and care not whether I die of it, or be consumed by it, or bear up with it, *i.e.*, I will gladly bear all thy grief and sorrow and leave thee happy and free from every care.

50.

1. The tulips of the hill-side last only a week,
2. The violets on the river brink last only a week;
3. I will proclaim from town to town,
4. That the fidelity of the rosy-cheeked lasts only a week.

From the translator's note on line 1, page 54, it appears that he has read the word هفتهٔ "of a week's duration," with the accent on the third syllable, like یک هفتگی and یک سالگی. But the accent is on the second syllable, and means "only a week." Sheikh Baha-ud-Din in his Nān-o-Halwa says گرکسی گوید که ازعمرت همین • هفتهٔ مانده است و این گردد یقین. Here too هفتهٔ means "a week," and not "of a week's duration." "If one were to tell you that of your life, *Only a week* remains, and this becomes certain."

His other remark regarding the *hamza* in الالهٔ shows that he has not read examples where poets use their license. He has evidently read it as if it consisted of four syllables, whereas in the present case, it should be read like a word of three syllables, *i.e.*, it should be pronounced *a-la-lai*, and not *a-la-la-ye*, and thus it will not injure the metre. Innumerable examples of this may be cited from the older authors. Khakani says:

بیلهٔ توکرد روی مه و زهره را خجل. Here بیلهٔ is pronounced *bilai* as a word of two syllables and not *bila-ye*. It is not so in the case of بنوشه where the *izafat* is not required at all, and so the comparison does not hold good.

In the 3rd line, the word شهرون is the correct word, being the plural of شهر and there appears no reason to change it into سهر an Arabic word, and then to corrupt it; such an emendation will spoil the sense of the last couplet. For the last two lines I remember having read somewhere the following two lines :— چرا جورت کشم سالان و ماهان * ترا یاری بیاران هفتهٔ بی.

3. "Why should I bear thy tyranny for years and months,
4. Thy friendship to friends is for a week only." Probably these two lines may be the two last lines of another Quatrain, the first two lines of which are wanting.

51.

1. My heart is grieved (sorrowful) in thine absence,
2. My pillow is a brick and bed the earth;
3. My sin is that I love thee,
4. Yea, whosoever loves thee, this is his condition.

From every point of view the Quatrain as given by the author of the Majma-ul-Fusaha, is preferable to every other version of the same; hence my adopting it.

52.

1. I am that taper whose tears are of fire;
2. He who is burnt in heart, can his tears be other than this?
3. All night I burn and all day I weep,
4. Like those are my nights and such my days from thee (thy tyranny).

53.

1. Without thee tears come from my wet eyelashes,
2. Without thee the tree of my hope becomes barren,
3. Without thee night and day in a solitary corner,
4. I sit till my life comes to an end.

I have made this emendation in the 4th line, *i.e.*, substituted عمرمو سرآیو for عمرم برسر آیو as it is not idiomatic to say برسر آیو but بسر آیو or سر آیو.

54.

1. O heart, I wear blue clothes in thy absence,
2. I bear the burden of thy grief like the tent-carrying elephant;
3. I boast of thy love like the dawn,
4. From this moment till the time of Israfil's trumpet.

In Persia indigo-blue, black or antimony (*surma*) coloured clothes are worn in mourning; *nil* is indigo, and not purple.

In the 2nd line the last word is پیل an elephant, and not ذیل *zil;* hence ذیل *zail* cannot rhyme with *nil* and *sarafil.* جامه *jama* means clothes, as well as carpets and other articles used for spreading, which I have translated as "tent" here. Note the colour of the elephant which has a dark bluish tint. Other poets have used the words نیل and پیل together, keeping the colour of the latter in view. Cf. Firdousi:

مرا سهم دادی که در پای پیل ✻ تنم را بسازی چو دریای نیل

"You threatened me that under the feet of elephants
"You will make my body like the river Nile."

The colour of the Nile, from the meaning of the word, is supposed to be blue.

The translator considers this Quatrain to be free from dialectical forms. This is true in one sense, that is, as far as writing is concerned. But in pronunciation it differs in so far, that the words پوشم - کشم - زنم are pronounced in Raji as *pushum*, *kashum*, *zanum*, and not as in modern Persian, *pusham*, *kasham*, and *zanam*.

In the 4th line, note the play upon the second word دم *dam; dam* means the "moment" also "blowing," where it stands for the verb دمیدن so that the line means "from this moment till the *moment or time* of Israfil's trumpet" or "from this moment till the blowing of Israfil's trumpet."

55.

1. The vessel of my happiness is full of grief (liver's or heart's blood),
2. My heart is ever full of fire and my eyes ever wet;

3. With thy perfume I should gain life after death,

4. If haply thou should pass over my grave (earth).

Saadi has expressed the same idea in his طیبات *Taiyibat*, where he says:—

بوی معشوق چو بر خاک احبا گذرد • چه عجب گر اثرش زنده شود عظم رمیم.

"Should the perfume of the beloved pass over the earth of the lovers,

"What wonder that from its effects the rotten bones may come to life."

Or, compare the couplet of Hafiz:—

بعد صد سال اگر بوی تو بر خاک وزد • سر بر آرد ز کفن رقص کنان عظم رمیم.

"Should thy perfume blow over the earth even after a hundred years,

"The rotten bones will come out of the winding sheet dancing." Note the word play on مدام in connection with خم, as the word مدام means "ever," "always," as well as "wine."

56.

This Quatrain is not Baba Tahir's, nor is its metre the same as that used by the Baba. The word *Kirman* has another meaning, besides the two quoted by Mr. Allen. It means "grapes;" hence the origin of the name of *Kirmanshahan* where a thousand grape-vines were planted, and several kings had assembled round the throne of *Khusrau Parviz* who exclaimed the words *Kirman* (grapes) and *Shahan* (kings), which became the name of the place where this grand assembly had been held (*vide* Farhang-i-Anjuman-Ara-i-Nasiri, under the word *Kirmanshahan.*) The allusion to eating in the two expressions کرمان خوردن is more appropriate in regard to *grapes* than conquering *Kirman*, though the word "play" has been very cleverly introduced here. The meaning is, that "the king who in the fulness of his power was eating grapes, to-day the worms are devouring him," or in Saadi's lines, "I had set my heart to eat grapes, when suddenly the worms devoured me."

57.

1. Dark is my lot, Oh that my lot may be topsy-turvy;

2. Ruined is my fortune, Oh that my fortune may be overturned;

3. I have become a thorn and a thistle of the lane of Love

4. By the doings of my heart; O Lord! that it may be drowned in blood.

In these lines it will be observed that the poet curses his lot, his fortune and his own heart.

The word کوی should be substituted for کوه being more appropriate.

The terminal word بی here is equivalent to بادا *may it be* and is used in the form of a prayer or curse. بی = بود but the latter, when used as a form of prayer or curse becomes بواد = بادا and here the word بی stands for بواد. or بادا

58.

1. Since the day Thou createdst us,
2. What hast Thou seen in us save sin?
3. O, Lord! for the sake of Thy Twelve Imams,
4. Forgive me, as if Thou hadst not seen my sins.

The proverb نه شتر دیدی "Didst thou see the camel?" the reply is "No." The poet has made it شتر دیدی ندیدی for the sake of metre, which when translated would be, "Didst thou see the camel? Thou didst not see it." The poet prays God to forgive him the sins He has seen him committing, and asks Him that his sins may be condoned.

M. Huart's note is correct as regards the proverbial expression; but the translator gives a Turkish proverb, which is wide of the mark; the Turkish proverb means that "there is no escape from death," that is, that death is a certainty, and the Turkish proverb has no connection with the proverb نه شتر دیدی which means that if asked whether you have seen the camel, say no, that is "pass over my sins as if you had not seen any sin in me." It is, therefore, a pleading for forgiveness of sins and not for long life.

The Quatrain is genuine and not spurious.

59.

1. The grief of the whole world is my soul's portion,
2. Freedom from my pains is alchemy;
3. Every one's pain at last is cured,
4. It is my heart alone whose remedy is annihilation.

In the 2nd line the word کیمیا is used to show that it exists only in name, and similarly my freedom from pain is an impossibility. کیمیا and اکسیر *Elixir*, are also used to denote rare things; for instance we say in Persian, وجودش کیمیاست, i.e., it is very rare or it exists not. The word عنقا "a fabulous bird" is used in a similar sense.

60.

1. Let me go and return, and get out of this world,
2. Let me depart and go further than China and Machin;

3. Let me go and ask the Hajis of Haj,
4. If this distance is enough or may I journey further on.

The word بشم here is in the imperative mood and corresponds to the English poetic form "go we."

61.

1. My tender beloved, where art thou ?
2. Where art thou, my beloved with Surma-dyed eyes ?
3. The breath has reached Tahir's bosom (throat) ;
4. At this moment of departure, O my beloved ! where art thou ?

62.

1. Thou who hast not learnt heavenly lore,
2. Thou who hast not tracked the way to the Tavern,
3. Thou who knowest not thy own gain or loss,
4. Alas, alas ! how canst thou overtake the men of decided character ?

63.

1. I saw a little husbandman in this field,
2. Who was sowing tulips with the blood of his eyes ;
3. He was ever sowing and saying, Alas !
4. That one has to sow and leave it behind in this field.

Mr. Allen's edition of the text does not contain this Quatrain which I have added with its translation. It is given in the Farhang-i-Anjuman-Ārā-i-Nāṣiri under the word الالہ *Alala*.

Finis.

P 27907 Hf,225.

هو المعز

اشعار

بابا طاهر همدانی رح

در زبان راجي

مصححه

میرزا مهدي خان

کوکب

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۱)

خرم آنان که هزمان رو ته وینن سخون واته کرن وا ته نشینن
گرم پائي نه بي کايم ته وينم بشم آنان بوينم که ته وينن

(۲)

بيته يارب به بستان گل مرو ياد اگر روباد هرگز کس مبو ياد
بتبه گر دل بخنده لب گشـــا يه رخش از خون دل هرگز مشو ياد

(۳)

خوشا آنان که الله يارشون بي بحمد و قل هو الله کا رشون بي
خوشا آنان که دائم در نمـــازن بهشت جاودان بازار شـــون بي

(۴)

مواز قالوا بلی نشويش ديـــرم گنه از برگ دارون بيش ديـــرم
چو فردا نومه خونون نومه خونن مو درکف نومه سردر پيش ديرم

(۵)

خداوندا که بوشم با که بوشم موٴه پر اشک خونين تا که بوشم
همم کز در برانن سوته آيـــم تو کم از در براني وا که بوشـــم

(۶)

باين بي آشياني بر کيا نشـــم باين بي خانماني بر کيا نشـــم
همم از در برانن سوته آيـــم ته گر از در براني بر کيا نشـــم

(۷)

کشيمون اربزاري از که ترسي براني گر بخواري از که ترسي
مويا اين نيمه دل از کس نترسم دو عالم دل ته داري از که ترسي

(۸)

اگر مستان مستيم از ته ايمون وگر بي پاو دستيم از ته ايمون
اگر گوريم وترســـا ور مسلمان بهر ملت که هستيم از ته ايمون

(۹)

نوای ناله غم اند و تـــه ذو نو عیار زر خالص بو تـــه ذونـــو
بو ره سوته دلون واهم بنالیـــم که قدر سوته دل دل سوته ذونو

(۱۰)

هرآن باغي که دارش سر بدر بي مدامش باغبان خونین جگر بي
بباید کندنش از بیخ و از بـــن اگر بارش همه لعل و گهـــر بي

(۱۱)

دلا راه تو بي خارو و خسک بي گذر گاه تو بر اوج فلک بـــي
گر از دستت برآیو پوست از تن بر افکن تا که بارت کمتر ک بـــي

(۱۲)

بو ره سوته دلون گرد هم آیم سخن وا هم کریم غم وانمایم
توازو آو ریم غمهـــا به سنجیم هرآن سوته تریم سنگین تر آیم

(۱۳)

بو ره سوته دلون هون تا بنالیم زهجر آن گل رعنـــا بنالیـــم
بشیم با بلبل شیدا به گلشن اگر بلبل نذالـــه ما بذـــالیـــم

(۱۴)

جره بازي بدم رفتم به نخچیر سیه چشمي بزد بر بال موتیـــر
برو غافل مچر در کوهسارون هرآن غافل چره غافل خوره تیر

(۱۶)

زشور انگریزي دور فلک بـــي که دایم چشم زخمم پر نمک بي
روه گر دود آهـــم تا سمـــوات روان سیل سرشکم تا سمک بي

(۱۷)

خداوندا زبس زارم از ایندل شو و روزان در آزارم ازینـــدل
زبس نالیدم از نالیدنم کشت زمو بستون که بیزارم از ایندل

(۱۸)

مو که سر در بیا بونم شو و روز سرشک از دیده بارونم شو و روز
نه تو دیوم نه جایم میکرو درد همي ذونم که نالونم شو و روز

(۱۹)

بلابي دل بلابي دل بلابـــي گنه چشمون كرو دل مبتلا بـــي
اگر چشمون نه وينن روي زيبا چه ذونو دل كه خوبون در كجابي

(۲۰)

زدست ديده ودل هر دو فرياد كه هر چه ديده وينه دل كنه ياد
بسازم خنجري نيشش ز پولاد زنم بر ديده تا دل گـــرده آزاد

(۲۱)

دلي دبرم كه بهبودش نميبو نصيحت ميكرم سودش نميبـــو
بيادش ميدهم نش ميبرو باد بر آتش مي نهم دودش نميبو

(۲۲)

موآن رندم كه نامم بي قلندر نه خون ديرم نه مون ديرم نه لنگر
چو روز آيه بگردم گرد گيتي چو شو آيه بخشتي وانهم ســـر

(۲۳)

بعالم همچـــو مو پروانهٔ نـــه بگيتي همچو مو ديوانـــهٔ نـــه
همه ماروں ومورون لانه ديرن من بيچاره را ويـــرانـــه نـــه

(۲۴)

ز كشت خاطرم جز غم نرو يو ز باغم جز گل ماتم نرو يـــو
ز صحراي دل بيحاصل مو گياه نا اميدي هم نرو يـــو

(۲۵)

دلي نازک بسان شيشه ام بي اگر آهي كشم انديشه ام بـــي
سرشكم گر بوه خونين عجب ني مو آندارم كه در خون ريشه ام بي

(۲۶)

اگر در دم يكي بودي چه بودي وگر غم اند كي بودي چه بودي
ببالينـــم حبيبـــم يا طبـــيم ازين دو گر يكي بودي چه بودي

(۲۷)

بناليدن دلم مانـــد ني بـــي مدامم درد هجرانت زپي بـــي
مرا سوزو گدازه تا قيامت خدا ذونو قيامت راكه كي بـــي

(۲۸)

بهار آیو بهر باغي گلي بـــي بهر شاخي هزاران بلباي بـــي
بهر مرغي نیارم پا نهـــادن مباد از مو بتر سو ته دلي بـــي

(۲۹)

موآن بحرم که درظرف آمدستم مو آن نقطه که در حرف آمدستم
بهر الفي الف قدي بر آیـــو الف قدم که در الف آمدستـــم

(۳۰)

موام آن آذرین مرغي که‌در حال بسوجم عالم ار برهـــم زنم دال
مصور گر کشه نقشم بدیوال بسوجم خونه از قانیـــر تمثـــال

(۳۱)

اگر دل دلبره دلبر چه نومـــه وگر دلبر دله دل از چه بومـــه
دل و دلبر بهم آیته دیـــرم نذونم دل که و دلبر کـــرو مـــه

(۳۲)

بروي دلبري گرمـــا یلستـــم مکن منعم گرفتـــار د لستـــم
خدارا ساربون آهسته میران که مو وا مانده این قافلستـــم

(۳۳)

زدل نقش جمالت در نشي یار خیال خط و خالت در نشي یار
مژه کردم بگرد دیده پر چین که خون آیه خیالت در نشي یار

(۳۵)

هزارش دل بغارت برده ویشن هزارانش جگر خون کرده ویشن
هزاران داغ ویش از ریشم اشمرد هني تشمرده از اشمرده ویشن

(۳۶)

پریشـــان سنبلان پرتاو مکه خمـــارین نرگسان پر آو مکه
وریني ته که مهر از ما وریني وریتـــه روزگار اشتـــاو مکه

(۳۷)

دلت اي سنگدل بر مانسو جه عجب نبوه اگر خارا نسوجه
بسو جسم تا بسو جونم دلت را در آتش چوب تر تنها نسوجه

(۳۸)

دلم از دست عشقت گیژو ویژه مژه برهم زنم سیلاب خیژه
دل عاشق بسان چوب تربي سري سوجه سري خونا به راژه

(۳۹)

بیته یکدم دلم خرم نمونه وگر روي تو وینم غم نمونه
اگر درد دلم قسمت نموین دلي بیدر درد عالم نمونه

(۴۰)

مسلسل زلف بر رو ریته دیري گل و سنبل بهم آمیه دیري
پریشان چون کري آن تار زلفون بهر تاري دلي آویته دیري

(۴۱)

خورآئین چهره ات افروته تربی دلم از تیر عشقت دوته تربي
چرا خال رخت ذوني سیا هن هرآن نزدیك خوربي سوته تربي

(۴۲)

نسیمی کزبن آن کا کل آیو مرا خوشتر زبوي سنبل آیو
چو شوگیرم خیالت رادر آغوش سحر از بسترم بوي گل آیو

(۴۳)

دو زلفونت کشم تار ربا بم چه میخواهي ازین حال خرابم
تو گر بامو سرياري نداري چرا هر نیمه شوآئي بخوابم

(۴۴)

تهکت نا زنده چشمون سرمه سائي تهکت بالنده بالا دلربائي
تهکت مشکینه گیسو در قفائي ابي واجي که سر گردون چرائي

(۴۵)

چه خوش بي مهرباني از دوسربي که یك سر مهرباني درد سربي
اگر مجنون دل شوریدهٔ داشت دل لیلیٰ از آن شوریده تربي

(۴۶)

بوره یکشو منور کن و ذاقم مهل در محنت روز فراقم
بحقت طاق ابروي تو سوگند که موجفت غمم تا از تو طاقم

(۴۷)

مگر شیرو پلنگي ایدل ایدل بمو دایم بچنگي ایدل ایدل
اگر دستم فتي خونت وریژم بوینم تاچه رنگي ایدل ایدل

(۴۸)

نگاریغا دل و جانم ته دیري همه پیدا و پنهانم ته دیري
نذونم موکه این درد از که دارم همي ذونم که درمانم ته دیري

(۴۹)

اگر آئي بجانت وا نـــوازم وگرنائـــي بهجرانت گـــدازم
هران دردي که داري بر دلم نه بمیرم یا بسوجـــم یا بسازم

(۵۰)

الالهٔ کوهســـارون هفته بي بنوشه جو کناروں هفته بي
منادي میکرم شهروں بشهروں وفاي گلعذاروں هفتـــه بي

(۵۱)

دلم از درد هجرانت غمینه سرینم خشت و بالینم زمینه
گذامم اینکه موته دوست دیرم هرآنکت دوست دارهٔ حالش اینه

(۵۲)

موآن شعمم که اشکم آذرین بي کسي کوسوته دل اشکش جزاین بي
همه شوسوجم و گریم همه روز زته شامم چذوں روزم چنین بي

(۵۳)

بیته اشکم زمژگان تر آیو بیته نخل امیدم بي بر آیو
بیته در کنج تنهائي شو و روز نشینم تاکـــه عمر موســـر آیو

(۵۴)

دلا پوشم بهجرت جامهٔ نیل کشم بار غمت چون جامه بر پیل
دم از مهرت زنم همچون دم صبح از ایندم تا دم صور سرافیـــل

(۵۵)

خم عیشم پر از خون جگریي مدامم دل پرآدز دیدهٔ تریي
بجویت زندگي یابم پس از مرگ ترا گر برسر خاکـــم گـــذریي

(٥٧)

سیه بختم که بختم سرنگون بي توه روژم که روژم واژ گون بي
شدم خار وخس کوي محبت زدست دل که یارب غرق خون بي

(٥٨)

از آن روزي که مار آفریدي بغیر از معصیت از ما چه دیدي
خداوندا بحق هشت و چارت زمو بگذر شتر دیدي ندیدي

(٥٩)

غم دوران نصیب جان ما بي ز درد مـــا فراغت کیمیـــابي
رسه آخر بدر مون درد هر کس دل مابي که درمونش فنابي

(٦٠)

بشم واشم ازین عالم بدرشم بشم از چین و ما چین دیر ترشم
بشم از حاجیان حج بپرسم که این دوري بسه یا دیر ترشم

(٦١)

نگار تازه خیز مو کجـــائي بچشمون سرمه زیر مو کجائي
نفس برسینهٔ طاهر رسیـــده دم رفتن عزیز مو کجـــائي

(٦٢)

ته که نا خواندهٔ علـــم سموات ته که نا برده پي در خرابات
ته که سود و زیان خـــود نذوني بمردون کي رسي هیهات هیهات

(٦٣)

یکي بر زیگرک دیدم دربندشت بخون دیدگان آلاله میکشـــت
همي کشت و همیگفت ایدریغا که باید کشتن و هشتن دربندشت

تمت

An ancient Cave and some ancient Stupas in the District of Gaya.—

By Parmeshwar Doyal.

The District of Gaya is very rich in archæological remains of great interest, and most of them are connected with the rise and spread of Buddhism. Some of these were visited by the Chinese pilgrims in the 5th and 7th centuries of the Christian era, and the identification of the places mentioned in their itineraries with the existing ruins has been one of the chief aims of the researches made by the archæologists of the past century. Almost all the places mentioned by Fa-Hien and Hwen Thsang have been since visited and explored by Major Kittoe, General Cunningham, Dr. Stein and other antiquarians; but one of the most important of them, the Prāgbodhi cave, does not appear to have been visited by any of them, as will appear from the following paragraphs.

In order to make the subject of the present note more clear, extracts from Hwen Thsang's and Fa-Hien's discriptions are given below :—

Fa Hien writes :—

"Thence (*i.e.* from Bakraur) going to the north-east half a yojan, you come to a stone grotto; *Phou sā* entering it and facing the west, sat with his legs crossed and thought within himself 'in order that I should accomplish the law, I must have a divine testimonial.' Immediately his shadow depicted itself on the wall; it was three feet high.[1] The weather was clear and brilliant, heaven and earth were both moved, and all the gods in that space explained, it is not in this place that all the Foes past and to come should accomplish the law. To the south-west, a little more than half a yojan is the pei-to tree, where all the Foes, past and to come, should accomplish the law. Having said this, they sang to him and showed him the way retiring."[2]

[1] James Legge has translated this sentence thus :—

"On the wall of the rock there appeared immediately the shadow of a Buddha, rather more than 3 feet in length, which is still bright at the present day."

[2] Fa-Hien's description, abstracted from Major Kittoe's note published on pages 953 to 970 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society for September 1847.

Hwen Thsang says :—

"To the east of the place where Gayā Kāśyapa sacrificed to fire (Gayā), crossing a river, we come to a mountain called Prāgbodhi (Po-lo-ki-pot) *i.e.*, "the mountain leading to (before) perfect intelligence," as Buddha, when about to attain enlightenment, first ascended this mountain. Tathāgata, after diligently seeking for six years and not yet obtaining supreme wisdom, after this gave up his penance and accepted the rice milk (of Sujātā). As he went to the north-east, he saw this mountain that it was secluded and dark, whereupon he desired to seek enlightenment thereon. Ascending the north-east slope and coming to the top, the earth shook and the mountain quaked, whilst the mountain Deva in terror thus spoke to Bodhisattva: 'This mountain is not the fortunate spot for attaining supreme wisdom. If here you stop and engage in the Samādhi of diamond (*i.e.*, Vajra-samādhi) the earth will quake and gape, and the mountain be overthrown upon you.' Then Bodhisattva descended, and half-way down the south-west slope he halted. There backed by the crag and facing a torrent, is a great stone chamber. Here he sat down cross-legged. Again the earth quaked and the mountain shook, and a Deva cried out in space: 'This is not the place for a Tathâgata to perfect supreme wisdom. From this south-west 14 or 15 li, not far from the place of penance, there is the Pippala (Pi-po-lo) tree, under which is a diamond throne (Vajrāsana, an imperishable throne, supposed to be the centre of the earth, and the spot where all Buddhas arrived at complete wisdom). All the past Buddhas seated on this throne have obtained true enlightenment, and so will those yet to come. Pray then proceed to that spot (Buddha-Gaya).' Then Buddha departed, the Devas leading the way, and accompanying him to the Bodhi tree. When Asoka Raja came into power, he signalised each spot up and down this mountain, which Bodhisattva had passed, by erecting distinguishing posts and stupas. These, though of different sizes, yet are alike in spiritual manifestations. Sometimes flowers fall on them from heaven, sometimes a bright light illumines the dark valleys. Every year on the day of breaking up the season of Wass (Varṣā), religious laymen from different countries ascend this mountain for the purpose of making religous offerings to the faithful. They stop one night and return. Going south-west about 14 or 15 li one comes to the Bodhi tree."

General Cunningham in his map of Gaya and Bihar, given in plate III, page 3 of Vol. I of his report on the archæological survey of India, has marked the range of hills about 6 miles south-east of the town of Gaya as "Prāgbodhi mountain" (Po-lo-ki-pot). The statement of Hwen Thsang, that the distance between the stone chamber, situated

in this mountain, and the diamond throne under the Pippala tree (in Buddha Gaya), is 14 or 15 li (*i.e.*, about 3 miles), leaves not the slightest doubt as to the correctness of General Cunningham's identifications.

This range of hills which is washed at its south-western base by the Morā Lake, is called "Morā Tāl Kā Pahāṛ," *i.e*, the hill of the Morā Lake. The middle part of this range is called Dhongrā Hill, and contains the stone chamber which was probably visited by Hwen Thsang. The chamber is situated about half-way up the north-western slope of the hill. The cave is excavated at the base of a precipice of rock that rises high above it towards the top of the hill. In front of the cave is a more or less level space about 60 feet long, and 12 or 13 feet wide, which is open on the north-east side where it falls away in the general slope of the hill side. Immediately in front of the cave, however, is a barrier of rock, which completely shuts out the cave from view from below; advantage appears to have been specially taken of the recess thus formed to make the cave where it is. The face of the precipice seems to have been roughly hewn, so as to give it a more regular and vertical appearance; and perhaps the native rock had been further cut to form a level space in front of the cave; but this cannot be stated for certain.

In the entrance to the cave is fitted a *chaukat* (wooden frame), 2 feet 1 inch broad, and 2 feet 4 inches wide.[1] The chamber within is of an irregular oval shape, 16 feet 5 inches from north-east to south-west and 10 feet 9 inches from north-west to south-east. The roof of the cave is vaulted or concave, and is 9 feet 7 inches high at the highest point. The cutting is very rude and uneven, as if the cave had been left unfinished. In the south-western corner of this cave, on a sandstone pedestal, is placed an image of an eight-armed goddess, sitting on a lotus wrought in blue stone. The height of this image including the lotus seat, but excluding the sandstone pedestal (which is only 7 inches high) is 2 feet 2 inches. The face of the image, the top of the halo behind the image, and two out of its eight hands are broken. A few letters of the first and last parts of the Buddhist formula (the rest having disappeared with the broken part of the relievo) inscribed over the shoulders, are in Kutila character, belonging to the 9th or 10th century, A.D., which shows that the image belongs

[1] [The entrance to the cave, which has the shape of a crescent, was at the time of my visit, December, 1901, closed by a masonry wall, erected some 7 years before by the Sadhu, who now lives there. It admitted access to the interior through a small door, formed by a wooden frame, about 4 ft. high and 2 ft. wide. I could not observe any marks of chiselling inside the cave, and I think the cave is a natural one, and not an artificial. T. Bloch.]

to the later Buddhistic faith, though it is now an object of worship for the Hindus of the neighbourhood, passing under the name of Dhongreśvarī or Dhongrā Devī.

Below this cave, on the same side of the hill, is a large level terrace about 225 feet square, which contains marks of foundations of buildings. On the same side of the hill, to the north and south of the terrace, are traces of some other ruins.

Ascending the hill from the cave for some distance, in a north-easterly direction, along a passage difficult of ascent, and then turning southwards, the top of the range is reached, on which are situated seven stupas. No. 1 is situated on the top of the precipice exactly above the cave or stone chamber. It is an octagonal mound about 26 feet in diameter, built of brick. Further south, 135 feet from this stupa is stupa No. 2. It is also built of brick, about 26 feet square, but is much mutilated. No. 3 is about 250 feet north-east of No. 1. It is octagonal, about 29 feet in diameter, built of brick with stones in the base. No. 4 is about 610 feet north of No. 3. It is round, 40 feet in diameter and in good preservation. No. 5 is of the same size, situated at about 505 feet north of No. 4. No. 6 is about 110 feet north of No. 5 and is 20 feet in diameter. It is made of brick, and is also in a state of good preservation. No. 7 is about 50 feet north of No. 6. It is a small mound about 18 feet in diameter, built of rough pieces of stone.

These mounds are now called by the villagers of the neighbourhood Dhuni, a word which means the place where the sacred fire of some Rishis or saints was burnt. This idea has probably preserved the mounds from destruction by the villagers; but as the present generation, partly from the growth of materialistic ideas, and partly from the force of necessity, is losing the reverence previously felt towards what tradition held sacred, there is much danger of the the mounds being opened by some inquisitive villager in the hope of finding treasure.

I am inclined to think that these mounds are the stupas erected by Asoka as related by Hwen Thsang, to signalise the spots up and down the hill, sacred to Buddha. As to the position of the stone chamber, Hwen Thsang says, "then Bodhisattva descended," (from some place on the summit of this range signalised by any one of the mounds mentioned above) "and half-way down the south-west slope he halted. There backed by the crag, and facing a torrent is a great stone chamber. Here he sat down cross-legged." Now, as the range lies extended from south-west to north-east, strictly speaking the range has no south-western slope. The stone chamber, however, lies in a south-westerly direction, from many of the stupas now extant, and when Hwen Thsang visited the place, probably some path from stupas Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, or 7

to the cave was pointed out to him as the way Buddha descended, and so he noted the position of the cave as being half-way down the *south-western* slope. The facts (1) that this stone chamber is in a south-westerly direction from the stupas, (2) that it is situated half-way down the slope of the range, (3) that it is backed by a crag, a high precipice of rock on which stands stupa No. 1, (4) that the cave faces the valley between the main range on which the stupas stand and the projecting spur of hill, down which a stream would pour during the rains, (it is probable that Hwen Thsang visited the spot in the rainy season), and (5) that the cave is at a distance of about 14 or 15 li from the Bodhi tree, I think, prove conclusively that the stone chamber mentioned by the pilgrim is no other than the cave.

As to the question of these remains not having been visited by any antiquarian, I would quote below the description given on page 66 of the "List of Ancient Monuments in the Patna Division" revised and corrected up to 31st August 1895 :—

"67.—Gaya—Mora Hill Cave.

"This cave is a natural fissure about half-way up the western slope "and facing the Phalgu River. It is shaped like a crescent, 37 feet in "length and five and a half feet in width, with an entrance in the "middle of the convex face 3 feet 2 inches in width, and 4 feet 10 "inches in height. At the upper or north end there is another opening "4 feet broad, and 4 feet high, which gives light to the cave. At the "south end the fissure continues for a further distance of 24 feet, but "of such small dimensions that a man can only just crawl along it. "Its height is 2 feet 7 inches, but its width is only 1 foot 7 inches. "At the back or east side of the cavern, there is a ledge of rock "8 inches high, which probably served as a pedestal for the shadow of "Buddha which was figured in the rock. Every year, at the close of the "rainy season, the monks used to climb this hill to make their offerings "and to spend a night or two in the cavern."[1]

The above quotation shows that the cave now described by me was not intended, but some natural fissure in some other part of the hill.

As the range extends for several miles and contains many natural fissures along its slopes, different guides may take travellers in

[1] [This description is a literal quotation from Vol. iii, p. 106 of Cunningham's Reports. I have no doubt that Cunningham referred to the very cave described by the Babu in this paper, as the position of his cave agrees with the site of the Babu's cave, but the account given by the late General is very inaccurate. There is, *e. g.*, no 'opening 4 feet broad and 4 feet high' at the upper or north end of the cave, and it is very unlikely that such an entrance existed 30 years ago, when Cunningham visited the place. T. Bloch.]

search of Buddha's cave to different natural fissures. The correct bearing, however, from the town of Gaya, and from Bodh-Gaya, is as follows. On crossing the river the cave Phalgu (which is on the east of the town of Gaya) by the wooden bridge, the road passes due south for about a mile to a bridge near village Bhusandā. Up to this place the road is metalled. After this, it is unmetalled and takes a south-easterly direction. Proceeding along the road, further for about 4 miles, the village Ganjās is reached on the north side of the road. Passing beyond this village a short way off, the road has to be left, and the foot of the hills skirted in a south-westerly direction. Travellers on horse-back or palki may leave the road near the village Manjhowli and reach the cave through village Sahaipur. The above description will be a sufficient guide to any one wishing to visit the cavern. The cave is, however, not visible from the foot of the hill even immediately beneath it, as already explained, but a tamarind tree—the only one there—marks the site.

The Morāns.—*By* MAJOR P. R. T. GURDON, *Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam.*

[Read June, 1903.]

Mr. Gait in the Census Report of 1891 stated that it is evident that the Morāns belong to the great Bodo group; at the time of that Census I made a collection of a few Morān words which I forwarded to the Census Superintendent, who was of opinion that Morān is only a variety of Bodo or Kachāri. That this diagnosis was right there will be little doubt if the vocabulary attached to this note is examined. It will be seen that I have given the English with its Morān, Kachāri (modern), Dimāsā or Hills Kachāri, and Hodgson's Bodo, (which is probably Mech), equivalents. At once the very strong affinity between the four languages will be evident. Take the numerals. "One" is the same in all four languages, *e. g.*, *Sē*, *Sē* or *Sāi*, *Si* and *Chē*. The word *nē* (two), in Morān and Kachāri becomes *gini* in Dimāsā and *gni* in Mech. *Sam* (three) in Morān becomes *Tham* in Kachāri, *gatham* in Dimāsā, and *tham* in Mech. The word for six is the same in all four languages. The word for fish, *nā*, which is identical in the first three languages becomes *gnā* in Hodgson's Bodo, and compare the Burmese *gnāpi* and the Garo nāthu. The word for "Egg" in all four languages is *Daodi*, and what is still more remarkable, each of the four languages expresses the word for egg in exactly the same manner, *dao* meaning fowl and *di* water, *dao-di* therefore signifies fowl's water. With reference to *dao*, it may be noted that it is a generic word, *daokhā* meaning a crow, being evidently an onomatopœic sound, *daokha* signifying the "caw-caw" bird.

There seems to have been a considerable amount of confusion regarding the Morāns. In the Census Report of 1881 it was stated that the meaning of the word Morān is not very clear, but that the name Morān was applied to the upper portion of the Matak country and is now used to designate the extensive tract of waste land to the East and North-East of

Dibrugarh. The Morāns are mentioned in an Assamese Buranji as having been subdued by the Ahom invader in 1251 A. D. Robinson says that the word Morān signifies "inhabitant of the jungle". In the 1891 Census Report Mr. Gait wrote as follows : "There has been a good deal of confusion between the terms 'Morān, Matak, and Moamaria.'" The Morāns have already been referred to as having been the first tribe to be conquered by the Ahoms when they entered Assam from over the Patkai. They were employed by the Ahom Kings as carriers of firewood and were known as Hābungiās, an Ahom or rather an Assamese corruption, of the Moran word *habóng* (mán). A writer in the Jonaki Magazine of April 1891 is of opinion that the "Morāns are the autochthons of the Assam Valley," a conclusion which I think is not unlikely to prove correct. The strong similarities of the different languages of the Bodo group I have detailed below, need no further demonstration than the lists will show; and it appears that the Morān language certainly belongs to the Bodo or Kachāri group. Before concluding I may mention that there seems to be also some connection between the languages of the Bodo group and Deori-Chutiyā, which is now like Moran practically a dead language, originally spoken by the priestly or Levite class among the Chutiyās (Introduction to Brown's Deori-Chutiyā Grammar). Take the following words which I have picked out from Brown's Vocabulary :—

English.	Deori-Chutiyā.	Plains Kachāri.
Fowl	du	dão
Cat	midige	manzi
Tiger	mesa	mosā
Deer	meshi	masamai
Snake	dubra	Zibu { Dimāsā / Jubu
Dove	duchu dua	douthō
Crow	duka	daokhā

If the equivalents in Hodgson's Bodo or Mech, and Dimāsā are studied, great similarity will be found. No doubt it would be possible to trace similarities between words in Garo, for the Garo language belongs to the Bodo group also.

I think, in conclusion, that strong linguistic affinity has been proved between the Morān, Kachāri, Dimāsā (Hills Kachāri), and Hodgson's Bodo or Mech; it now remains to discuss whether or not there are similarities between these tribes from an Ethnographical point of view, but this must form the subject of another paper.

English.	Morān.	Kachāri.	Hodgson's Bodo.	Dimāsā (or Hills Kachāri).
		A.		
Adze	Phāsi	Sānsan	.....	Gāphā
Adze (small)	Hatahi sās]	San san fisa*	.....	.....
Arrow	Bālathi	Khār	Balla	Bălă
Ants	Musirim	Masram	{ Mocharām { Hashafrai	Gasim (black) Gājāo (red)
Acid	Mekhari	Gakhoi	.....	Sabāoba
Alkaline	Khari	.....	.....	.....
Axe	Rāoyā	Rua	Rūā	Roā
Areca nuts	Kanai or nai	Goi	.....	Goai
Arum	Khadun	.....	.....	.....
Ask (v)	Hāmong	Sāngnŭ	.....	Sūng
Angry (v)	Hakhi-Tang	Barapnŭ	.....	Thamsi baigo (angry-get)
		B.		
Buffalo	Mānini, Michit	Moisya	Moishojola	Miship
Bear	Dāogomā	Mafūr	Mūphūr	Musuburmā
Beard	Khāmār	Khukhap-indāri	Dadhi	Khamphŏr
Brother-in-law (eldest sister's husband)	Kumi	Gumăi	.....	Bigimi
Brother-in-law (youngest sister's husband)	Lundā	Bainai	.....	Bigimi
Brother-in-law (wife's younger brother)	.....	Boinai	.....	Bobrāolung
Do. elder brother	.....	Gumoi	.....	Bigimi
Brother (elder)	Akai	A-dā	.....	Dādā
Brother (younger)	Bhai	Agoi	.....	Ajang or Bufaiyung.

* i.e., "Adze's child."

English.	Morān.	Kachāri.	Hodgson's Bodo.	Dimāsā.
Bow	Kangphāi	Zilit	Jillit	Baithuli
Be (v)	Dang	Dang (-is आदेश)	.....	Dŏng
Bring (v)	Lethā	Lānŭ	.....	Labu
Bite (v)	Challa	Atnŭ(ar-nŭ)	.....	Wāi
Beat (v)	Bniha	Bu-nū	.....	Shu
Bathe (v)	Dukutha	Du-gŭi-nŭ	.....	Dūgrū
Burn (v)	Khamong	Sān-nŭ	.....	Sān
Beautiful	Hāmmā	Mozāng	Mōjāng	Mazāng-ba
Black	Kisim	Gasam	Gotchom	Gūsūm
Blind	Khārā	Megān khănă	Kana	Gānā
Bad	Hāmihā	Hama	Hamma	Hāmyā
Brave	Khatia	Ha raga	Gīronga	Kharāobi
Bitter	Rŭong	Gākha	Gakha	Khābā
Burnt	Sayaya	Ornang-nai	.....	Khāmbā
Betel-leaf	Fathai or Fatai	Fathai	.....	Mithi
Blackpepper	Talup	Zabrang	Jātimarich	Morchaigibi
Bed	Seean	Khat	.....	Thūthāni
Bowl	Soucha	Khuroi	.....	Bela
Basket	Fachi	Khirkao	.....	Khāngkhrā
Do. (small)	Khoura	Khirkha f'sa	.....	Do.
Broom	Haisip	Hāsip	.....	Noship
Bamboo	Haiong	Oa (Owā)	.....	Wa
Boy	Tadai	Gāthă	.....	Quchhā
Bridge	Hokbai	Sangkhang	.....	Yaokhărai

C.

Cow	Machan	Machan	Mūshojo	Mūshū
Cat	Ningrāo / Maoti	Māuzi	Mauji	Ālu
Civet-cat	Mejengā	Ban āfā (Hāfā)	Mūrū	Mūrū
Crow	Daokhā	Daokhā	Daukhā	Doakhā
Crane	Dāob	.....	.....	Sola Khak
Clay, mud	Hā dubut	Hābru	Habdu	Didāp
Creeper	Dausing	Teowa	.....	Dukha
Comb (v)	Khāng fai	Khān-nu	.....	Rāw
Cook (v)	Sogong	Sang-nu	.....	Sŏng
Cut (v)	Daula	Dāu-nŭ	.....	Gain / Dain
Catch (v)	Ga-goang	Ham-un	.....	Rum

English.	Morān.	Kachāri.	Hodgson's Bodo.	Dimāsā.
Cloth	Hinkhā	Hi	Hi	Ri
Cooking-pot	Defee	Mikham-du	.....	Makham du
Curtain		Hi Khungnai	.....	Ri sung-phungba
Cotton-gin	Fandap	.....	.....	Sergi
Comb	Khansong	Khanzang	.....	Khŏchong
Cane	Rai	Raidang	.....	Wadu
Chisel	Bāisāli	Baithli	.....	Dāobu
		D.		
Dog	Chaimā	Suimāi	Choima	Sishā
Duck	Hangkhā	Hāngsa fāthai	Hāngsa	Dasphlamdu
Deer	Hāomā, Mashā, Mung	Masamai	Mōchō	Mŏsŏ, Mishai
Deer (spotted)	Mechai	Kaore fithāi	Macho	Mishong
Dove	Dāothu	Daothu	Danthō	Daophri
Die (v)	Thilā	Thoi-nŭ	.....	Thi
Deaf	Nābāng	Khāmā beng-gā	Bēnga	Nathong
Dhuti	Khisrai	Gāmsa	Gamcha	Gainthāo.
Da (big knife)	Hanguchā, Hansāi	Sekhā	Chikha	Sishong
Daughter	Bisari	Fisā-zu	Bishu	Bāsū
		E.		
Elephant	Mātmā or Manimā	.....	Moidet	Miyang
Egg	Dāodi	Dāodō	Doudoi	Dāodi
Eye	Muthai	Mêgan	Mogon	Mū
Ear	Khāmā	Khăma	Khomā	Khamāo
Earth	Hā	Hā	Hā	Hā
Evening	Mālā	Manahai	Bili	Saiŭbili
Eat (v)	Tifai	Zānŭ	.....	Ti
		F.		
Fowl	Dāomā	Dāo { Ma (great) (full-grown) Sā (small) chicken }	Dou	{ Dāonajela Daono Daono-khaseba

English.	Morān.	Kachāri.	Hodgson's Bodo.	Dimāsa.
Fish	Nā	Nā	Gnā	Nā
Frog	Tunglerup	Imbu (Imblon)	Imbū bōnglā	Hembru Khoroma (very big) Gāolem.
Father	Abai	Āfā	Aphā	Bōfā
Father's younger sister	Māni	Ānē	.....	Dēdē
Father or mother's elder sister, or mother's younger sister.	Barai	Āi-yang : Ā-do	.....	Maiyung
Fire	Hat	Ath	Wāt	Wāi
Forest	Hakrā	Hagra gedu	.....	Hāgrā
Field	Faiaya	Dubli (rice-field)	.....	Hadi (rice-field)
Flower	Khum	Bebar	Bibar	Khum (in the plain) Khim (in this subdivision)
Fruit	Bithai	Fithai	Bethai	Bathāi
Fear (v)	Khanui	Gi-nŭ	.....	Khin
Fall (v)	Kalaila	Goglai-nŭ	.....	Gālai
Fetch (v)	Lābaha	Lai-nŭ thang-nŭ	.....	Lābū
Feel thirst (v)	Dikangung	Dŏi-gang-nŭ	.....	Gāngbā
Feel hungry (v)	Miam Sakhiung	Moikham bkhui-nu	.....	Hukhri
Forgive (v)	Sahiba	Rakya-hănŭ	.....	Gār
Fried	Sariya	Megongdŏ	.....	Jembā
Fan	Tihit	Gisip	.....	Gisip
Fishing net	Chā	Zeh	.....	Cheh
Fuel	Ban	Ban	.....	Bŏn
Fever	Lunmia	Lam Zanai	.....	Lumba

G.

Goat	Bārūmā	Baramā	Būrmā	Burūn

English.	Morān.	Kachāri.	Hodgson's Bodo.	Dimāsā.
Grandchild or Grandfather	Ālū	Âbaū Ābaū	Bihon Alo	Busuthāi Dāidāi
Go (v)	Thān-khēng	Thang-nŭ	.....	Thāug
Give (v)	Karai	Hu-nu	.....	Ri
Good	Madhumong	Gaharra	Ghām	Hāmbā
Great	Dikma	Gadat	.....	Gēdēbā
Ginger	Haiteng	Haizeng	Haijeng	Hajeng
Gourd	Kha-khulu	Laogakha	Lau	Laothai
Girt	Taiti	Hinākhāo-sa	.....	Masāinchu
Gentleman	Madai	Giri	.....	Gedēbā
Goitre	Kidit	Galandhi	.....	Gŏdŏdēbā
Gold	Darbi	Darbi	.....	Gajao
Grandmother	Ālē	Aboi	Aboi	Daidai

H.

Horse	Karāi	Gorāi	Gorai thāngan	Gorai
Hog	Hawmā, Samā	Omā	Yoma	Hawnā
Huluk	Huilao	.....	.....	Hulāo
Husband	Bisai	Hū-a (nu-ā)	Bishai	Basāi
Head	Har	Khârâ	Khōrō	Khŏrŏ
Hair	Khānāi	Khēnai	Khanai	Khanāi
Hoe	Khudi	Khuroi (Khodal)	Doukhi	Khudi
Heaven	Pānsā	Akhrangsa	Nōkhorāng	Năkhāsāo
Hail	Langthai	Arathai	Krothai	Gēdīthai
Hear (v)	Khānālong	Khnā-nŭ	.....	Khanā
Have (v)	Aye	Dang-a (with possession)	.....	Dăng
Husking machine	Dengkhi	Dingkhi	.....	Sāmtho
Hat	Khanluk	Khafroi	.....	Khailung
Honey	Bara	Berema-ni-bidoi	.....	Beredi
Hedge	Tareng	Inzur	.....	Bāri
Hump-backed	Kusā	Sing khuza	.....	Teng khong gabai

I.

Iguana	Mufu	Mafu	Mūphō	Mŭshubŭ

English.	Morān.	Kachāri.	Hodgson's Bodo.	Dimāsā.
		J.		
Jackal	Chengāroo, Chengāli	Syel	Siyāl	Măsrăng
Jack-fruit	Thaifeng	Khanthal fithai	.....	Thāi phiyung
		K.		
Keep (v)	Deu	Rākhi-nŭ	.....	Mathāo
Kill (v)	Thadiase	Bu-that-nŭ	.....	Dothai
.....	Khumdaifang	.....	.....	.....
Knife	Khātāri	Dāhā (Khātri)	Dāhā	Sishong sa
		L.		
Leg	Hakong	Ātheng	Gnāthēng	Yēgā
Lightning	Fālāmdang	Mablip-dang	Mūphlāmo	Sarāp thāi
Love (v)	Maram-hang	Au-nu	.....	Khăshāo
Laugh (v)	Mini-yang	Mini-nu	.....	Mini
Lid, cover	Sethai	Khup-nai	.....	Phungyābā
Loom	Sesanhal	Sal (nal)	.....	Bōrōn
Lime	Chuni	Sunoi	.....	Thaisa
Leaf of plaintain	Lie	Bilai	.....	Lai
		M.		
Monkey	Mukhārā	Mokhrā	Mokhora	Māsgasā
Mouth	Thâushup	Khuga	Khouga	Khū
Mother	Āi	Āi	Aŷā	Bōmā
Moon	Dāu	Akhābar	Nokhabir	Daiŭ (*i.e.*, nasal)
Mountain, Hill	Hausi	Hazu	Hājo	Hāju
Moonlight night	Dan-bedung	Dan orang-srang	.....	Nokhābleng
Morning	Maila	Nakha naibai	Phājāni	Phorōng
Mustard	Tine	Besar	.....	Suludi
Melon	Haibenang	Kumara	.....	Thāisuma phānā
Maize	Maikhum	Gum-mai	.....	Mangalai
Mat	Iyam	Em	.....	Sādāh
Man	Habung	Mausoi	.....	Subung

English.	Morān.	Kachāri.	Hodgson's Bodo.	Dimāsā.
Molasses	Kabdi	Mithai	.....	Gurudi
Meat, flesh	Mahon	Bidat	.....	Mŏgŏng
Money	Rukai	Thākhā	.....	Rang
		N.		
Nose	Kungthaung	Gauthăng	Gūnthūng	Gŭng
Neck	Kud	Gade	.....	Gŏdŏ
New	Kadang	Gadan	.....	Gadanī (nasal)
		O.		
Owl	Dāokhu	Phesai	Daukhū	Daokhu
Old	Kara	Bărāi (brai)	Braï, Buroï	Garāsā
Obedient	Khauthai, Khorang	Khuasānga	.....	Garāolŏrē
Old	Katam	Barai	Braï, Buroï	Gājām
Onion	Haiserang	Sambaam	.....	Sāmphrāng
Oil	Thau	Thao	.....	Thao
		P.		
Porcupine	Mechai	Madē	Mūdōï	Midi
Parrot	Phāth	Bātha	Batho	Bato
Pigeon	Phārāo	Pharāo	Pario	Dāophri
Paternal uncle's wife	Mādi	Ānē	.....	(Bo)-Madi
Pursue (v)	Khariung	Un-ūn haseelang-nu	.....	Rushāi
Pulse	Sabai	Sabai	Shobaima	Sabai
Plantain	Thailuk	Thalit fithai	Thali, Laiphang	Thailu (k)
Paddy	Māi	Mai	Mai	Mai
Potato	Tha	Tha	Bilati tha	Thathāi
Pumpkin	Lauthai	Lau	.....	Khao khulagufa
Pumpkin(red)	Kumuru	Lao gadoi	.....	Khao khula gajao
Pillow	Safrong	Gandu	.....	Gāndu
Poison	Sang	Bih	.....	Mŏli
Pond, tank or well	Dikhor	Doi khor	.....	Khārnāi

English.	Morān.	Kachāri.	Hodgson's Bodo.	Dimāsā.
		Q.		
		R.		
Rat	Romdā, Jyungchat	Inzatbonggā	Injūd	Mŏchŏ
Red ants	Kise	Mazalu	.....	.....
River	Disā	Dŭi-sa	Doï, Doispa	Dikhong (small nulla) Disa
Rain	Nakhā	Nakhā	Nōkhā	Hādi
Read or to sing (v)	Kayung	Razāp-nū	.....	Răjā (no word for read)
Rub oil (v)	Thau sufai	Thāo fan-nŭ	.....	Thāojang hu (oil with rub)
Run away (v)	Thalla or Khat-lang	Khat-lang-nŭ	.....	Khai
Rise (v)	Khāttā	Gasang-nu	.....	Bājā
Red	Kata	Găzā	Gatcha	Gajāo
Rich	Bādamā	Girigadat	Dhonganang	Gānāng
Rotten	Sauong	Gesyou	Gēchēō	Gāsāo
Rice (cooked)	Miam	Ikhām (Mibhām)	.....	Makhām
Reed	Khaseng	Meowa	.....	Bādun
Rice (uncooked)	Mairung	Mairang	.....	Mairong
Rice-flour (pounded)	Towal	Gundui	.....	Hon
Ring	Hachidam	Astham	.....	Yao stam
		S.		
Snake	Tuba	Zibon	Jibo	Jubu
Squirrel	Mangdād	Kerkethā	Māntāp	Mandap
Stomach	Hadai	Udăi	Bhāndār	How or Hŏ
Son	Bisā	Fisā (fsā)	Bisha	Basā
Sickle	Khāsi	Khāsi	Kāchi	Songi
Stone	Lanthāi	Anthāi	Onthai	Lonthāi
Sand	Hāseng	Bāli	Bālā	Hajeng

English.	Morān.	Kachāri.	Hodgson's Bodo.	Dimāsā.
Star	Hāthrāi	Ha thor-khi	Hāthotki	Hathrāi
Sun	Sān	Shān*	Shāu	Saiū (do)
Sun's rays	Sanhang-yong	Sān-nigrahan	.....	.....
Speak (v)	Lekhayung	Bung-nŭ	.....	Thi
Sleep (v)	Thu sing	Udu-nu	.....	Thu
Salute (v)	Khulum	Khalam-nŭ	.....	Khulum
Sell (v)	Fangug	Fan-nu	.....	Phain
Sweep (v)	Hibong	Sip-nŭ	.....	Hāsip
Suckle (v)	Alan tong	Ahār-daū-nŭ	.....	Aleujiri
Smell (v)	Sengma	Manām-nu	.....	Bahailābā
Strong	Kumma	Balagra	Balagra	Rāobi
Sweet	Thanma	Gudŏi	Gadŏi	Diba
Sugar cane	Kara	Khusyar	... ..	Guru
Stool	Khāmfelai	Khamflai	.....	Khamphlāi
Stove	Dapthai	Atsugra agdat	.....	Hāgāh
Spoon	Khoka	Samus	.....	Khāokhū
Stirring-rod	Sah	Kharo	... ..	Khudu
Spining wheel	Tengthar	Ugai	.....	Jenther
Sieve	Sārin	Sandroi (Dala)	.....	Sāng khon
Stick	Hutumum	Laru	.....	Goda
Sister (elder)	Ābi	Adā	.....	Bibi
Do. (younger	Nānāo	Ā-goi	.....	Bahāndāo
Salt	Sam	Sangkhre	.....	Sem
.....	Sarangfang	.....	.....	.....
Skin	Khong	Bigur	.....	Būgūr
Spear	Yāng	Zang	.....	Jong

T.

Tiger	Māochi, Michi	Mosā	Mochā	Misi
Tortoise	Khesāo	Thāsa	Khūbchūng	Yādo or thŏ-rōgā
Tooth	Hāfāi	Hāthai	Hāthai	Hāthāi
Tongue	Selāi	Sālai	Chālai	Salāi
Thunder	Fakawala	Akhā khram dang	Kharammo	Nakhasai-gurumba
Timber	Heng-fang	Bang fang gran	Bonphang	Wa bofáng

* Sh is an aspirated sibilant letter.

English.	Morān.	Kachāri.	Hodgson's Bodo.	Dimāsā.
Thrust (v)	Salā	Sŭ-nŭ	.....	Jao
Taken	Keleng khow	Lāng-nai	.....	Lākhā
Tub	Harum	Dabar	.....	Merong
Tree	Fang	Bang fang	.....	Bophāng
Thatch	Thibi	Thoroi	.....	Nūkhūm
.....	Taramfang	.....	.....	.....
Thief	Sikhow	Sikhao	.....	Makhāo

U.

V.

Vulture	Nāngrā	Sugan	Sigūn	Nāwai
Vegetables	Makdi	Megang	.....	Sāmlāi

W.

Wife's brother	Bihi	Hin-zāo	Bihi	Bihi
Water	Di	Dŭi (Dŏi)	Doï	Di
Wind	Bātā	Bāo	Bār	Bār
Weep (v)	Kābung	Gāb-nŭ	.....	Gărā
Wear (v)	Penung or Sungug	Gān-nu	.....	Gaiu (in nasal)
Went	Khuho	Thang-bai	.....	Thāng khā
White	Kufut	Găfūt	Gukhut	Gūfū
Water-jar	Dirmā	Dihu	.....	Dihu (earthen-jar)
				Didu (brass-jar)
Woman (old)	Kāsi	Bāroi	.....	Garāchu
Woman (young)	Sekhala	Sekhala	.....	Masainchu radei

One	Sō	Sō (Sŭi)	Cho	Si
Two	Ne	Nō (nŭi)	Gui	Gini
Three	Sām	Thām	Tham	Gathām
Four	Biri	Brō (Brŭi)	Bre	Biri
Five	Bāha	Bā	Bā	Bowā
Six	Do	Rā (dā)	Dā	Dā (daw)

English.	Morān.	Kachāri.	Hodgson's	Dimāsā.
Seven	Sini	Sni (sini)	Sini	Sini
Eight	Sak	Zat	.....	Chāi
Nine	Saku (zi-kho)	Yaŭ (zā)	.....	Suku
Ten	Ti	Tit	.....	Ji
Eleven	Tisi	.....	.....	Jise
Twelve	Ti No	.....	.....	Ji giui

Observations on General Maclagan's paper on the Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar, J.A.S.B. for 1896, *p.* 38.—*By* H. Beveridge.

[Read November, 1903.]

General Maclagan's paper is a very valuable and interesting one, but he has fallen into some mistakes from relying upon Mr. Rehatsek, etc. I beg to offer the following remarks as supplementary to it:

It is somewhat singular that the writers who have discussed the religious opinions of the Emperor Akbar have said so comparatively little about the account of them given by Abul-Faẓl in the historical portion of the Akbarnāma.

Mr. Blochmann has noticed the references in the Ain-i-Akbari, and he, as well as Vans Kennedy, H. H. Wilson, Rehatsek and General Maclagan, have given full abstracts of Badayūnī's account of the matter. But they have said little about the references in the historical parts of the Akbarnāma, and with the exception of Rehatsek, none of them has noticed the chapter in the Akbarnāma which deals expressly with Akbar's position as the founder of a religion. This chapter occurs in the annals of the 24th year of the reign and is headed "The acceptance by the wise men of the age of the spiritual authority (Ijtihād) of the world's lord."

This chapter is to be found in Vol. III, p. 268 of the Bib. Ind. ed., which corresponds to Vol. III, p. 140 of the Cawnpore ed. Rehatsek has indeed referred, though without citing the page, to two passages in this chapter, but he has not done so correctly, and so he has misled General Maclagan.

Mr. Rehatsek, who was a man of varied accomplishments, but the conditions of whose life were not favourable to accuracy, published in the Calcutta Review for January 1886 an article called "Missionaries to the Mogul Court," and at page 3 he makes two erroneous statements. The first is that Abul Faẓl states that the malevolent rumour of Akbar's hatred to Muhammadanism and of his having become a Brahman, was refuted by the Christian philosophers. Evidently this refers to two

passages in the Akbarnama, Bib. Ind. ed., Vol. III, pp. 272, 73, corresponding to III. 142 of the Cawnpore edition. But though Akbar's alleged dislike to the Muhammadan religion and partiality for Hinduism are there mentioned, nothing is said about the assertions being refuted by the Christians. The second misstatement is more serious. Mr. Rehatsek says: "The only passage in the whole Akbarnāma in which a temporary inclination of Akbar towards Christianity has been alluded to is as follows:"

"He conversed for some time on the religious information he had obtained from Christian priests, but it appeared after a short while, that their arguments had made no great impression upon his mind, so that he troubled himself no more with contemplations about asceticism, the allurements of poverty, and the despicableness of a worldly life."

Now, it would indeed be extraordinary if Abul Faẓl had represented his master as ceasing to be interested in contemplations about asceticism, etc., for he is continually saying the reverse. He is never weary of referring to Akbar's love for a detached and solitary life, and of describing him as keeping the lamp of privacy burning, though apparently engrossed in worldly business or pleasure. In the Memorabilia collected at the end of the Ain we find Akbar saying: "Discourses on philosophy have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected" (Jarrett's translation). It is incredible, too, that any one who aspired to found a new religion would think, or speak, lightly of asceticism. But in fact Abul Faẓl has no such passage as Mr. Rehatsek has ascribed to him. The reference he gives is to the Lucknow ed. III. 208. This corresponds to III. 128 of the Cawnpore ed. and to III, 243, 44 of the Bib. Ind. ed. But the passage does not refer to Akbar at all! It is a description of one 'Abdul Bāqī Turkestānī who had been to Mecca and had picked up some religious notions from Christian philosophers (Aḥbār-i-Naṣārā). "For a time," says Abul Faẓl, "his fluency gained him credit, but it soon appeared that he had not exercised a seeing eye, and had not penetrated to the holy temple of religious observances (or asceticism, *riyāẓat*). He became convinced of his incapacity and of the waste that he had made of his life, and started his studies anew." Probably this means that 'Abdul Bāqī, who is described as being a man of good disposition and as acquainted with philosophy, became one of Akbar's disciples, for we learn from the Ain that he became a Ṣadr or chief minister of religion.

The chapter on Akbar's "Ijtihād" describes the declaration of faith made by the Ulama, but does not give a copy of it. This, however, may be seen in Badayūnī, Lowe's translation, p. 279, and also in the

Tabaqāt-i-Akbari of Niẓām-u-d-dīn, though unfortunately the passage has not been translated in Elliot's History. Curiously enough, Abul Faẓl does not mention his father Mubārak as one of the authors of the declaration. According to Badayūnī, it was Mubārak who drafted the document and who was the chief instigator of it, and the only one who voluntarily signed it. The chapter also tells of Akbar's mounting the pulpit, and gives the verse composed for him by Faizī, though of course it makes no allusion to the break-down described by Badayūnī. Apparently this incident took place in the last week of June 1579, and so about two months before the signing of the declaration which seems to have occurred in the beginning of September of that year. Abul Faẓl however mentions the latter event first, which shows, if proof were needed, that he is not an accurate chronologist. The chapter goes on to notice the opposition excited by Akbar's procedure, and how some accused him of claiming to be God, others of his claiming to be a prophet, while a third set maintained that he was a Shīa, and a fourth that he had turned a Hindu!

There is another chapter in which Abul Faẓl describes the discussions in the 'Ibādatkhāna or "House of worship." This is an earlier chapter and belongs to the 23rd year. (Bib. Ind. ed., III. 252.) This chapter has been partially translated in Elliot, VI. 59, and is famous on account of its mention of Father Rodolfo Acquaviva.[1] Presumably the reference to Acquaviva was inserted in a subsequent recension by the author, for it is wanting in the Lucknow and Cawnpore editions. There can be no doubt that Rodolfo Acquaviva is the person meant, though some MSS. call him Radif and some Raunaq. In an excellent MS. belonging to the India Office, formerly numbered 564, and now 236, the name is spelt very carefully Rudulfu, all the points being given. It is singular, however, that Abul Faẓl should have put his mention of Acquaviva into the 23rd year, *i.e.*, between 10th March 1578 and March 1579, for it is certain that Acquaviva did not reach Fatḥpūr Sīkrī till 18th February 1580[2] and presumably he could not have taken part in the discussions in the Ibadatkhana till some months later, when he might have acquired sufficient fluency in Persian.[3]

[1] This is the spelling of the Father himself at the end of his letter of 27th September 1582 in the Marsden MS. 9854.

[2] Bartoli says, 27th February, and probably 18 is a clerical error for 28. We are told by Bartoli that the land journey from Surat to Fatḥpūr took 43 days, and as they left that place on 15th January, this would make the day of their arrival 27th February. They left Goa on the 17th November 1579 and arrived at Surat after twenty days. Apparently they stayed there for some time. Monserrat fell ill on the way and was left at Narwār, so that only Acquaviva and Enriquez arrived at Fatḥpūr in February.

[3] Rodolfo was a year in Goa before he started for Fatḥpūr, for he landed in

The chronology is important, for it seems to show that the mission of Acquaviva and his companions was doomed to failure from the first, as it is evident that they arrived too late.

Akbar had already made himself Pope, so to speak, and it was not likely that he would abandon his position as Mujtahid and sit at the feet of a young Feringhi Padre. The anachronism is not the only error in Abul Faẓl's account. He misrepresents the story of the proposed ordeal by fire, and represents Acquaviva as doing the very foolish thing of challenging the Muḥammadan doctors to enter a fire. We know both from Badayūnī, and from the Jesuits that the proposal came from a Muḥammadan. In all probability it was, as the Jesuits stated, not a *bonâ fide* proposal. Badayūnī tells us that it came from Shaikh Quṭbu-d-dīn of Jaleswar in the district of Agra. Evidently this is the Shaikh Quṭbu of Jaleswar mentioned in the Akbarnāma III. 309 Bib. Ind. ed. There we are told that he was found out to be a cheat, and worthless outwardly and inwardly. This leads us to suppose that Blochmann is right in translating Badayūnī's word *kharābī* as meaning that he was a wicked man, and that Mr. Lowe is wrong in taking it to mean that he was only intoxicated with Divine love. Badayūnī, I think, meant to say that he was a drunken fanatic, and just such a person as a friend of S. Jamāl Bakhtiyārī was likely to be, for Jamāl was notorious for his drunken habits, and was only tolerated by Akbar because his sister was one of the favourites of the harem.

Akbar's first introduction to the Portuguese was in the 17th year of his reign when he was engaged in besieging the fort of Surat. Abul Faẓl's account of the matter III. 27, is that the Portuguese had been invited by the besieged to take over the fortress, but that when they found Akbar was too strong, they pretended that they had come on an embassy to him (See Elliot, VI. 42). It is likely enough that the Portuguese came with two objects in view. They had been invited by the besieged, just as they had been invited by Bahādur Shāh forty years before, and they probably thought that they would be able to repeat their success and to acquire Surat as they had acquired Diu. But they were also prepared to act as ambassadors to Akbar and took a quantity of presents with them. Akbar, according to Abul Faẓl, received them graciously and asked them many questions about the productions of Portugal, and the customs of the Europeans. It seemed as if he did this from a desire for knowledge, but he had another motive, namely, a wish to tame and civilise this savage race (guroh-i-waḥshī)!

India on 13th September 1578, but probably there were no facilities at Goa for learning Persian. As we have seen he left Goa for Fatḥpūr *viâ* Surat on 17th November 1579. Acquaviva was canonised by the late Pope in 1893.

My friend Mr. Whiteway has kindly referred me to Diego-da-Couto's account in his 9th Decade, Chap. XIII, p. 63, ed. *seq.* of the edition of Lisbon, 1786. It appears from it that the embassy referred to by Abul Faẓl was that which is known as Antonio Cabral's,[1] and which is referred to by General Maclagan in a note at p. 48.

Couto does not say distinctly where the embassy was received by Akbar. Probably this took place at Surat, though there may also have been negociations at Damān. The fact is that Akbar was as anxious to conciliate the Portuguese as the Portuguese were to please him. For his stepmother Ḥājī Begam and also other ladies wished to visit Mecca, and could not do so without the favour of the Portuguese. It is therefore quite possible that, as Couto states, Akbar had previously sent an embassy to the Viceroy. Couto gives a translation of a *firmān* granted by Akbar on 18th March 1573, that is ten days after Akbar had left Surat. Possibly this was granted at Broach, where Akbar halted on his way from Surat to Aḥmadābād. Couto also tells us that Akbar was waited upon by the Portuguese merchants at Cambay and that he assumed the Portuguese dress there.

In the annals of the 23rd year Abul Faẓl records III. 243, the arrival from Bengal of a Portuguese named Partāb Bār and his wife Nashūrna[2] or Nasunta. He describes Partāb Bār as an officer of the merchants of the ports of Bengal. Afterwards, p. 320, he refers to him as giving protection to one of the Bengal rebels, and Blochmann, Ain translation 440, calls him the Portuguese governor of Hooghly. If this is so, the Portuguese records should give his name, for presumably they contain a list of the governors. As remarked in Elliot, VI. 59, where the passage from the Akbarnama is translated, the names of Partāb and his wife are very doubtful.

There are several variations in the MSS., and among them is the reading Tab Bārsū, which the author of the Darbār-i-Akbarī seems to have found in his MS. (see his work, p. 67.) He also does not appear to have found any mention of Partāb's wife, and indeed the fact that the lady did come is not free from doubt, for there are, I believe, other MSS. which omit her name. However, I think that there can be no reasonable doubt that Partāb Bār or Tār is either a corruption or the

[1] Du Jarric also speaks of an embassy of Cabral's in March 1578, and in this he is supported by the authorities, *e.g.*, Peruschi, who ascribes Akbar's original liking for the Christians to Antonio Cabral's communications. He, however, also makes mention of Tavares. He gives the name of the priests of Sātgāon as Julian Pereira.

[2] Variously called Nashurna, Nasunta, and Basurba. Possibly, as a lady has suggested to me, the name is Assunta, and the N belongs to the title Donna. Or it may be that the alif of ba, "with" is the first letter of her name.

Indian title of Pietro Tavares, a Portuguese captain who was at Akbar's Court in 1578. His mission to Akbar is mentioned by Sebastian Manrique—Murray's Discoveries in Asia, p. 11, 99—who says he went up from Hooghly. Bartoli, on the other hand (Missione al Gran Mogor, Piacenza, 1819, p. 5) describes him as a military servant of Akbar. Tavares, apparently, deserves the credit of having been the first to introduce Portuguese priests to Akbar. He induced him to send for Egidio Anes Pereira, or Julian Pereira, the vicar of Sātgāon, and then the latter suggested to Akbar that he should send for priests from Goa. It was this which led to Akbar's sending an ambassador to Goa, and to the mission of Rodolfo Acquaviva and his companions. According to Bartoli, Akbar had already been favourably impressed by the honesty of two priests who had come to Bengal some three years previously, and had rebuked their countrymen for cheating the imperial government in the matter of the customs.

The exact date of the arrival of Tavares and Pereira is not known, but presumably it was in 1578. Tavares is represented by Bartoli as remarking to Akbar that the priests would be better able to instruct him in religion than the Brahmans and Mullas by whom he was surrounded. This is an allusion to the discussions in the 'Ibādatkhāna which, as we learn from the Akbarnāma III. 252, were re-inaugurated about the beginning of October 1578. The building, however, had been constructed some three years before this—Akbarnāma III, 112.[1]

General Maclagan has touched, p. 53, upon the interesting question of Akbar's Christian wife. It is not certain if there was such a lady, but possibly she was some relation of Tavares.

Colonel Kincaid in an article in the Asiatic Quarterly Review, Vol. III, p. 164, speaks of a Juliana who married John Philip Bourbon, and who was Akbar's sister-in-law, and the Catholic Bishop of Agra told Dr. Wolff that there was a Juliana who acted as a Doctor in Akbar's harem. Possibly, however, there has been a mistake of dates, and the lady Juliana meant is the lady who flourished in the time of Aurangzeb and Bahādur Shāh[2].

General Maclagan has quoted a passage from Badayūnī about a question put by Hājī Ibrāhīm regarding the derivation of the word Musa. A Qazi's son afterwards made a remark about this which was much

1 Abul Faẓl puts the construction of the building into the 19th year of the reign, and Niẓāmu-d-dīn puts it into the 20th year. It was begun in the month Ẓu-l-qa'da which, according to the Akbarnāma III. 334, is a month in which kindness should be shown to heretics.

2 Colonel Kincaid's article appeared in the Asiatic Quarterly Review for January 1887, p. 164. He describes John Philip Bourbon as having been born in 1535.

applauded, but of which the point is invisible to us. The author of the Darbār-i-Akbarī tells the story as a joke, p. 39, but fails to explain it. Possibly the point consisted in an allusion to the 'Īsā who was a rebel in Bengal, or it may be that the point consisted in asking an ignorant man like Akbar the explanation of a grammatical nicety.

A more interesting reference to Christianity is found at p. 256 of Vol. III of the Akbarnāma, where Akbar, in the course of speaking about the Hindu custom of Satī, observed to the Catholic priests that such sacrifice of life on the part of women would be more comprehensible in their country, as respect to women was part of their religion, and also as there a man was confined to one wife.

At p. 42 General Maclagan quotes a passage from the Akbarnáma (Bib. Ind. ed. III. 577) about one Padre Farmaleūn.

Formerly I suggested that this might be Fra Emmanuel Pinheiro, but General Maclagan has shown that this is untenable.

I have now scarcely any doubt that the person meant is, as General Maclagan has suggested, the Greek Sub-deacon Leo, or Leon Grimon. Probably Abul Faẓl rendered the initial G by a Q and wrote قرملیون and the copyist missed one dot, which is all the difference betwen *fā* and *qāf* when the letters are joined. The dictionaries tell us that *qāf* is sometimes used for *gāf*, and indeed this must be the case in Arabic as that language has no G. An India Office MS. has Farbītūn, and another has Farmīlūn. There is also the form Farībtūn. Apparently the surname has been placed before the Christian name and the name written as if it were Grimonleon.

What helps us to identify Grimon the Greek with Farmaleon is that Abul Faẓl tells us that Padre Farmaleon was employed in making translations of Greek books. It would seem that though Grimon or Farmaleūn came from Goa, he had not come from Europe.

He had been returning to his own country when he touched at Goa, and presumably he was on his way home from China, for his companions brought China goods with them. That Grimon stayed on at Akbar's court for a considerable time we know from Du Jarric's account, who tells us that Grimon had a crown a day from Akbar, and that he relinquished this, and also left his wife behind him when he accompanied Benedict Goes to Yārkand.[1] Abul Faẓl's account enables us to know the date of Grimon's arrival at Lahore, for what he tells is, that he arrived on 26th Farwardīn of the 35th year, that is, 5th or 6th April 1590. This makes it impossible that Farmileūn is a mistake for Edward Leioton, as the latter one did not arrive till 1591. Leioton, too, did not stay

1 Du Jarric says Yarkand, but apparently Sir Henry Yule says that Grimon turned back at Kabul.

long at Court, and his mission was not at all a success. It is unlikely therefore that Abul Faẓl would mention him. On the other hand, Grimon seems to have stayed many years at Court, for he came in 1590 and left with Goes on 15th February 1603. As he left his newly-married wife behind him, he probably returned to Agra from Kabul or Yārkand.

At p. 56 General Maclagan gives a translation of Rodolfo Acquaviva's letter of 27th September 1582, which is in the Marsden M.S.B.M. Add. M.S.S. 9854. The translation, however, seems inferior to that given in Father Goldie's book (1897).

Father Goldie also gives in an Appendix the original Portuguese. The words Dottor Imperbicado, or Impervicado, which were applied to Mubārak by Father Monserrat, present a difficulty, the word Imperbicado not being found in any dictionary. General Maclagan renders it "self-sufficient," but it seems to me from the context that the word was used as a compliment. I would suggest Imporfiado, which might mean Not-obstinate, *i.e.*, liberal or open-minded, which, indeed, was Mubārāk's character. In a note to the translation by Mr. Phillips in Father Goldie's book, it is said that the phrase is obviously a nickname.

General Maclagan's account of the 2nd and 3rd Missions is very interesting, but I have nothing to add to the information contained in it.[1]

[1] There is an interesting passage about Akbar's religious discussions in the Zubdatu-t-Tawārīkh of Nūr-al-ḥaq.—*See* Elliot, VI. 182.

On 'Isā Khān, the ruler of Bhāṭī, in the time of Akbar.—By H. Beveridge.

[Read December, 1903.]

In 1874 Dr. Wise published in our Journal a valuable account of the Bāra Bhūyas of Eastern Bengal, and he followed this up by a supplementary paper in 1875. J.A.S.B. XLIII, p. 197 and id. XLIV, 181. At p. 209 of his first paper there is the account of Isā Khān. Dr. Wise, in his modest way, expressed the hope that his notices might excite others to add further particulars, and to complete what is still wanting of the history of Bengal to the final conquest by the Muhammadans. The object of this present paper is to add some particulars about 'Isā Khān from the third volume of the Akbarnāma, a source which has not been directly used by Dr. Wise.

It is a curious circumstance that Abul Faẓl in the Āīn, Jarrett II, 117, calls 'Isā, 'Isā Afghan,[1] for in the Akbarnāma III, 432, he says that his father was a Bais Rājpūt, that is, a Rājpūt belonging to Baiswāra in Oudh. (See Elliot's Supp. Glossary, ed. by Beames I, 13.) This seems to indicate that the Áīn was written first, and before Abul Faẓl had received correct information. The account in the Akbarnāma agrees with the family tradition mentioned by Dr. Wise that 'Isā's father was a Bais Rājpūt whose name was Kāli Dās Gajdānī, and that when he became a Muhammadan he received the title of Sulaimān Khān. Abul Faẓl tells us, that the father settled in the fluviatile region of Bengal and became a rebel. In the reign of Salīm Shāh, the the son of Sher Shāh, Tāj Khān, the elder brother of Sulaimān Karārānī, and Daryā Khān were sent against him. After severe fighting he gave in, and was pardoned. But soon afterwards he rebelled again and was, by stratagem, made a prisoner and put to death. His two sons, 'Isā and Ishmael were sold to merchants and carried off into Central Asia. When Salīm Shāh died (1554), Qutbu-d-dīn Khān, their father's brother, behaved well, and after much searching found his two

1 So in text, but the India Office MSS. Nos. 235 and 236 have a quite different name, viz., Mashhadī.

nephews and brought them back to Bengal. One would like to think that this good uncle was the Qutbu-d-dīn who left Sher Shāh and became a recluse in disgust of the king's breach of faith towards Pūran Mal. 'Isā was remarkable for ability and prudence and rose to be at the head of the twelve zamindars of Bengal. Abul Faẓl's language, if construed strictly, means that there were 12 zamindars exclusive of 'Isā, but this is not Pimenta's statement. According to a tradition preserved by the Jangalbārī family he married Fātima a daughter of one Saiyid Ibrāhīm. Another tradition, Wise 202, is that he married a daughter of Cānd Rai of Bikrampūr. Abul Faẓl calls him the ruler (*marzbān*) of Bhātī and says that though he always professed to be submissive to the rulers of Bengal, *i.e.*, Sulaimān Kararānī and Dāūd, he had the good sense not to visit them. On the same page he gives the boundaries of Bhātī, and does so in a way which has puzzled Professor Dowson (Elliott VI, 73) and myself. For he talks of Bhātī being a tract which has Tānda on the south, and the ocean and the termination of the mountains of Thibet on the north! There surely must be some copyist's mistake, but all the MSS. tell the same story. A possible interpretation is that the words mean South of Tanda and North of the ocean and the terminations of the hills of Tipperah. Blochmann 342 n.I. has "from N.S., from Thibet to the ocean." Abul Faẓl goes on at pp. 433 and 438 to describe Shahbāz Khān's campaigns against 'Isā in 1584. At pp. 433 he says that Shahbāz took the two forts which had been erected on each side of the Ganges at Khiẓrpūr "as this was the thoroughfare to and from Bhātī." Then he took Sonārgāon, and the populous city of Karābūh which was 'Isā's residence. After that he hastened to Bāra Sindūr, which is a great city, and obtained much booty. Then he emerged into the Brahmaputra. He was nearly catching the rebel Ma'ṣūm Kābulī, when 'Isā came back from Cuch Bihar with a large army. The imperialists had now to act on the defensive and took up their quarters in Toke (Totak in text) which is on the bank of the Brahmaputra, and opposite Agara Sindur (Kinara Sindur in text) and built a fort there. Then Shahbāz sent for Tarsān Khān to march from Bhowāl (N. of Dacca and also known as Nāgarī) towards Khizrpūr and disconcert the enemy by attacking them on another side. Unfortunately Tarsān was rash and was cut off by Ma'ṣūm who had taken refuge in the islands, (or more probably, the peninsula, Jazīra) between the Lakhia and the Brahmaputra.

It will be seen from the above that 'Isā's residence was at Karābūh and not at Khizrpur, and the question is where was this town. The Bib. Ind. gives the variant Katrabūh and the Lucknow ed. has also this form. The name occurs again at p. 733 in connection with

'Īsā's naval fight with Rajah Mān Singh's son Durjan Singh, in which the latter was defeated and killed. There too we have the variant Katrabūh. In both cases the India office M.S. No. 236 has Kaṣrābūh which only differs by one dot from Katrābūh. The India Office MS. 235 has Katrābūh or Katrālūh. The Maaṣir-ul-Umra II, 474, has Katrāpūr. I think then that we may take it that Katrābūh is the correct reading, and it is evident that this is the Katrabo of Dr. Wise's paper, which he describes as being still the residence of descendants of 'Īsā Khān. J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 211. See also p. 214 where Katrabo in Sarkar Bāzūhā is mentioned in a *sanad* belonging to the Jangalbārī family. Bakhtarāpur which is mentioned by Dr. Wise as 'Isā's residence is only given doubtfully by Mr. Blochmann, and appears to be a misreading for Katrābūh, the first letter *b* having been taken as part of the name, instead of as a preposition. It will be seen from Dr. Wise's paper that "Catrabo" is mentioned by Sebastian Manrique who was in Bengal in the first half of the 17th century, as one of the twelve provinces. Upon this Dr. Wise remarks: "Catrabo is Katrabo, now a *tappa* on the Lakhya opposite Khiẓrpūr and which for long was the property of the descendants of 'Īsā Khān." There does not appear to be any town or village of the name of Katrābo now in existence, and a *tappa* of course may be a pretty large area. I imagine that the *tappa* is what appears in the Āīn Jarrett II, p. 138, as Katārmalbāzū and which yielded a revenue of nearly three million of *dāms* (about Rs. 75,000). In the text of the Āīn, p. 404, we have the variant Katābal, and Tiefenthaler gives Katārbal. Now in Rennel's map of the Meghna to the head of the Lakhia, as reproduced in Tiefenthaler Vol. III., we have a place marked Goraboe N. of Dacca and on the right bank of the Lakhia or Banār, a little north of Ekdallah. May not this be Katrābūh? It seems evident that Shahbāz Khān after capturing Sonargāon sailed up the Lakhia, or marched along its banks to Agarasindur and Toke and then came out on the Brahmaputra, *i.e.*, what was the Brahmaputra then and is still so called by the natives. The Kināra Sindur of the text is, I have no doubt, Agarasindur in the Mymensingh district, opposite Toke and which in my time was another name for the Nikli thana. Goraboe is near the site of Doordooreah marked on Taylor's map in his topography of Dacca, and described by him at pp. 112-114. It is true that he marks Doordooreah as on the left bank of the Lakhya, but apparently the town and the fort were on opposite sides, p. 113. His words are: "At one of these localities in thana Kapāsia, known in the present day by the name of Doordooreah, and situated upon the banks of the Banār, about eight miles above Akdalla, are to be seen the remains of a fort

and opposite to it the foundations of a town, both of which it is said were built and occupied by the Booneah Rajahs." By Booneah Dr. Taylor means the dynasty which according to him preceded the Pāl kings, and of whom there is some account in Buchanan and in Mr. Gait's paper on the Koc kings of Kāmrūp. J.A.S.B. for 1893, p. 281. But the word Booneah is the same as Bhūya and as the Boiones of Manrique and Du. Jarric, Wise, J.A.S.B. for 1875, p. 181, and is as applicable to the Bārah Bhūyas of the 16th century as to the mythical Buddhists. Taylor also at p. 163 speaks of 'Īsā's contemporary Cānd Rai as being a Booneah! At all events, Doordoorea was occupied by Muḥammadans, if not built by them, for Taylor speaks of the foundations of a *dargāh* and mosque there. Taylor's description shows that the ruins are, or were, very extensive, and he suggests that they may really be the site of Ekdalla as the place commonly known by that name and which is further down the river, has no remains of a fort.

At p. 438 Abul Faẓl tells us how Shahbāz Khān had to retreat in the following year (1585) in disgrace from the country of Bhātī. He had encamped on the banks of the Panār, *i.e.*, the Banār, a river which, as Taylor says, unites the Brahmaputra (*i.e.*, the old Brahmaputra) and the Lakhia. Shahbāz lay there for seven months and had frequent engagements with 'Īsā. At one time he was successful and obtained an agreement from 'Īsā that he would allow a royal officer, *viz.*, a *darogha* to be stationed in the port of Sonārgāon, but eventually he had to break up his camp and to retreat, first to Sherpūr Murca in Bogra (on the Karatoya) and then to Tānda, with the loss of all his baggage and of many men. The causes of this disaster were the sickness of his troops, his quarrels with the officers, and the flooding of his camp. This was effected by 'Īsā's having the bank of the Brahmaputra cut in fifteen places. From this fact it seems evident that Shahbāz' camp was near the head of the Banār, *i. e.*, it was near Toke well known to all travellers by water as a charmingly wooded spot near where the Banār or Sītal Lakhia leaves the old Brahmaputra. It was about a year after this, namely, in 1586, that Ralph Fitch was at Sonārgaon. His remark was that "the chief king of all these countries was called Isacan, and he is the chief of all the other kings, and is a great friend to the Christians!" Perhaps it is not too fanciful to suppose that his liking for the Christians was partly the result of his bearing the name of their Lord. Fitch's statement however is somewhat opposed to Pimenta's remark that the conversion of Bengal was delayed by the circumstance that nine of the twelve princes were Muhammadans. At pp. 461, 479, 632, 672, 697, 711, 714, 716 and 733 of the Akbarnāma, Vol, III, there are various references to 'Īsā Khān, and we are told more than once of

his making submission and sending presents. But he was never really subdued, and his swamps and creeks enabled him to preserve his independence as effectually as the Aravalli Hills protected Rānā Pratāp of Udaipūr. At p. 733 there is an account of 'Isā's defeating and killing Durjan Singh the son of Rajah Mān Singh. Perhaps the story in Dr. Wise's paper, p. 213, about 'Īsā's slaying Mān Singh's son-in-law in single combat is a reminiscence of this naval battle. At p. 763 we are told of 'Īsā's death, which took place in the 44th year of Akbar's reign and in the year 1008, 1599-1600. Dr. Wise, p. 210, says that 'Īsā left two sons Musa and Diwan [1] Muḥammad Khān of whom nothing is known. But according to Abul Faẓl p. 809 'Īsā had a son named Dāūd who gave Mān Singh some trouble. Dāud apparently was in league with Kedar the ruler of Bikrampūr and Sarharpūr and who evidently is the Kedar Rai of Bikrampūr, Wise, *i.e.*, 202.

In Mr. Gait's paper, already referred to, pp. 290-91, there is a reference to wars between the "Gaur Pāshā" and the Rajah of Kūc Bihār, and we are told that Silarai was defeated (see p. 290) and taken prisoner and afterwards released on account of his curing the Gaur Pāshā's mother of a snake-bite. There we are told that the Gaur Pāshā's mother afterwards died and that Nar Narayan and Akbar combined to attack the Gaur Pāshā. Silarai invaded his kingdom on the east and Mān Singh from the west. The result was that the Gaur Pāshā was defeated and had to fly to the Faringhis. Further on Mr. Gait remarks, p. 297, that the Mussalman historians of the period make no mention of the assistance said to have been rendered by Nar Narayan in the subjugation of Dāūd Shāh. I submit that the apparent omission has been caused by Mr. Gait's assuming that the Gaur Pāshā meant was Dāūd Shāh. The Kūc Bihār records apparently do not say so, and if we substitute 'Isā Khān for Dāūd, the difficulty disappears. It is true that 'Isā is not called Gaur Pāshā by the Muhammadan historians, but neither is Dāūd, and the latter and his father before him lived at Tānda and not at Gaur. Gaur is an old name for a part of the Bāqirganj district, and we find the title Gauriya assumed by another pretender to the throne of Bengal. 'Isā too might well be called Gaur Pāshā for he is said to have ruled to the confines of Kūc Bihār. The story about the snake-bite can hardly apply to Dāūd Shāh's mother Nolakhha who surrendered to Khān Jahān and was sent up to Fatḥpūr. Neither was Mān Singh employed in Bengal in the time of Dāūd Shāh. He was so employed in the time of 'Īsā, and at p. 733 we find it recorded that Mān Singh acted in conjunction with Lachmī Narain of Kūc Bihār and that

[1] Perhaps the Diwan Kot 4 m. above Khiẓrpūr and on the right bank Lakhia is a memento of this son.

he saved the latter, although in the river-combat Mān Singh's son was defeated and killed. We know also from p. 716 that 'Īsā supported the Pātkūār against Lachmī Narain, and we have in Dr. Wise's paper, p. 213, a reference to a victory obtained over the Koc Rajah. It is curious that the Kūc Bihār chronicle should speak of the Gaur Pāsha's taking refuge with the Faringhis (Mr. Gait's paper, p. 291) and that Dr. Wise should mention the tradition that 'Īsā fled to Chittagong. Dāūd Khān certainly never did this, and indeed in his time there were probably no Faringhi settlements to fly to.

Postscript.

Katrābuh is probably identical with the Catebarry of Taylor, Topography of Dacca, p. 64, where it is stated that "Harish Candra, one of the Booneah Rajahs, resided at Catebarry near Sābar." This statement is repeated in the Statistical Account of Bengal V, 118, where the place is called "Katibārī near Sābhār. In the list of fiscal divisions in the same volume, pp. 139-141, this is entered as No. 93 Kāthorābo tappō.

I take this opportunity of suggesting that Dr. Taylor's very valuable work should be reprinted. He seems to have been the real father of statistical inquiries in Bengal.

I also take the opportunity of suggesting that the unintelligible southern boundary for the country of Bhātī given by Abul Faẓl, *viz.*, "South Tānda," may be a mistake for Lānda which in the Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn is given as one of the boundaries of Orissa. I do not however know what place is meant by the author of the Riyāẓ. The passage occurs at p. 15, line 10 of his work; and the full boundary is Lāndā Dalūl لاندا دلول. Bhātī is sometimes regarded as being merely a strip of land extending along the coast of Bengal. Thus Colonel Jarrett describes it in his translation of the Āīn II, 116, n. 3, as "the coast-strip of the Sunderbans from Hijlī to the Meghna." But according to Abul Faẓl's description it was a very large tract of country, and its breadth from N.E.S. was 300 kos or more than Bengal whose breadth from N.E.S. was only 200 kos. Apparently it included the whole of East Bengal, together with much of Sylhet. The eastern boundary of Bhātī is given by Abul Faẓl as Ḥabsha, or as Jasur (the MSS. do not agree), and Professor Dowson has rendered this as Jessore, Elliot VI, 73. But Abul Faẓl calls the boundary a *Wilāyat* or Country, and Jessore was not even a Sarkar in his time, but only an alternative name for a pargana. I therefore believe that the boundary meant is Jaintia which in the Āīn is spelt Jesā Jarrett, II, 139. Perhaps this may help to explain Abul Faẓl's impossible northern boundary, *viz.*, *yā dāryā-i-shor*

the ocean. Perhaps what he meant, or his informants meant, was *daryā-i-sūrma*, i e., the river Soorma.

As 'Īsā Khān and his brother were sold as slaves, it may be presumed, in spite of the tradition mentioned by Dr. Wise, that their father remained a Hindu, for it seems that a Muḥammadan cannot be sold into slavery by a Muḥammadan.

Numismatic Supplement.

[With Plates I and II.]

This supplement has been started primarily in the hope that coin collectors in India may find it convenient to chronicle in its pages notices of unpublished or rare coins which they may obtain from time to time.

It is also meant to include notes on other subjects of antiquarian and philological interest which by themselves might not afford sufficient material for a paper in the main body of the Journal.

It is a matter of common experience that casual finds by private persons of highly interesting coins are not made public with the freedom that is desirable. Almost all private cabinets contain specimens which their owners have not had any inclination or inducement to publish in any recognised journal.

Public cabinets are also not entirely free from reproach in this matter. Supplements to printed catalogues are brought out at inconveniently long intervals and new acquisitions of interest may thus remain unknown for years except to casual visitors.

The search for Indian coins since the days of Prinsep and Thomas has continued to be keen. The enthusiasm of General Cunningham and Mr. C. J. Rodgers in this direction has made itself widely felt, and the result is that every year brings to light numbers of coins previously unknown to numismatists. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the period covered by the later Muhammadan Sulṭāns of Dehli whose coins were struck not only at the capital but at many of the more prominent towns in their territories. The list of these towns which is a matter of historical and possibly geographical interest is being yearly added to in consequence of private research.

Similarly for progress in the study of ancient Indian history the publication of finds of new coins is all-important.

It is in the help that such notices afford to those engaged on the larger work of tabulating the numismatic records of specific periods

and dynasties that this supplement should be found useful, if coin collectors and those interested in philological and antiquarian matters will but commit their observations to writing, to use the words of Sir William Jones, and send them to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta.

Mediæval Coins.

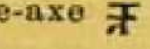
1. *Samudra Gupta.*—A new variety of the Battle-axe type. Pl. I. 1.

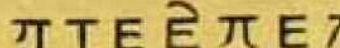
Obverse.—King, standing, leaning on battle-axe and facing left; attendant in left field supporting a standard tipped with a crescent.

Between attendant and king the word

Between king and battle-axe the words.

(*Note.*—The final "ra" and "ta" of "Samudra" and "Gupta" are absent owing to want of space on the coin).

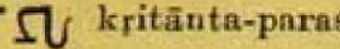
Legend.—To right of battle-axe  kṛtānta.

To left of attend an  tyājitārāja jitajata

Reverse.—Goddess on throne facing front with feet on a single lotus flower in full bloom.

In right hand a fillet, in left hand a lotus flower.

Monogram. . .

Legend.  kṛitānta-paraśu *i.e.* the battle-axe of Kṛtānta. *Weight:* 118 grs.

The novel features in this coin, which was obtained in Lucknow, are (1) the fuller legend on the obverse, (2) the position of the king's name, (3) the lotus flower on the reverse in the goddess's left hand and at her feet.

H. N. Wright, C.S.

2. In our proceedings for 1881, at page 39, a gold coin belonging to the late Mr. R. Nicholson is described. The inscription was read "Śrī Dhairyyarājā" by Dr. Hoernle. The coin is now in my possession, and it seems to me certain that the inscription should be read श्री विघरह or Śrī Vigharaha. The style of the letters would connect it with the same period as the very common silver coins, of the Indo-Sassanian type, which bear the same name, though the devices (obverse, bull Nandi, and lingam; reverse, cow suckling calf) are purely Indian. Pl. I. 2.

R. Burn, C.S.

SULTĀNS OF DEHLI.

3. *Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban*; a new mint. Pl. I. 3. 4.

Towards the close of 1902 a rupee of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban was brought to me, similar in type to the coin illustrated by Thomas (Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli, Pl. II. 42), but differing in its marginal legend. Unfortunately the latter is not perfect. A portion of it is, however, sufficiently preserved to enable the place of mintage to be deciphered with clearness. The legend on the reverse runs

ضربت هذا بخطه سلطانه پور ..... تسع و سبعين وستمايه

[Struck in the district of Sulṭānpūr.....in the year 679 A. H.]

On the obverse, too little of the margin is left to be of any further help. The coin weighs 165 grs.

Twelve months later I came across a confirmation of the above reading on a small copper coin of the same king of the type given by Thomas on p. 135 of his Chronicles No. 115, Plate II, Fig. 45. This little coin on the reverse has instead of بحضرت دهلي the words

بسلطان پور

The coin weighs 31 grs.

To which Sulṭānpūr this coin should be assigned I am unable to say. It cannot be the Sulṭānpūr (Warangal) of the coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak, as Warangal was not named till late in the reign of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlak. There was a Sulṭānpūr within a short distance of old Dehli, but it is unlikely that there should have been two mints in such close proximity.

It is more probable that the "Khiṭa Sulṭānpūr" of Balban was in or near the province of Bengal which was the scene of the principal expedition of that monarch's reign. H. N. WRIGHT, C.S.

MUGHAL EMPERORS OF HINDUSTĀN.

4. *Jahāngīr*..—A new zodiacal mohar. Pl. I. 5.

Obverse.—Ram (Aries) to right looking backward over shoulder within rayed circle.

Reverse.—Within dotted circle.

نگير شاه
اردوي جها
سكه
بادروان تاكه بود
مهر ۲۲
و ماه ۱۰۳۶

The legend forms the following couplet:—

Bād rawān tā ki buwad mihr o Māh
Sikka-i-urdū-i-Jahāngīr Shāh

[May the coin of the camp of Jahāngīr Shāh remain current as long as the sun and moon exist.]

This interesting coin which was found by me in Dehli in October 1902, stands by itself in almost every particular. The most recent publication on the zodiacal coins of Jahāngīr is Monsieur Drouin's article in the "Revue Numismatique" in 1902 (p. 259), in which are described the zodiacal coins in the French "Cabinet des Medailles." The British Museum Catalogue contains an account of the 43 gold specimens in that Museum and Mr. J. S. Gibbs had a valuable paper entitled "Notes on the zodiacal Rupees and Mohars of Jahāngīr" in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1878. These are the most important publications of recent date bearing on the subject, and in none of them is any reference made to a coin resembling the one now described.

Hitherto the only names of mints noticed on the zodiacal coins of Jahāngir have been—

On gold coins: Agra, Lāhore,[1] Ajmir,[2] Aḥmadābād,[3] Fatḥpūr Sīkrī.[4]

On silver coins: Aḥmadābād, Agra (from gold die), Kashmīr, Fatḥpūr Sīkrī.[5]

The present coin must have been struck in the camp (Urdū) of Jahāngīr, and is so far the only coin known to have been so struck by that king. Coins struck by Akbar in his "Urdū" or "Urdū-i-Zafar-qarīn" are met with. The sign of the Ram shews that my coin was struck in the first month (Farwardīn), possibly on the *Nauroz*, of Jahāngīr's 22nd year, corresponding to the seventh month (Rajab) of 1036 A. H. or March 1627 A. D. Where Jahangīr actually was at that time I have not been able to ascertain with any exactitude. In the sixth month of his 21st year he left Kābul for Hindustān (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 429). He went to Lāhore (idem p. 431), and in his 22nd year appears to have gone to Kashmīr (idem p. 435). He died 8 months later (28 Safar 1037 A.H.) on his way back to Lāhore. Probably he was on his way from Lāhore to Kashmīr when the present coin was issued.

Further, no other zodiacal coin is known of so late date. The latest specimen in the British Museum is dated 1033. M. Drouin,

[1] M. Drouin describes and figures a Sagittarius struck at Lahore in the name of Nūrjahān.

[2] Gibbs A.S.B. Prog. 1883.

[3] B.M.C. No. 357 and Drouin (p. 9 of paper).

[4] See Gibbs, J.A.S. Bom: 1878; the coins belonged to Col. Guthrie.

[5] White King and Vost, Num. Chron: 1896, Vol XVI, p. 155.

though on p. 11 of his article he remarks that the period of zodiacal coins extends from 1019 to 1036, states on p. 15 of the same paper "les années de frappe vont donc de 1019 à 1035 pour le monnayage d'argent alors qu'elles oscillent entre 1025 et 1034 pour les mohrs." A rūpee (Taurus) struck at Agra in 1035, which is in the Cabinet des Médailles, bears the latest date given by him. Mr. Gibbs remarked: "The latest date among my own gold is Cancer 1034-20, and among the silver 1027-13 * * * Marsden gives ..... 1034-19 as the latest gold with the exception of the rare Sagittarius at Paris which has Nūrjahān Begam's name on the reverse and which is 1035-20."

The engraving both of the obverse and reverse dies is particularly fine, and I believe that no other zodiacal mohar is known with the figure of the Ram to the right. The reverse legend adds a new couplet to those hitherto recorded on the coins of Jahāngir. The coin weighs 168 grs.

5. *On the date of the Salīmī Coins.* Pl. I. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

It is well-known that a series of coins issued from the Aḥmadābād mint in the name of Sulṭān Salīm Shāh, son of Akbar Shāh. Now this Salīm on mounting the imperial throne assumed the name of Jahāngīr[1] and accordingly it is not strange that the Salīmī silver rupees and copper tānkīs have generally been assigned to some period prior to his accession. The British Museum Catalogue, for instance, attributes them to Jahāngīr as Governor of Gujarāt. Unfortunately for this hypothesis, however, the prince Salīm never was Governor of Gujarāt. Below is the list of all the viceroys appointed by the Emperor Akbar from the date of his subjugation of the province in A.D. 1573 until the accession of Jahāngīr in A.D. 1605.

1.	Mirzā 'Azīz Koka ...	...	A.D. 1573-1575.
2.	Mirzā 'Abd al Raḥīm Khān	...	1575-1577.
3.	Shihāb al dīn Aḥmad Khān	...	1577-1583.

[1] Jahāngīr, the eldest son of the Emperor Akbar the Great, "was named "Mirzā Salīm on account of his coming into the world, as supposed, by the prayers "of Shaikh Salīm Cishtī, a venerable Shaikh and dervish who resided in the village "of Sikri, now called Fatehpūr Sikrī, in the province of Agra." Beale: Oriental Biographical Dictionary (1894), page 191. My friend, Mr. J. J. Ghose, M.A., of Ahmadābad, has kindly supplied me the following extract from the Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī: "After my birth I was named Sulṭān Salīm. But I never heard the blessed "lips of my father address me either seriously or in jest as Muḥammad Salīm or "Sulṭān Salīm. He always called me Shekho Bābā ..... When I became King it "came into my mind that I should change my name (Salīm) because of its resem-"blance to the names of the Qaisars of Turkey. The Heavenly Inspirer put into "my heart that, as the work of Kings is to conquer the world, I should call myself "Jahāngīr."

4.	I'timād Khān Gujarāti ...	...	1583-1584.
5.	Mirzā 'Abd al Raḥīm Khān (2nd time).	...	1584-1587.
6.	Ismā'īl Qulī Khān	...	1587.
7.	Mirzā 'Azīz Koka (2nd time) ...	...	1588-1592.
8.	Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh ...	...	1592-1600.
9.	Mirzā 'Azīz Koka (3rd time) ...	...	1600-1606.

Not only is Salīm's name absent from this list, but, inasmuch as in all the thirty-two years the viceroyalty was never vacant, no loop-hole even remains for the conjecture that Salīm may at some time have held the Office of Governor.

It is true that towards the end of Akbar's reign Salīm rose in rebellion, but the disaffection was shortlived[1] and apparently was confined to the Allahābād District. No trace of it seems to have reached the distant Aḥmadābād.

If then Salīm's coins were not struck by him either as Viceroy or as rebel, we are evidently shut up to the conclusion that they were issued by his orders as Emperor. And if this be the case, we may safely affirm that they must have been struck in the very earliest part of his reign—before his newly adopted name Jahāngīr had quite come into vogue. On this point the evidence of the coins themselves is instructive. They bear no Hijrī year, but, as generally read, they have alongside of the name of the month of issue either the year 2 or the year 5. Not a single Salīmī coin is known of the year 1 or 3 or 4, and none of any year later than 5. How to account for the strange lacuna was long a puzzle. The first clue to a solution was given by Mr. Nelson Wright who noticed that the coins supposed to read the year 5 do, as a matter of fact, read 50. The Persian figure 5 is here written as a small circle, and accordingly the following digit, zero, is represented merely by a dot. On several badly struck specimens the 5 appears clear enough, but in the process of coining the 0, which came nearer the edge of the die, has simply missed the flan altogether. On other specimens again the dot has been quite worn away. My own collection, however, contains five of these Salīmī rupees with the 50 written distinctly as O. With this clue in our hand the tangle all unravels. And in this way: —

Clearly the 50 represents the 50th (or last) solar year of Akbar's reign, his Ilāhī 50, and the 2 the next succeeding solar year. In the earlier months of the Ilāhī 50 Akbar was still on the throne, and the coins of these months bore his name. In the first week of the 8th

1 Referring to Salīm's rebellion Manouchi writes: "He repaired the disobedience of a few months by a sincere application ever after to all the offices of a dutiful son." Catrou's Manouchi (English Translation, 1709), page 134.

month of that year—on the 6th day of Ābān—Salīm mounted the throne. Forthwith in that same month of Ábān coins were struck at the Aḥmadābād mint in the name of Salīm, but bearing still as their date the year 50. Each succeeding month of that year Salīm's coins issued from Aḥmadābād, these coins showing the name of the month of issue and the year 50. When the new solar year began the same type of coin was struck, but with the date Farwardīn 2, and during the first four months of this year 2 that issue continued with the mere change consequent upon the change of month. In the fifth month Salīm (or, as he was now called, Jahāngīr) introduced his new type of coin—the well known "heavy rupees"[1]—with their entirely new legend. Besides substituting his imperial name Jahāngīr for his birth-name Salīm, he also so far at least as the Aḥmadābād coins are concerned, dropped the year 2 from these coins, and now for the first time admitted the year 1. As yet only one New Year's Day (of the solar year) had occurred in his reign, and he now elected to count from that day his Ilāhī year 1.[2]

Thereafter most of his coins bore both the date of the Hijrī (lunar) year and also the number of the regnal (solar) year—thus 1015-1, 1015-2, 1016-2, 1016-3, 1017-3, &c &c.

In order to indicate the precise period to which the coins struck for Salīm at Aḥmadābād should, in my opinion, be assigned, I have drawn up the following Table of Synchronisms of the Arabic and Persian months for the three years beginning 10th March, O.S., 1605. In the Wāqi'āt-i-Jahāngīrī it is definitely stated that the third solar year of Jahāngīr's reign opened on a "Thursday, the 2nd of Ẓu'l ḥijja, corresponding with the 1st of Farwardīn." Dowson-Elliot: VI. 316. With this as starting-point the construction of a Table of monthly synchronisms for the three preceding years presents no difficulty. It is only necessary to bear in mind—

(*a*) that in the Hijrī year months of 30 and 29 days alternate, one day being added to the last (short) month of any intercalary year;

(*b*) and that in the Persian year each month is of 30 days, but that 5 days—the gāthās—are always added to the end of the last month.

[1] The Ilāhī rupees of Akbar and Salīm's rupees invariably weigh each just a few grains under 180, but Jahāngīr's heavy rupees rose at a bound to 215, and three years later to 222 grains.

[2] "Jahāngīr counts the years of his reign by the solar reckoning, and the first "year of his reign as commencing on the New Year's Day next after his accession, "with the entrance of the Sun into Aries, which corresponded with the 11th Ẓu'l "qa'da, 1014 A.H. (10th March, 1606 A.D.)." Dowson-Elliot, History of India, VI. 290, note 2.

TABLE OF MONTHLY SYNCHRONISMS.

28 Shawwāl	1013 = New Year's day of 50th solar year in Akbar's reign.[1] = 9 March, O.S., 1605.	
	= 1 Farwardin	50 of Akbar.
30 Ẕu'l qa'da	1013 = 1 Ardībihisht	50 „ „
1 Muḥarram	1014 = 1 Khūrdād	50 „ „
1 Ṣafar	1014 = 1 Tīr	50 „ „
2 Rabī' I	1014 = 1 Amardād	50 „ „
2 Rabī' II	1014 = 1 Shahrīwar	50 „ „
3 Jumādā I	1014 = 1 Mihr	50 „ „
3 Jumādā II	1014 = 1 Ābān	50 „ „
3-8 Jumādā II	1014 = 1-6 Ābān	50 „ „
8 Jumādā II	1014 = 6 Ābān	50 „ „ = 11 October, O.S., 1605.

Salīm ascends the throne.[2]

8 Jumādā II—3 Rajab	1014 = 6-30 Abān	50 of Salīm.
4 Rajab	1014 = 1 Āẕar	50 „ „
4 Sha'bān	1014 = 1 Dai	50 „ „
5 Ramaẓān	1014 = 1 Bahman	50 „ „
5 Shawwāl	1014 = 1 Isfandārmuz	50 „ „
11 Ẕu'l qa'da	1014 = New Year's day of 1st solar year in Jahāngīr's reign,[3] corresponding to 10 March, O.S., 1606.	
	= 1 Farwardīn	2 of Salīm.
11 Ẕu'l ḥijja	1014 = 1 Ardībihisht	2 „ „ [4]
11 Muḥarram	1015 = 1 Khūrdād	2 „ „
11 Ṣafar	1015 = 1 Tīr	2 „ „
12 Rabī' I	1015 = 1 Amardād	1015-1 of Jahāngīr.
12 Rabī' II	1015 = 1 Shahrīwar	1015-1 „ „
13 Jumādā I	1015 = 1 Mihr	1015-1 „ „
13 Jumādā II	1015 = 1 Ābān	1015-1 „ „
14 Rajab	1015 = 1 Āẕar	1015-1 „ „
14 Sha'bān	1015 = 1 Dai	1015-1 „ „
15 Ramaẓān	1015 = 1 Bahman	1015-1 „ „

[1] Brit. Mus. Catal. of Indian Coins—the Mughal Emperors, page lxii. Also Cunningham's Book of Indian Eras, p. 225.

[2] Cf. D. E. VI. 284. The date 8 Jumādā ii, 1014 A.H., corresponds not to the 12th but to the 11th October, 1605 A.D.

[3] D. E. VI. 290, note 2.

[4] 1014 H. was an intercalary year, and thus its month Ẕu'l ḥijja contained 30 days.

15 Shawwāl	1015 = 1	Isfandārmuz	1015-1	of Jahāngīr.
21 Ẕu'l qa'da	1015 = New Year's day of 2nd solar year in Jahāngīr's reign.[1] = 10 March, O.S., 1607.			
	= 1	Farwardīn	1015-2	of Jahāngīr.
21 Dhu'l ḥijja	1015 = 1	Ardībihisht	1015-2	„ „
22 Muḥarram	1016 = 1	Khūrdād	1016-2	„ „
22 Ṣafar	1016 = 1	Tīr	1016-2	„ „
23 Rabī' I	1016 = 1	Amardād	1016-2	„ „
23 Rabī' II	1016 = 1	Shahrīwar	1016-2	„ „
24 Jumādā I	1016 = 1	Mihr	1016-2	„ „
24 Jumādā II	1016 = 1	Ābān	1016-2	„ „
25 Rajab	1016 = 1	Āẕar	1016-2	„ „
25 Sha'bān	1016 = 1	Dai	1016-2	„ „
26 Ramaḍān	1016 = 1	Bahman	1016-2	„ „
26 Shawwāl	1016 = 1	Isfandārmuz	1016-2	„ „
2 Ẕu'l ḥijja	1016 = New Year's day of 3rd solar year in Jahāngīr's reign.[2] = 9 March, O.S., 1608.			
	= 1	Farwardīn	1016-3	of Jahāngīr.
2 Muḥarram	1017 = 1	Ardībihisht	1017-3	„ „
2 Ṣafar	1017 = 1	Khurdād	1017-3	„ „
3 Rabī 'I	1017 = 1	Tīr	1017-3	„ „
&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	

From this Table it appears that the Salīmī coins find their place between Akbar's and Jahāngīr's, and that the period of their issue covered nine *consecutive* months. In complete accord with the arrangement indicated in the Table my collection shows, either in silver or in copper, Akbar's coins struck month by month from Farwardīn till Mihr of the Ilāhī year 50, but none later than Mihr. Next in evidence are the Salīmī coins of the year 50 beginning with Ābān (Pl. I. 6) and continuing without a break till Isfandārmuz (Pl. I. 7. 8). ; and thereafter month by month from Farwardīn till Tīr (Pl. I. 9. 10) the Salīmī coins of the year 2. Then follow, last of all, the "heavy rupees" of Jahāngīr, dated *not* 1014-1 but 1015-1, 1015-2, 1016-2, 1016-3, &c.

In support of the opinion that the Salīmī coins of the year 50 precede those of the year 2, one further piece of evidence is noteworthy. *Ex hypothesi*, the first Salīmī coins to be struck were those of Ābān 50.

[1] Cf. D. E. VI, 302. On line 12 of page 302 correct 22nd to 21st, and 1603 to 1607.

[2] D. E. VI, 316. 1016 H. being an intercalary year, its month Ẕu'l ḥijja contained 30 days.

Now it is precisely the coins of this month that differ in their legend from all subsequent issues. The difference consists largely but not solely in the arrangement of the words, and extends both to the obverse and to the reverse. The coins struck in the following month, Āzar, are of that modified type which was maintained till the close of the series. Now the explanation of this change is clear if, as our theory assumes, the Ābān coins were the first struck. They simply did not meet with complete approval. The obverse was pronounced too crowded and the reverse too diffuse. Orders were accordingly given to omit altogether the one word Ilāhī and further to so rearrange the component words of the legend that a portion only should find a place on the obverse and the remainder on the reverse. The new dies were ready before the coins of the second month were struck, and thereafter, so long as the Salīmī series issued, no further variation was deemed necessary.

This Ābān 50 rupee is an evident link between Akbar's of the preceding month and Salīm's of the succeeding. While its obverse bears Salīm's name and the Salīmī legend, its reverse is identical in type with the reverse of the rupees struck at Aḥmadābād in the last year of Akbar's reign.

Geo. P. Taylor,
Ahmadabad.

6. *The copper coinage of Murād Bakhsh son of Shāhjahān.* *Pl. I.* 11.

When Shāhjahān fell ill in A. H. 1067 (1657 A.D.) and his sons asserted their claims to the throne of the Mughal, Murād Bakhsh was in Gujarāt. The mints from which he issued coins in his own name were confined to that province.

His silver coins are not infrequently met with struck at either Aḥmadābād, Sūrat or Cambay (Khambāyat). The gold coins are extremely scarce and but one or two struck at Aḥmadābād are known. One of these is figured in the British Museum Catalogue (No. 692). Hitherto his copper coinage has been unknown. Mr. Framjee Jamasjee Thanawala, of Bombay, however, was fortunate in securing two specimens of dāms (fulūs) struck by Murād Bakhsh at Sūrat, and one of these he has kindly presented to me. The coins are of the usual size of Akbarī dām and weigh 316 and 333 grains, respectively. They bear the following legends:—

Obv. مراد شاهی
فلوس

Rev. سورت احد
سنه ۸
ضرب

H. N. Wright, C.S.

MISCELLANEOUS.

7. *A coronation medal of the first king of Oudh. Pl. II.*

Obverse.—Bust of king, three quarters face in high relief, crowned and garlanded—within circular area—remaining ground occupied by flowered tracery—marginal legend in florid characters beginning under the king's left shoulder.

سکه زد برسیم و زر از فضلِ رب ذوالمنن غازي الدين حيدر عالي نسب
شاهِ زمن سنه احد

Reverse.—Arms of the king in high relief within circular area. Two lions rampant holding flags on each of which appears a fish. Between them a dagger (*katār*) surmounted by a crown. Below the flags two fishes forming a circle, head to head below streamer. In right-hand corner of area the letter ج. Marginal legend beginning opposite the right flag.

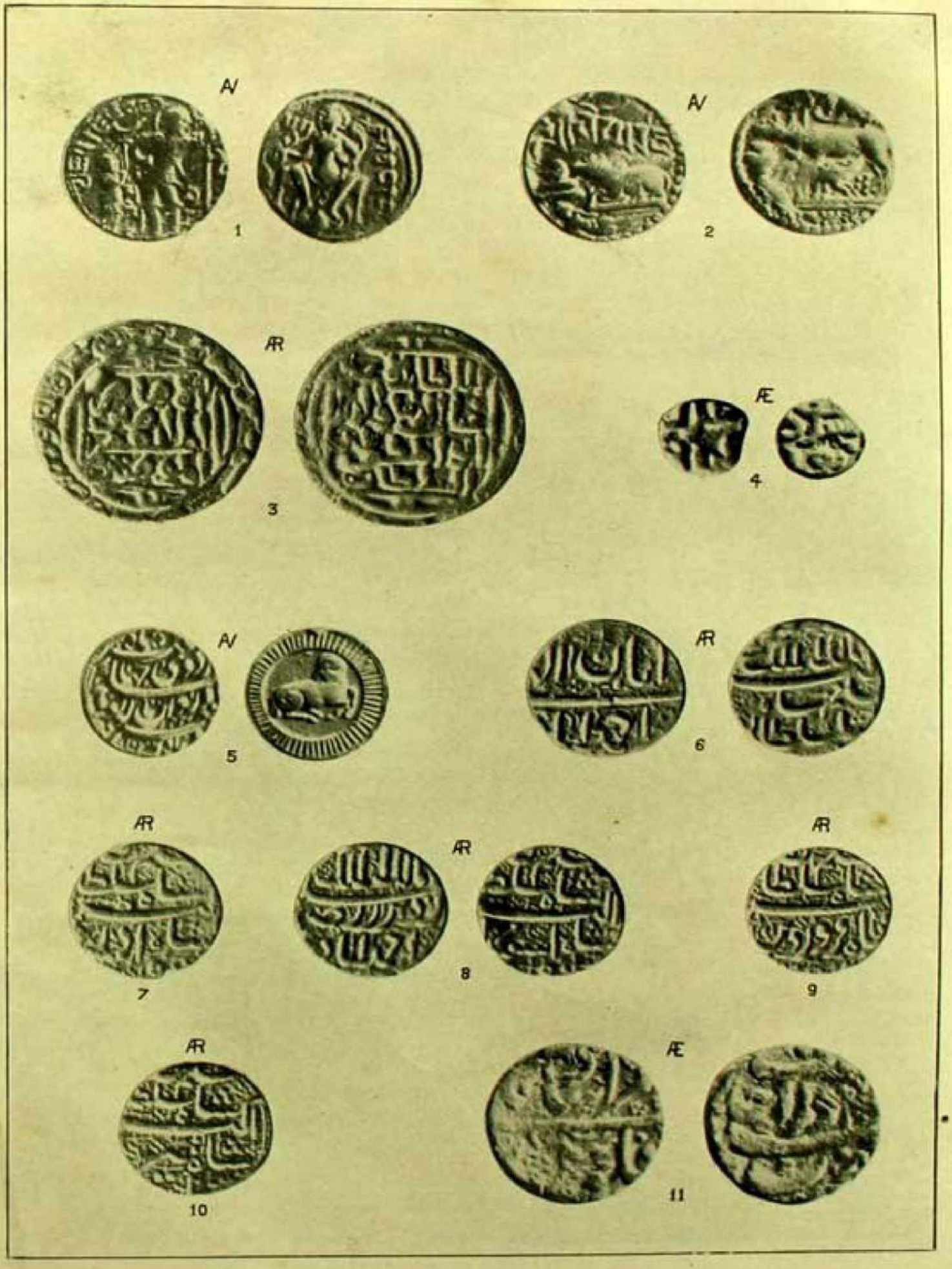
تا هزار سال شاها بقاي عمر تو بادا هزار سال باشي تو در زمان خدا

Weight.—1,260 grs. Size 2·6".

This interesting medal was obtained in Allahabad whither it had been brought from Jhūnsī in the Allahabad district. It apparently commemorates the assumption by Ghāziuddīn Ḥaidar of regal dignity in October, 1819 (1234 A. H.). This monarch was the eldest son of Nawāb Sa'ādat Alī Khān of Awadh and had five years previously succeeded his father as Nawāb Wazīr. At this coronation ceremony the crown was delivered to the king by the British Resident. Ghāzī-uddīn Ḥaidar reigned as king of Awadh for eight years. One of the titles assumed by him at his coronation was Shāh-i-Zaman, and this title appears on the medal. Beyond the سنه احد on the obverse, which doubtless refers to the first year of the newly assumed sovereignty, there is no date recorded, nor does the reverse legend appear to be a chronogram. The workmanship is of a high order, and the appearance on the medal of the king's portrait contrary to orthodox custom indicates that the design was probably entrusted to some European artist. An oil-painting and a marble bust representing the king similarly diademed and arrayed are in the Lucknow Museum, but the name of the artist has in neither case been preserved. A second specimen is in the cabinet of Mr. R. Burn, C.S., and was also obtained in Allahabad.

H. N. WRIGHT, C.S.

CENTRAL LIBRARY



Æ 12

Now it is precisely the coins of this month that differ in their legend from all subsequent issues. The difference consists largely but not solely in the arrangement of the words, and extends both to the obverse and to the reverse. The coins struck in the following month, Ázar are of that modified type which was maintained till the close of the

ERRATA.

In Journal, Part I, Vol. LXXIII, No. 3.—1904.

Read Nagarchain *for* Nagarcain,

Page 276, line 22.
" 277, lines 23, 26, 32.
" 278 " 30, 38.
" 280 " 11, 12, 29 and 37.

Read Nagarchain *for* Nagarchin.

Page 279, line 38.

Read Chaugan *for* Caugan.

Page 276, line 33.
" 277 " 33.
" 279 " 27.

and weigh 316 and 333 grains, respectively. They bear the following legends:—

Obv. مراد شاہے
فلوس

Rev. سورت احد
ـــــ ہ
ضرب

H. N. Wright, C.S.

J. 1. 10

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA LIBRARY THE ADVANCEMENT OF LE

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NOTICE.

Foreign Societies who favour the Asiatic Society of Bengal with their publications are informed that they may be sent either to the address of the Society at Calcutta, or to the Agents of the Society in London, Messrs. Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russell Street.

AVIS.

Des Sociétés Etrangères qui honorent la Société Asiatique de Bengale de ses publications, sont priées de les envoyer ou directement à l'adresse de la Société, 57, Park Street, Calcutta, ou aux Agents de la Société à Londres, Messrs. Luzac et Cie, 46, Great Russell Street.

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ERRATUM.

In Journal, Part I, 1904 No. 1.—On first page in heading *read* Mirza Mehdy Khan *for* Syed Ali Bilgrami.

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Pages 73 and 74 of No. 1 have been reprinted with No. 2 for convenience of binding.

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ضرب

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J. 1. 10

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA LIBRARY THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING

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6. *The copper coinage of Murād Bakhsh son of Shāhjahān. Pl. I.* 11.

When Shāhjahān fell ill in A. H. 1067 (1657 A.D.) and his sons asserted their claims to the throne of the Mughal, Murād Bakhsh was in Gujarāt. The mints from which he issued coins in his own name were confined to that province.

His silver coins are not infrequently met with struck at either Aḥmadābād, Sūrat or Cambay (Khambāyat). The gold coins are extremely scarce and but one or two struck at Aḥmadābād are known. One of these is figured in the British Museum Catalogue (No. 692). Hitherto his copper coinage has been unknown. Mr. Framjee Jamasjee Thanawala, of Bombay, however, was fortunate in securing two specimens of dāms (fulūs) struck by Murād Bakhsh at Sūrat, and one of these he has kindly presented to me. The coins are of the usual size of Akbari dām and weigh 316 and 333 grains, respectively. They bear the following legends:—

Obv. مراد شاهی
فلوس

Rev. سورت احد
ـه ـــ ـذ ـــ ه
ضرب

H. N. Wright, C.S.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

7. *A coronation medal of the first king of Oudh. Pl. II.*

Obverse.—Bust of king, three quarters face in high relief, crowned and garlanded—within circular area—remaining ground occupied by flowered tracery—marginal legend in florid characters beginning under the king's left shoulder.

سکه زد برسیم و زر از فضلِ رب ذو المنن غازي الدين حيدر عالي نسب
شاه زمن سنه احد

Reverse.—Arms of the king in high relief within circular area. Two lions rampant holding flags on each of which appears a fish. Between them a dagger (*katār*) surmounted by a crown. Below the flags two fishes forming a circle, head to head below streamer. In right-hand corner of area the letter ج. Marginal legend beginning opposite the right flag.

تا هزار سال شاها بقاي عمر تو بادا هزار سال باشي تو در زمان خدا

Weight.—1,260 grs. Size 2·6″.

This interesting medal was obtained in Allahabad whither it had been brought from Jhūnsī in the Allahabad district. It apparently commemorates the assumption by Ghāzīuddīn Ḥaidar of regal dignity in October, 1819 (1234 A. H.). This monarch was the eldest son of Nawāb Sa'ādat Alī Khān of Awadh and had five years previously succeeded his father as Nawāb Wazīr. At this coronation ceremony the crown was delivered to the king by the British Resident. Ghāzī-uddīn Ḥaidar reigned as king of Awadh for eight years. One of the titles assumed by him at his coronation was Shāh-i-Zaman, and this title appears on the medal. Beyond the سنه احد on the obverse, which doubtless refers to the first year of the newly assumed sovereignty, there is no date recorded, nor does the reverse legend appear to be a chronogram. The workmanship is of a high order, and the appearance on the medal of the king's portrait contrary to orthodox custom indicates that the design was probably entrusted to some European artist. An oil-painting and a marble bust representing the king similarly diademed and arrayed are in the Lucknow Museum, but the name of the artist has in neither case been preserved. A second specimen is in the cabinet of Mr. R. Burn, C.S., and was also obtained in Allahabad.

H. N. WRIGHT, C.S.

The Mints of the Mughal Emperors.—By R. Burn.

The literature on the subject of this article has increased considerably since the publication in 1885 of Mr. Leggett's notes[1] on the mint towns of the Mohamedans. That book gives few references, some of the statements made in it appear incorrect, and in view of the discoveries made in the last twenty years, it is incomplete. At pp. 277-279 of his valuable paper on "Some coins of the Mughal Emperors,"[2] Mr. Dames gives a list of the mints added to our knowledge since the publication of the British Museum Catalogue in 1892. A few publications have escaped his notice, so that this list also is not complete.

Such lists are of use in two ways. They have a distinct historical value as showing the towns included in the Mughal Empire, or in which the sway of particular emperors was recognised. To the numismatist they are necessary as a guide in ascertaining whether a particular coin is known or not. For the historian, a bare list of mint names for each king is sufficient, while the numismatist requires also to know the metal of which each coin is made, and the type of inscription on it, besides the date it bears, if any. To prepare the information required by the latter is a task involving great labour which I am not able to undertake at present, but the following table has been drawn up to provide for the numismatist more details than are available except in a number of scattered papers. Through the kindness of my friends, it contains no fewer than 222 new items of interest to the numismatist, *i.e.*, references to coins of mints not yet published for the particular emperors in the metals shown here, while these items include 42 new mints.

The list has been drawn up on the following plan. The British Museum Catalogue was first taken, and all mints found in it were noted. Other catalogues and papers were then searched, in the order shown

[1] London, Stevens and Sons, 119, Chancery Lane, W.C.; Calcutta, Thacker Spink and Co.; Bombay, Thacker and Co.

[2] Numismatic Chronicle, 1902.

below, and mints found in any one of these, but not in an earlier publication were marked. To some extent, therefore, the list reduces the labour of searching when it is required to see whether a particular type or date has been published; for example an entry of R(1) shows that the coin cannot be in any of the three Museum Catalogues. Lastly, unpublished coins are shown; for private collections I am indebted to the courtesy of the owners, who have permitted me to mention their coins. Mr. H. Nelson Wright, I.C.S., has supplied me with notes of unpublished coins in the Imperial Museum, Calcutta, and one in the British Museum. The Maharaja of Gwalior kindly allowed me to inspect the collection of coins made by the late Mr. Maries, which is now in his possession. I am responsible for the readings of the coins quoted from the Lucknow Museum, of which I have prepared a rough manuscript catalogue. The form of the list is intended as a permanent record, in which additions can be noted. Unpublished coins are distinguished by the references being in italics;[1] it will be an advantage if numismatists will kindly communicate to me or to the Society additions to, or corrections in, the list for publication. There are several published papers to which I have not been able to refer which may contain coins which should be entered, and it is possible, though care has been taken, that some entries have been made incorrectly.

Key to the references.

Catalogue of the British Museum, 1892,		...	B.M.
" Lahore " 1894,		...	P.M.
" Imperial " (Calcutta), 1894		...	C.M.
E. E. Oliver, "Some copper coins of Akbar found at Kangra," ...	J.A.S.B.,	1886, p. 1,	O.
W. Vost, "Some rare Muhammadan coins,"	"	1895, p. 37,	V(1).
" "Dogam Mint,"	"	1895, p. 69,	V(2).
C. J. Rodgers, "Mughal copper coins," ...	"	1895, p. 171,	R(1).
W. Irvine, "Later Mughals," ...	"	1896, p. 208,	I.
C. J. Rodgers, "Rare Mughal coins," ...	"	1896, p. 220,	R(2).
R. Burn, "A new dām of Akbar,"	Progs. A.S.B.,	1896, p. 109,	B(1).
W. Vost, and L. White King, "Some novelties in Mughal coins,"	Num. Chron.,	1896, p. 155,	K(1).
G. B. Taylor, "the coins of Ahmadabad,"	J.B.R.A.S.,	1900, p. 409,	T(1).
L. Dames, "Some coins of the Mughal Emperors,"	Num. Chron.,	1902, p. 275,	D(1).
Compton, "Military Adventurers," ...		p. 143,	C.

1 I have treated all the coins from the Lucknow Museum as unpublished, though some of them have been described in the annual reports, because these are often not accessible.

Wolseley Haig, "Note on a find of copper coins in the Wun District, Barār," J.A.S.B., 1902, p. 63, H(1).

Unpublished coins.

Collection of Mr. Framji (Bombay)	*F.*	(not completely
„ H. Z. Darrah, I.C.S. (Allahabad)	*Dr.*	examined).
„ Rev. G. B. Taylor, D.D. (Ahmadabad)	*T.*	
„ Lucknow Museum	*L.M.*	
„ Late Mr. Maries (Gwalior)	*M.*	
„ H. Nelson Wright, I.C.S (Allahabad)	*W.*	
„ G. B. Bleazby, Accounts Dept. „	*G.B.*	
„ W. Vost (Major, I.M.S.) (Muttra)	*V.*	
„ R. W. Ellis (Jubbulpore)	*E.*	
„ R. Burn, I.C.S. (Naini Tal or Allahabad)	*B.*	
„ L. W. King, I.C.S., C.S.I. ...	*K.*	
„ Samuel Smith, Liverpool ...	*S.*	

N. B.—Those emperors or princes whose coins only show a few mints are shown separately from the emperors of whom many mints are known.

A complete discussion of the names of the towns given in the list is impossible. Some of the places have not been identified, and there is dispute about others. I only propose to make short notes on a few of them.

Itāwa (ā).—The coins in the Lucknow Museum show that the change in spelling from عاوہ to اوا took place in the 42nd regnal year of Aurangzeb. Coins dated 42 julūs and 1109 A.H. are spelt in the former way, and those dated 42 and 1110 in the latter method. Khāfī Khān[1] says that an order was issued to make this change (the examples he quotes being Mālwā, Bangālā, Baglānā, and Parnālā) in 1103 A.H.

Ajmīr.—See also under Salīmgarh. I have been unable to find any reference to this name for Ajmīr. It is doubtless connected with Shaikh Salīm Chishti from whom Prince Salīm took his name. The copper coin of Akbar bearing the mint name Salīmgarh Ajmīr is dated 982 A.H. Shaikh Salīm died in 979 and Prince Salīm was born in 977.

Islāmābād.—It is uncertain at which place this mint was situated. It has been usual to consider that Chittagong was meant, but Dames[2] favours Chāknā in the Dekhan, on the ground that it was conquered earlier. As shown in the list, I have a coin of Shāh Alam II with Islāmābād Mathurā as the mint. Rodgers had already suggested the

1 Elliott, History of India, VII, p. 344.

2 Num. Chron., 1902, p. 282.

identification with Mathura, but it is still doubtful where the earlier coins, on which only the name Islāmābād occurs, were struck.

Aṣafābād Bareli.—In the catalogue of the Rodgers' collection in the Lahore Museum, the late Mr. C. J. Rodgers has published a coin (No. 49, p. 231), of the Bareli Mint on which Luṭfābād was restored for the letters ف آباد .... A coin of Mr. Nelson Wright's shows clearly that the correct reading is Āṣafābād. This coin is dated 30 julūs and 120 (2 or 3) A.H. In 1788, which corresponds to 1202-3 A.H., Lord Cornwallis executed a treaty with the Nawāb Vazīr, Āṣaf-ud-daula, permitting him to reimpose certain duties in Rohilkhand, but Āṣaf-ud-daula had obtained practical supremacy over that tract quite ten years before, so that earlier dates may be expected.

Ilāhābad.—On the copper coins of Akbar ascribed to this mint, the last letter of the name is "s" and not "d," as is pointed out in the footnote on p. 331 of the B.M. Catalogue. The inscription, however, is clearly الهابامں and not الهٰ ابامں, that is to say, it should probably be read Alhābās or Ālhābās, not Ilahābās. The Ain-i-Akbari [1] says "*Ilāhābād* anciently called *Prayāg* was distinguished by His Imperial Majesty by the former name." In other places the name is spelt Ilahābās. Elliott[2] quotes the Cahār Gulshan and other authorities for the statement that Shāh Jahān changed the name to Ilahābād as the termination of *bās* savoured too much of Hinduism. On this Beames remarks that it is far more probable that Ilahābād was the original name given by the Muhammadans and the lower classes of Hindus altered the final syllable to a form they understood. It may be added that the termination is still commonly pronounced *bās* by villagers in the neighbourhood.

It seems to me, however, that the most reasonable supposition is to take Ālhābās as a purely Hindu name. All the copper coins I have seen are dated earlier than the year 40 Ilahi. On the other hand, on the well-known couplet coins of Akbar (or Jahāngīr in his father's lifetime), which are dated occasionally, the date is always in the forties, and the name is Ilahābād, as it is on the coin of Jahāngīr in the Panjab Museum. The statement that Shāh Jahān altered the spelling is thus incorrect. Another point is that the oldest part of the city of Allahabad is several miles away from the fort and junction, and it is quite possible that a village called Ālhābās existed near the site of the Khusru Bagh and the sarai outside it. Bās is not an uncommon termination, and the first half of the name is obviously the same as that of the hero Ālhā who is well known in Northern Indian fable.[3] This

[1] Jarrett's translation, Vol. II, p. 158.

[2] Memoirs, II, p 104.

[3] See Cunn. Survey Reports, Vol. VII.

is confirmed by the fact that there are other villages named Ālhābās or Ilahābās in the Doāb. When the name was written in Persian, as on the copper coins, somebody noticed the fact that it could be read Ilahābās and the circumstance that it was close to a very holy place of the Hindus easily led to the conversion into Ilahābād (founded by *a* god, not *the* God).

Bindrāban.—See also Mūminābād. It has been suggested that Mūminābād is the town of that name in the Dekhan, and also that it is Bindrabān. My silver coin of Shāh 'Ālam II gives both Mūminābād and Bindrāban.

Patna.—I am not quite satisfied with the reading of Patna on B.M., Nos. 209 and 215 (see Plate VI). The name is written differently from the ordinary way. I have a coin of Aurangzeb in which the same difference is to be observed, but cannot suggest a satisfactory reading.

Peshāwar.—The coin of Akbar noted from this mint is B.M., No. 177, which is not very rare. The B.M. Catalogue gives Sītāpūr as a preferable reading, while Rodgers read Sītpūr,[1] and identified it with a town of this name in the Muẓaffargarh District.

Jaunpūr.—The mint on a copper coin of Akbar II was read by Vost and White King[2] as Dār-ul-Muṣawwir, Deh, Jaunpūr. Major Vost now agrees with me that the correct reading of the mint on that coin should be Dār-ul-Manṣūr, Jodhpūr. The title Dār-ul-Maṇsūr appears on coins struck in the name of 'Ālamgīr II,[3] and also on coins struck in the name of Shāh 'Ālam II,[4] while the sword on the obverse of the coin under discussion is one of the special marks of the State.[5] I have, therefore, shown this coin under Jodhpūr not Jaunpūr.

Chachrauli.—This is probably the capital of the Kalsia State in the Panjab, and it seems to me most likely that the name on the coin in the P.M. read Kachrauli is really Chachraulī. I have not been able to find any place called Kachrauli. The descriptions of the coins (Panjab Catalogue, No. 24, p. 236, and Calcutta Catalogue, No. 13106, p. 83), correspond very closely.

Ḥāfiẓābād.—From the style of the coin, that marked under 'Ālamgīr II appears to be rightly assigned to that king and not to 'Ālamgīr I.

Ḥusainābād.—I have marked the copper coin of this mint of Shāh

1 Panjab Catalogue, p. 86.
2 Num. Chron., 1896, p. 178, and Pl. XII, fig. 13.
3 Num. Chron., 1896, p. 175, and Pl. XII, fig. 8.
4 Webb, currencies of Rajputana, pp. 43, 45, and 48
5 Ditto, p. 42.

Ālam II, published by Major Vost[1] as doubtful. It seems to me more probably a coin of Najībābād. The silver coins of Ḥusainābād are unmistakable.

Deogarh.—The reading of this name by Oliver on a dām of Akbar is doubtful, and it is possible that Dogām is the correct reading. There is no doubt about the name on rupees of Shāh 'Ālam II.

Zain-ul-bilād.—Dames[2] quotes Zīnat-ul-bilād as a mint of Rafī'-ud-darjāt. Taylor has, however, shown[3] that that mint is really Aḥmadābād. The coin here referred to is different.

Fatḥābād.—I have only seen a rubbing of the coin with this mint, and there is something besides this name, which Mr. Nelson Wright has suggested may possibly be Dharwar.

Farrukhābād.—This mint is at first without any other name, but from 'Ālamgīr II it is called Aḥmadnagar Farrukhābād. The earliest date I have seen from which the second name is used is the third year of 'Ālamgīr II, while Farrukhābād alone occurs as late as the seventh year of Aḥmad Shāh or 1167 A.H. The Bangash territories of Farrukhābād were confiscated in 1163 A.H. under Aḥmad Shāh, of Delhi, but were recovered by Aḥmad Khān Bangash the next year. It seems to me probable that the latter gave his name to the town, in view of his later successes.

Muḥammadnagar.—In the inscription on the coin of this mint in the Panjab Museum as given in the Catalogue, p. 226, No. 16, it does not appear that there is also another name. That coin is dated in the 11th regnal year and 1183 A.H. I have seen two other coins of Muḥammadnagar, one dated 11 and 1184, and the other 12 without a Hijrī year which exactly resemble this in type, but in addition to Muḥammadnagar there is a name which may be read as Bānda or Ṭānda, *viz.*, بانده. As one of these coins turned up in a treasure trove in which all the coins were fairly new, and all the known mints were in Rohilkhand, it seems probable that this mint is to be placed there, but so far I have been unable to trace in. Ṭānda seems to me the most likely name, as this is fairly common in the sub-montane districts and means an encampment of Banjāras, who are especially numerous there.

Muṣṭafa-ābād.—Dames refers[4] to three places of this name: "One is in the Dekhan, being another name for Chopra (see E.D., VII, 307); one is in the Doāb between Agra and Mainpuri, and one in what is now the Ambāla District, which was plundered by the Sikhs in A.H. 1121

[1] J.A.S.B., 1895, p. 46, and Pl. III, fig. 30.
[2] Num. Chron., 1902, p. 278.
[3] J. Bo. Br. R. As., 1900, p. 436.
[4] Num. Chron., 1902, p 282.

(E.D., VII, 423). It is not far from Sādhaurā (wrongly spelt Shādhūrā in E.D.), and will not be found on most modern maps, but is given in Rennell's map of Hindostan of 1782. This is no doubt the place which Capt. Vost mentions[1] as between Sahāranpur and Ludhiāna, and it seems to be a probable position for a mint in Shāh 'Ālam's time, although the site near Agra is also a possible one."

I am unable to find anything at all in favour of Chopra being a mint of the Mughals. The Muṣṭafa-ābād of the Mainpuri District only appears on our maps as it is the village at the headquarters of a tahsil (since 1824) and gives its name to a pargana. The *Mainpuri Gazetteer* (p. 746) gives no historical connections with the place. The reference to Elliott's mention of Muṣṭafa-ābād in the Panjab does not help much, as it refers to the impoverished people of the place, and includes it with others as "old seats of population;" I can find no later reference of any importance attaching to it. Mr. C. S. Delmerick, however, called my attention to the fact that Rāmpur, capital of the native state of that name in the United Provinces was also known as Muṣṭafa-ābād.[2] A possible objection to this identification is that a native history says the city was founded in 1189 A.H. (1775 A.H.) while the coins are dated as early as 1184 A.H. On the other hand the history of the Rohillas used by Hamilton,[3] shows that Faizullah was settled at the city of Rāmpur as early as 1165 or 1168 A.H. (1754), and this is accepted by all writers.[4] We know that the towns occupied by the other heads of the Rohillas, Bareilly, Aonla, Bisauli, Murādābād, and Najībābād were all issuing coins, and it seems to me most probable that the Muṣṭafa-ābād mint was at Rāmpur.

Mumbai.—As in the case of Arkāt I have included coins of the East India Company.

Nāgpūr.—I think there can be no doubt that the coin on which the mint was read by Rodgers[5] as Dār-ul-barat Kāndī is really Dār-ul-barakāt Nāgpūr, as read by Vost and King,[6] and I have therefore omitted Kāndī. It has been suggested to me by Mr. Nelson Wright that Nāgor should be read for Nāgpūr, and he prefers that reading on his coin of 'Ālamgīr II.

Naṣrullanagar.—A coin of this mint was in the find referred to under Muḥammadnagar and I expect the place was somewhere in Rohilkhand

[1] See J.A.S B., 1895, p. 46.
[2] See also *Rāmpur Gazetteer*, p. 40.
[3] Hamilton's history of the Rohillas, pp. 120 and 122.
[4] Compare Strachey's Rohilla War, p. 18, *Bareilly Gazetteer*, p. 663.
[5] Panjab Catalogue, No. 30, p. 228.
[6] Num. Chron., 1896, p. 176.

HĀNSĪ (ṢĀḤIBĀBĀD).—The reading of the inscription given by Cunningham in Compton's Military Adventurers, p. 143, is not correct. Ṣāḥibābād is quite clear on a coin of Mr. Nelson Wright's.

UNCERTAIN MINTS.—I have only included one of the numerous uncertain names we have, because it seems possible that this may be read and identified.

Note.—Since this paper was written, the valuable collection of Mr. Ellis has been acquired for the Lucknow Museum.

Mint.	Akbar.			Jahāngīr.			Shāhjahān.		
	N	Æ	Æ	N	Æ	Æ	N	Æ	Æ
Itāwa (ā) ...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...
Aṭak	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aṭak Banāras ...	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ajāyūr (?) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ajmīr	...	...	P.M.	B.M.	B.M.	R(1)	...	*L.M.*	...
Aḥsanābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aḥmadābād ...	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	R(1)	B.M.	B.M.	R(1)
Aḥmadnagar ...	...	*L.M.*	...	*C.M.*	P.M.	...	...	C.M.	...
Akhtarnagar Awadh,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Udaipur	B.M.	...	...	...	*G.B.*	R(1)	...	...	P.M.
Urdū	...	B.M.	...	*W.*	...	...	...	...	...
Urdū dar rāh-i-dakhin	...	...	...	...	*L.M.*	...	...	...	...
Urdū Ẓafar Qarīn ...	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Arkāt	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Islāmābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Islām Bandar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ism'aīlgaṛh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Asīr	B.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Āṣafābād Bareli ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
A'ẓamnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Akbarābād ...	*K*	*K*	...	...	*K*	*K*	B.M.	B.M.	P.M.
Akbarpūr ...	...	P.M.	P.M.		...	...	...	...	...
Akbarnagar ...	...	*L.M.*	*K*	...	B.M.	...	...	B.M.	...
Āgra	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	C.M.	B.M.	...
Ilahābād	...	B.M.	B.M.	...	P.M.	...	...	B.M.	*K*
Alwar	...	*W.*	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Imtiyāzgaṛh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Amīrkoṭ ...	...	...	C.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ūjain	...	P.M	K(1)	...	...	...	...	P.M.	R(1)
Awadh (Khiṭa) ...	...	...	V(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aurangābād ...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...
Aurangnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	K(1)	...
Ausa	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aonla	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Elichpūr	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...
Bālāpūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Baroda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burhānābād ...	...	...	*K*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burhānpūr ...	...	B.M.	P.M.	B.M.	P.M.	...	B.M.	B.M.	...
Bareli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bisauli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Baldat-i-Ṣafa ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Balwantnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Banāras (Muḥammadabad) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bindrāban ...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...
Bandar Shāhī ...	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bankāpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Aurangzeb.			Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur.			Jahāndār.			Farrukhsiyar.		
N	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*
B.M.	B.M.	...	..	P.M.	...	...	D(1)	...	C.M.	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...
...	B M.	...	...	B.M.	...	...	*S*	...	...	D(1)	...
...	K(1)	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...
...	P.M.	T(1)	...	T(1)	...	...	D(1)	...	...	T(1)	...
B.M.	B.M.	...	...	C.M.	*K*	...	...	...	...	...	*K*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
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...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
B.	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	P.M.	...
...	*T*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
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...	...	K(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
C.M.	B.M.	P.M.	B.M.	B.M.	...	B M.	B.M.	...	...	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	...	...	...	...
B.M.	B.M.	...	...	D(1)	*B*	..	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*W*	D(1)	...	*V*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	P.M.	...	...	*T*	...	...	...	...	B M.	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C.M.	P.M.	...	B.M.	P.M.	...	...	*T*	...	...	P.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...
B.M.	B M.	...	...	...	...	...	I	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	...
...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*G.B.*	H(1)	...	P.M.	H(1)	...	*T*	...	...	*G.B.*	...
...	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B.M.	B.M.	*K*	B.M.	B.M.	...	...	P.M	..	B.M.	P.M.	...
...	B M.	...	...	P.M.	...	...	*L M.*	...	B.M.	P.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
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...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	*T*	...	...	...	...	...	K(1)	...

Mint.	Rafi'ud-darajat.			Rafi'ud-daulah.			Muḥammad.		
	N	*R*	*Æ*	*N*	*R*	*Æ*	*N*	*R*	*Æ*
Itāwa (ā) ...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	B.M.	B.M.	...
Aṭak ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
Aṭak Banāras ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ajāyūr (?) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B M.	...
Ajmīr	...	*K*	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
Aḥsanābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aḥmadābād ...	...	T(1)	...	...	T(1)	...	...	P.M.	T(1)
Aḥmadnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Akhtarnagar Awadh,	...	...	...	...	...	...	*C M.*	B.M.	...
Udaipur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Urdū	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Urdū dar rāh i-dakhin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Urdū Ẓafar Qarīn ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Arkāt	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	C.M.	...
Islāmābād ...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...	...	B.M.	...
Islām Bandar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ism'ailgaṛh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Asīr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Āṣafābād Bareli ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
A'ẓamnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Akbarābād ...	...	B.M.	...	*G.B.*	B.M.	...	B.M.	B.M.	...
Akbarpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Akbarnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Āgra	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ilahābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*L.M.*	...
Alwar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Imtiyāzgaṛh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...	...
Amīrkot ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ūjain	...	*B.M.*	...	...	...	...	C.M.	*L.M.*	...
Awadh (Khiṭa) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aurangābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aurangnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ausa	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aonla	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Elichpūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*E*	R(1)
Bālāpūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	D(1)	...	...
Baroda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burhānābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burhānpūr ...	...	D(1)	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
Barelī ...	...	*E*	...	...	B.M.	...	...	B.M.	...
Bisaulī	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Baldat-i-Ṣafa ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Balwantnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Banāras (Muḥammadabad) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	C.M.	B.M	...
Bindrāban ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bandar Shāhī ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bankāpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Aḥmad.			ʿĀlamgīr II.			Shāh ʿĀlam II.		
N	Ar	Æ	N	Ar	Æ	N	Ar	Æ
...	C.M.	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*W*	...	...	*B*	...	...	*W*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	T(1)	...	...	T(1)	...	...	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	*K*	...	...	*K*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
..	C.M.	...	B.M.	C.M.	...	...	B.M.	...
...	P.M.	...	...	D(1)	...	*G.B.*	*G.B.*	P.M.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*K*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*W*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*K*
C.M.	B.M.	...	...	B.M.	...	...	B.M.	R(1)
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	K(1)
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*L.M.*	...	...	...	...	...	*W*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*K*	...	B.M.	B.M.	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	*W*	...	...	*W*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	*T*	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
...	...	H(1)	...	...	H(1)	...	...	R(1)
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.
C.M.	*W*	...		*E*	P.M.	...	D(1)	*K*
...	*L.M.*	...	*L.M.*	*W*	...	...	P.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*L.M.*	...
...	...	...	...	*E*	...	...	...	...
...	*W*	...	...	*M*	...	...	*G.B.*	...
B.M.	B.M.	...	*L.M.*	C.M.	...	B.M.	B.M.	R(2)
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*B*	PM.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Mint.	Akbar.			Jahāngīr.			Shāhjahān.		
	N	Æ	Æ	*N*	Æ	Æ	*N*	Æ	Æ
Bangāla	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Butān	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bahādurpaṭan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bahādurgaṛh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bahrāich ...	...	...	V(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bharatpur ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bharuch	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhakkar	...	P.M.	O	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
Bhopāl	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhīlsā	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
Bījāpūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bairāta	...	P.M.	B.M.	...	*E*	P.M.	...	...	P.M.
Pānīpat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pattan Deo ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*Da*	K(1)	...
Patna	P.M.	B.M.	O	B.M.	B.M.	...	C.M.	B.M.	R(1)
Panjnagar ...	...	...	...	...	P.M	...	...	...	..
Purbandar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pūnch	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Peshāwar ...	...	B.M.	...	...	...	...	..	...	...
Tatta	...	B.M.	...	...	B.M.	...	...	B.M.	...
Jalālpūr	...	...	V(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jalair	...	...	...	...	P M.	...	...	...	...
Jammū	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jodhpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jaunpur	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	...	...	..	...	...	...
Jūnagaṛh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
Jhānsī	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jahāngīrnagar ...	...	...	...	B.M.	B.M.	...	...	B.M.	...
Jaipur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chachrauli ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chunār	...	*E*	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chaitaur ...	...	*G.B.*	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chīnāpatan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khārpūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khujista Bunyād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khairpūr ...	...	...	C.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khairnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Aurangzeb.			Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur.			Jahāndār.			Farrukhsiyar.		
N	*R*	*Æ*	*N*	*R*	*Æ*	*N*	*R*	*Æ*	*N*	*R*	*Æ*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	*T*	...	...	*T*	...	...	*F*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*K*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B.M.	B.M.	R(1)	...	D(1)	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...	...
...	...	R(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*K*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C.M.	B.M.	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...	B.M.	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*T*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	B.M.	*E*	...	...	*T*	...	...	*G.B.*	...
...	B.M.	P.M.	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*G.B.*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	B.M.	...	...	*E*	...	...	...	...	...	*W*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	B.M.	...	...	*L.M.*	*B*	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
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...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B.M.	B.M.	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B.M.	B.M.	...	B.M.	P.M.	...	B.M.	C.M.	...	*L.M.*	P.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*K*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Mint.	Rafī'ud-darajāt.			Rafī'ud-daulah.			Muḥammad.		
	Ⱥ	Ⱥ	Æ	Ⱥ	Ⱥ	Æ	Ⱥ	Ⱥ	Æ
Bangāla ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Butān ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bahādurpaṭan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bahādurgaṛh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bahrāich	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bharatpūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bharūch	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhakkar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.
Bhopāl ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhilsā ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bījāpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bairāta ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pānīpat ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pattan Deo	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Patna ...	...	D(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Panjnagar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Purbandar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pūnch ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Peshāwar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	P.M.
Tatta ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	*E*
Jalālpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jalair ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jammū ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jodhpur ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jaunpur ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jūnagaṛh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jhānsī ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jahāngīrnagar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	C.M.	...
Jaipur ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
Chachrauli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chunār ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chaitaur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chīnāpatan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	C.M.	...
Khārpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khujista Bunyād	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...	B.M.	*S*
Khairpūr...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khairnagar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Aḥmad.			ʿĀlamgīr II.			Shāh ʿĀlam II.		
N	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*K*	*K*
...	...	...	...	*T*	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*K*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	...	...	*T*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	*E*	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*K*
...	*E*	R(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
...	P.M.	...	...	K(1)	...	...	*W*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	R(1)
...	...	...	...	*C.M.*	...	...	B.M.	...
...	*W*	...	...	C. M.	...	...	P.M.	*K*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	C.M.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	C.M.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Mint.	Akbar.			Jahāngīr.			Shāhjahān.		
	N	Æ	Æ	*N*	Æ	Æ	*N*	Æ	Æ
Ḥāfiẓābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ḥasnābād (?Aḥsanābād)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ḥusainābād ...	...		...	...	...	...	...		...
Ḥiṣār	...	*B*	P.M.	..	...	...	...	...	...
Ḥaidarābād ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dādar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dār-ul-Jihād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dār-i-taṣṣawur (?) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dāmlā	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dilshādābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dogām	...	...	B.M.	...	...	...	...	...	V(2)
Dawlatābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	B.M.	...
Dehli	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	P.M.	B.M.	P.M.	...	B.M.	P.M.
Dera	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dingarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Deogarh	...	..	O	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dewal	...	K(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ranthor (Rantham-bhor)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rohtās	...	...	...	...	*L M.*	...	...	...	...
Zain-ul-Bilād ...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...
Sārangpūr ...	B.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sāmbhar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	..
Satgānw	..	C.M.	...	...	...	..	...	...	...
Sirsa (?) ...	...	...	O	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sironj	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Srīnagar	...	P.M.	*K*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Salīmgarh, Ajmīr ...	...	...	*L M.*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sambhal... ...	...	...	O	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sūrat	...	P.M	...	...	B.M.	R(1)	B.M.	B.M.	R(1)
Sahāranpūr ...	...	...	P.M.	...	-	...	...	..	...
Sahrind	B.M.	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shāhābād, Qanauj ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shāhjahānābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	B.M.	...
Sholāpūr... ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sherpūr	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...

Aurangzeb.			Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur.			Jahāndār.			Farrukhsiyar.		
N	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C.M.	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	P.M.	R(1)	...	*W*	*K*	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
V	*L.M.*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...
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...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*T*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*L.M.*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*W*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
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...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B.M.	B.M.	P.M.	C.M.	B.M.	...	B.M.	C.M.	...	...	B.M.	K(1)
...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	P.M.	...	...	P.M.	...	...	D(1)	...	...	P.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B.M.	B.M.	P.M.	B.M.	B.M.	...	B.M.	B.M.	...	B.M.	B.M.	...
L.M.	C.M.	R(1)	...	B.M.	R(1)	...	...	...	...	...	*K*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Mint.	Rafi'ud-darajat.			Rafi'ud-daulah.			Muḥammad.		
	N	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*
Ḥāfizābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	V(1)	...
Ḥasnābād (?Aḥsanābād)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ḥusainābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ḥisār ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ḥaidarābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	D(1)	...
Dādar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dār-ul-Jihād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dār-i-taṣṣawur (?) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dāmlā	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dilshādābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dogām	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Daulatābād ...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dehli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dera	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
Dīngaṛh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Deogaṛh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dewal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ranthor (Ranthambhor) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rohtās	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Zain-ul-Bilād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*W*	...
Sārangpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sāmbhar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Satgānw	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sirsa (?)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sironj	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Srinagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Salimgaṛh, Ajmīr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sambhal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sūrat	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...	B.M.	B.M.	R(1)
Sahāranpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sahrind	...	D(1)	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
Shāhābād, Qanauj ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
Shāhjahānābād ...	B.M.	B.M.	...	B.M.	P.M.	...	B.M.	B.M.	R(1)
Sholāpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...
Sherpūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Aḥmad.			'Ālamgīr II.			Shāh 'Ālam II.		
AV	AR	Æ	AV	AR	Æ	AV	AR	Æ
...	...	...	...	...	R(1)	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*K*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*E*	V(1) (?)
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*G.B.*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	C.M.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	R(1)
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*W*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
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...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	*W*	...	...	*B*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	C.M.	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	P.M.
...	P.M.	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...
...	D(1)	...	...	*G.B.*	...	...	...	...
B.M.	B.M.	...	B.M.	B.M.	P.M.	B.M.	B.M.	P.M.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Mint.	Akbar.			Jahāngīr.			Shāhjahān.		
	N	R	E	N	R	E	N	R	E
Shergarh ...	...	E	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shergarh, Qanauj ...	...	...	C.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Zafarābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
Zafarpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Zafarnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
'Ālamgīrpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
'Aẓīmābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fatḥābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fatḥpūr	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
Farrukhābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Farrukhnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Firoznagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Qamarnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Qandhār	...	...	...	...	B.M.	P.M.	...	B.M.	...
Qanauj	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kābul	...	B.M.	B.M.	...	B.M.	P.M.	...	B.M.	...
Kālpī	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kānān	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kaṭak	...	...	...	...	W	...	...	W	...
Kachraulī (? Chachraulī) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Karārābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Krishnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Karīmābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kashmīr	P.M.	...	...	...	B.M.	...	...	B.M.	...
Kalānūr	...	...	V(1)?	...	...	...	...	...	...
Korā	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khanbāyat ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	C.M.	P.M.	...
Kiratpur	...	...	K	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gulburga ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gulkanda ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	L.M.	...
Gangpūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gwāliār	...	...	B.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...

Aurangzeb.			Shah 'Alam Bahadur.			Jahandar.			Farrukhsiyar.		
N	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	B.M.	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	B.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	B.M.	...	...	*G.B.*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	P.M.	R(1)	...	B.M.	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*F*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*K*(?)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*G.B*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	...	...	...	..	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
P.M.	B.M.	R(1)	...	P.M.	...	...	...	R(1)	...	*G.B.*	R(2)
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	D(1)	P.M	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*F*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*K*	...	...	C.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	P.M.	...	...	*L.M.*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
L.M.	B.M.	...	...	P.M.	...	...	P.M.	...	...	D(1)	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
P.M.	P.M.	R(1)	...	...	...	C.M.	...	...	...	...	...
B.M.	B.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
...	*W*	...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	*M*	...	...	B.M.	...

Mint.	Rafi'ud-darajat			Rafi'ud-daulah.			Muḥammad.		
	N	*R*	*Æ*	*N*	*R*	*Æ*	*N*	*R*	*Æ*
Shergarh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shergarh, Qanauj ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Zafarābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Zafarpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Zafarnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
'Ālamgīrpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
'Aẓīmābād ...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...	...	B.M	...
Fatḥābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fatḥpūr	...	...	.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Farrukhabad ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M	...
Farrukhnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Firoznagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*K*	...
Qamarnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	K(1)	...
Qandhār	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Qanauj	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kābul	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.
Kālpī	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kānān	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kaṭak	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kachraulī (? Chachraulī ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Karārābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Krishnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Karīmābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kashmīr	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	P.M.	*K*
Kalānūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...
Korā	...	B.M.	...	...	*F*	...	...	B M.	...
Khanbāyat ...	...	*E*	...	...	...	...	...	C.M.	...
Kiratpur... ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gulbnrga ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gulkanda ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gangpūr... ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gwāliār	...	P.M.	...	...	*K*	...	...	P.M.	...

Aḥmad.			ʿĀlamgīr II.			Shāh ʿĀlam II.		
N	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
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...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	B.M.	...	...	B.M.	...	B.M.	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	R(1)
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	P.M.	...	...	*T*	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	C.M.
...	C.M.	...	...	...	...	...	*K*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*E*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	...	C.M.	P.M.	...
...	C.M.	...	...	C.M.	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	C.M.	...	...
...	...	...	...	D(1)	...	...	*E*	K(1)

Mint.	Akbar.			Jahāngīr.			Shāhjahān.		
	N	*R*	*Æ*	*N*	*R*	*Æ*	*N*	*R*	*Æ*
Gobindpūr	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gūti ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gorakhpūr	...	...	V(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gokulgaṛh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lāhor ...	...	B.M.	B.M.	B.M.	B.M	...	...	*K*	...
Laknau ...	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	*W*	C.M.
Lahrī Bandar	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mālpūr ...	...	...	B.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mānikpūr	...	...	B(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mānghir ...	...	...	K(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mathurā (Islāmābād)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mujāhidābād	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Machlīpaṭan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muḥammadābād	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muḥammadnagar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Makhṣūṣābād	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madan Koṭ	...	...	*K*	...	...	...	...	...	...
Murādābād	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Murshidābād	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muṣṭafa-ābād	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muẓaffarābād	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*L.M.*	...
Muẓaffargaṛh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mu'aẓẓimābād	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Multān ...	...	...	P.M.	B.M.	...	...	B.M.	B.M.	...
Malikanagar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mulhārnagar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mumbai ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mandū ...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...
Mūminābād	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mah Indrāpūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mahīsūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mīraṭh ...	...	...	...	O	...	...	...	...	...
Mailāpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nārnol ...	...	...	*W*	B.M.	...	...	*L.M.*	...	...	V(1)
Nāgpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nāgōr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nāhan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Najafgaṛh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Najībābād	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Najībgaṛh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Narwar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naṣrullanagar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Aurangzeb.			Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur.			Jahāndār.			Farrukhsiyar.		
N	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	D(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	B.M.	P.M.	B.M.	B.M.	...	...	P.M.	...	B.M.	B.M.	...
...	B.M.	R(1)	...	C.M.	...	...	P.M.	...	...	*L.M.*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	B.M.	K(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	*K*
P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	P.M.	...	...	*K*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	P.M.	...	...	C.M.	...	...	*B*	...	B.M.	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	D(1)	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...
B.M.	B.M.	P.M.	...	*W*	...	...	...	...	B.M.	B.M.	P.M.
P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*W*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	K(1)	R(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	B.M.	P.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Mint.	Rafi'ud-darajat.			Rafi'ud-daulah.			Muḥammad.		
	N	*R*	*Æ*	*N*	*R*	*Æ*	*N*	*R*	*Æ*
Gobindpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gūtī ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gorakhpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gokulgaṛh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lāhor	...	B.M.	...	C.M.	B.M.	...	B.M.	B.M.	...
Lakhnau ...	...	*S*	...	...	*W*	...	...	*B*	...
Lahrī Bandar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mālpūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mānikpūr ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mānghīr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mathurā (Islāmābād) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mujāhidābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Machlipaṭan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*E*
Muḥammadābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muḥammadnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Makhṣūṣābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Madan Koṭ ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Murādābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Murshidābād ...	...	K(1)	...	...	B.M.	...	C.M.	B.M.	...
Muṣṭafa-ābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muẓaffarābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muẓaffargaṛh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mu'azzimābād ...	B.M.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Multān	...	*W*	...	...	*W*	...	...	P.M.	P.M.
Malikanagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mulhārnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mumbai	...	...	...	...	*T*	...	...	B.M.	...
Mandū	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mūmināābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mah Indrāpūr ...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...	...	...	...
Mahīsūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mīraṭh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mailāpūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nārnol	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nāgpūr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nāgōr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nāhan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Najafgaṛh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Najībābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Najībgaṛh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Narwar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*E*	...
Naṣrullanagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Aḥmad.			'Ālamgīr II.			Shāh 'Ālam II.		
AV	AR	Æ	AV	AR	Æ	AV	AR	Æ
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	K(1)	...
...	P.M.	...	B.M.	B.M.	P.M.	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*B*	...
W	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*K*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	B.M.	...	...	D(1)	...	...	P.M.	...
...	B.M.	...	...	B.M.	...	B.M.	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	V(1)	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	C.M.	R(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	C.M.	...
...	*T*	...	...	...	...	B.M.	B.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	*G.B.*	...	...	...	P.M.
...	*E*	...	...	P.M.	...	...	P.M.	P.M.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	K(1)	...
...	...	...	...	*W*	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	R(1)
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.M.	...
...	...	...	*L.M.*	P.M.	...	C.M.	B.M.	P.M.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*E*	...
...	*G.B.*	...	...	*W*	...	...	*W*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*L.M.*	...

Mint.	Akbar.			Jahāngīr.			Shāhjahān.		
	Ⱥ	Ⱥ	Æ	Ⱥ	Ⱥ	Æ	Ⱥ	Ⱥ	Æ
Nuṣratābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nagar	...	...	R(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wālijābād (?) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hāthras	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hānsī (Ṣāḥibābād) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hardwār... ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
لور کل (?) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Mint.	Rafī'ud-darajat.			Rafī'ud-daulah.			Muḥammad.		
	Ⱥ	Ⱥ	Æ	Ⱥ	Ⱥ	Æ	Ⱥ	Ⱥ	Æ
Nuṣratābād ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nagar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wālijābād (?) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hāthras	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hānsī (Ṣāḥibābād) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hardwār... ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
لور کل (?) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Aurangzeb.			Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur.			Jahāndār.			Farrukhsiyar.		
N	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*
...	B M.	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	*T*	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	*T*	...

Ahmad.			'Ālamgīr II.			Shāh 'Ālam II.		
N	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*	*N*	*R*	*E*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*K*
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*W*	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	C	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*E*	P.M.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...

Jahāngīr as Salīm.

Mint.	N	Æ	Æ
Aḥmadābād ...	...	B.M.	R(1)

Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān.

	N	Æ	Æ
Aḥmadābād ...	P.M.	B.M.	...
Akbarnagar ...	...	*L.M.*	...
Āgrā ...	...	B.M.	...
Patna ...	...	B.M.	...
Sūrat ...	B.M.	B.M.	...
Lāhor ...	B.M.	B.M.	...

Dāwar Bakhsh.

	N	Æ	Æ
Lāhor ...	...	B.M.	...

Shujā'.

	N	Æ	Æ
Akbārābad ...	...	B.M.	...
Jalaonābād (?) ...	...	P.M.	...

Murād Bakhsh.

	N	Æ	Æ
Aḥmadābād ...	B.M.	B.M.	...
Sūrat ...	...	B.M.	...
Khanbāyat ...	*G.B.*	B.M.	...

A'ẓam Shāh.

	N	Æ	Æ
Aḥmadābād ...	...	B.M.	...
Aḥmadnagar ...	...	*W*	...
Burhānpūr ...	B.M.	B.M.	...
Khojista Bunyād	B.M.	...	...
Sūrat ...	...	*K*	...

Kām Bakhsh.

	N	Æ	Æ
Aḥsanābād ...	...	*K*	...
Bījāpūr ...	...	B.M.	...
Ḥaidarābād ...	B.M.	*T*	...
Gulburga ...	...	*K*	...

Nīkū Siyar.

	N	Æ	Æ
Sūrat ...	B.M.	P.M.	...

Ibrāhīm.

	N	Æ	Æ
Shāhjahānābād ...	B.M.	B.M.	...

Shāh Jahān III.

	N	Æ	Æ
Aḥmadābād ...	...	B.M.	...
Islāmābād ...	B.M.	...	...
Sūrat ...	...	K(1)	...
Shāhābād Qanauj	...	*K*	...
Shāhjahānābād ...	*K*	B.M.	...
Farrukhābād ...	B.M.	B.M.	...
Murshīdābād ...	...	C.M.	...
Mah Indrāpūr ...	P.M.	B.M.	...

Bīdār Bakht.

	N	Æ	Æ
Aḥmadābād ...	B.M.	...	*W*
Shāhjahānābād ...	B.M.	B.M.	...
Muḥammadābād	P.M.	...	...

Akbar II.

	N	Æ	Æ
Itāwa ...	...	*K*	...
Ajmīr ...	...	...	K(1)
Aḥmadābād ...	...	*W*	P.M.

	Akbar II.			
	N	*R*	*E*	
Banāras	...	...	*K*	...
Akbarābād	...	...	P.M.	R(1)
Braj Indrāpūr	...	...	P.M.	...
Baroda	...	...	*T*	...
Jodhpūr	...	...	...	K(1)
Jaipūr	...	...	*W*	P.M.
Haidarābād	...	...	D(1)	...
Shāhjahānābād	...	P.M.	B.M.	P.M.
Sheopūr	...	...	*T*	...
Farrukhābād	...	...	...	*K*
Firozpūr	...	...	...	P.M.
Gwāliar	...	...	...	R(1)
Lakhnau	...	...	...	*K*

	Akbar II.			
	N	*R*	*E*	
Muzaffargarh	...	...	*W*	...
Mah Indrāpūr	...	...	*B*	...

	Bahādur II.			
	N	*R*	*E*	
Jaipūr	...	...	*K*	*K*
Haidarābād	...	*K*	D(1)	...
Shāhjahānābād	...	...	B.M.	...
Najībābād	...	...	...	D(1)

On some Archæological remains in the District of Rājshāhī.—By Maulavi Abdul Wali.

[Read June, 1903.]

A few months ago I was so fortunate as to find in the Record-room of the Magistrate of Rājshāhī a highly interesting report on the archæological buildings of the district. Mr. J. S. Carstairs, late Magistrate and Collector of Rājshāhī, submitted in his letter, No. 86, dated the $\frac{15th}{22nd}$ April, 1872, an account of the Jāmi' Masjids[1] at Bagha and Kusamba to the Commissioner of the Division. This report, with its rough sketches (a copy of which I took),[2] is of the highest value at the present moment, as both the buildings have fallen into utter ruins. My acknowledgments are due to Saiyid Tafazzul Husain Ṣāḥib, Sirishtadār to the Magistrate of Rājshāhī, for his finding out the report for me, and for preserving it so long from being destroyed as a waste-paper.

The paper is submitted as its author had penned it. I have only modified the spellings of certain Oriental words according to the system of transliteration adopted by the Society, and put them in angular brackets. I have divided the paper into two parts, and put Mr. Carstair's report in double inverted commas, adding a few notes of mine below each part.

The Arabic *texts* of the original inscriptions have been procured and carefully deciphered and translated.

"I have the honor to submit a report on the Archæological Buildings in this district visited by me during the year 1871-72.

"The first to be mentioned is the old Bagha Mosque. It is supposed to have been built in the year 930 of the Hegira [Hijra]. It

1 The word Jāmi, (جامع) does not occur in the inscription of the Kusamba Masjid. It was not constructed by a King, but during the reign of a King, by a nobleman.

2 These sketches were too rough for publication and have been omitted.—Ed.

has 10 domes visible outside over the roof and supported inside by vaulted arches running lengthways and transverse between the walls and the four stone pillars which stand along the centre of the interior.

"The marginal sketch shows the style of the arches and the character of the central pillars. In the west wall there are three ornamental recesses intended for the leaders of devotion, the central recess being for the Imām. The building is 54 feet long by 45 feet broad: the walls of brick are 7 feet in thickness; at a distance the building has an unsightly appearance, looks in fact like a queer-shaped barn of red brick. The following rough sketch may convey an idea of its form, but I have not attempted to show the fillagree ornamentation of greatly varying patterns and details with which the walls on all four sides are covered and which are carved apparently out of the brick. Some of these patterns are extremely elegant. I venture to reproduce a few of the easiest on the margin and also a specimen of the favourite device which, with innumerable variations of details is repeated again and again all round. Over the central door is an inscription of which I annex a copy. It runs to the following effect:—

"May God pour down his blessings on the Prophet who said:—The man that maketh a seat for God on earth shall find in turn a seat made ready for him in Heaven by God. The founder of this Jumah Masjid was a great and benevolent Emperor who was also the son of an Emperor. He was victorious in all worldly and religious affairs:—Abool Muzaffar Nuzrut Shah [Abu-l-Muẓaffar Nuṣrat Shāh], son of Shah Sultan Hosseinul Hosseinee [Sulṭān Ḥusain-al-Ḥusainī]. May God keep him and his country and his empire for ever in safety. The year 930 (of the Hegira)."

"There is great difficulty about ascertaining the real facts connected with the erection of this building and the acquisition of the surrounding lakhraj property by the Khondakors of Bagha. In the year 1815 the Board of Revenue directed the then Collector to make enquiries about the Bagha Estate, but it was found that no accurate information was forthcoming, and that only incorrect information was furnished by the Khondakors who were afraid of measures being taken for the resumption of their lakhraj.

"The following is the popular story about Bagha. An emperor of Gaur on his way to Dacca encamped near Bagha. As fire was wanted men were sent out to find a house. Coming to a jungle from which smoke was ascending, they found a fakeer who, though fires were burning and tigers were roaring round him, went on quietly with his prayers to God. The men seized up some fire and rushed back with it to the camp where they told the Emperor what they had seen. The

Emperor, filled with curiosity, went forth and visited the fakeer and found him as has been reported. Then the Emperor waited on the fakeer whose name was Shah Mahamed Doolla [Shāh Muḥammad Daula] and besought him saying, "O man of God, shall thy servant advance to Dacca or wait here." Then the Fakeer answered and said, "Wait thou here one day." So the Emperor waited. And it came to pass the very same day that there came messengers to him from Dacca saying, "Behold, the fighting is over, and the victory is thine." Then was the Emperor greatly pleased and ssid, "Behold here is a great man," and he offered unto him many lands, free of rent, but these the man of God would not accept, saying, "Nay, my lord; but thy servant cannot hear of this thing. For he that once hath turned his back upon the world, how shall he not be averse to the vanities thereof. But let thy favour be showed unto thy servant's son." And the name of his son was Hazrut Moulana Danesh-Mund [Ḥaẓrat Maulānā Dānishmand]. To him, therefore, did the Emperor give a royal grant of two and twenty mauzahs of rent-free land. This Maulana Danesh-Mund was the father of Abdool Waheb who, according to another account, was the person to whom the Emperor of Delhi, Shah Jahan on a tour in this district awarded the rent-free tenures round the musjid, as a reward for his great learning, in the year 1033. It is said that in the Sunnud [Sanad] no other provision was made and that the lands were given solely for the support of himself and his descendants, that the descendants considering that the Lakhraj, as assigned, might be liable to resumption, altered the grant, so as to make it appear that half was to be devoted to religious services, and that it was to be enjoyed only by men of learning and religion in the family. Abdool Wahib's ['Abdu-l-Wahhāb's] son Mahamed Ruffik [Muḥammad Rafiq] was the first Roish [Rais] or Sebait of the musjid.

"At the north end of the building are 3 tombs, said to be those of the Darogahs who took part in building the masjid, and in the neighbourhood are cemeteries in which all the members of the Bagha family when they die are buried, but there is nothing architecturally striking about their tombs.

"The chief representatives of the family are now minors and their properties are under the management of the Civil Court. Near the mosque is a large tank in a very dirty state and over-grown all over with weeds."

Notes.

Long before the present territorial aristocracy of the District of Rājshāhī—the Thākurs of Putiyā, the Rājās of Nātor and Dighāpatiyā—had acquired their Zamindāris, the part of the country in

which the Jāmi' Masjid and the big tank of Bagha are situated formed a part of the Pargana Lashkarpur, which again according to the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* was included within the administrative jurisdiction of Sarkār Bārbakābād. The Qaṣba-i-Bāghā is situated in Bilmāriā (or Lālpur) Police Circle, under Nātōr Sub-division, to the South-east of Rampur-Boalia. According to the Statistical Accounts of Rājshāhī, the Muḥammadan rent-free tenures and *aimas* are most numerous in the police thānās of Bilmāriā and Nātōr.

The following is the Arabic text of the inscription in beautiful Tughrā Character—[1]

(1) قال النبي صلے الله عليه و سلم من بنے مسجدالله في الدنيا بنى الله له بيت في الجنه بني هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان (2) المعظم و المكرم السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر (3) نصرشاه السلطان ابن حسين شاه السلطان الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في سنة ثلثين و تسعماية •

TRANSLATION.

The Prophet, upon whom be blessings and peace, says—"He who maketh a Masjid for God on earth, will have an abode made for him by God in Heaven like it." This Cathedral mosque was built by the exalted and benevolent Sultan, the Sultan son of a Sultan, Nāṣiru-d-Dunyā wad-Dīn, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Nuṣrat Shāh the Sultān, son of Sultān Ḥusain Shah-al-Ḥusainī,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and rule,—in the year 930 (A.H).

Sulṭān 'Alā'uddin Ḥusain Shāh, who was a contemporary of the Delhi Emperor Sikandar Lōdī, was succeeded by his son Abu-l-Muẓaffar Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh. The latter reigned from A.D. 1518 to 1532, corresponding to A.H. 925 to 939. During the reign of this monarch, in the year 930 A.H. or 1523-4 A.D., the beautiful Masjid at Bagha was constructed and a tank excavated. Not far from Bagha, at Makhdūmpur, lived at that time 'Alā Bakhsh Barkhurdār Lashkarī: the ruins of his house can still be seen. He was at once a great man and a Royal Jāgīrdār of Pargana Lashkarpur, which yielded an annual income of Rupees three lakhs and sixty thousand. This Jāgīr he had received from Ḥusain Shāh.

About this time came from Baghdād Maulānā Shāh Mu'azzam Dānishmand,[2] who is known by his more familiar name Shāh Daula. He married Zību-n-Nisā, daughter of the Jāgīrdār. Their son was

1 The inscription is in 3 lines, 24 ¾ inches long, and 5¼ inches broad.

2 The Persian titles 'Dānishmand' and 'Shāh Daula,' clearly show that the Maulana did not come direct from Baghdād, where only Arabic titles are used.

that renowned scholar and man, Maulānā Ḥamīd Dānishmand, whose life and fame cast an additional lustre on the family. His son Shāh 'Abdu-l-Wahhāb got in 1033 A.H. from Shāh Jahān, son of Emperor Jahāngīr, *forty-two* mauzas, with an annual rent of Rs. 8,000 as a *Jāgīr*. This Jāgīr, was given by that prince, while as it appears from history, he held temporarily the Dictatorship of Bengal, having rebelled against his father. In 1032 A.H. (1662 A.D.) a bloody battle was fought between the Ṣūbahdār Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ-Jang and that Prince, in which the faithful Ṣūbahdār died fighting. This grant, so it appears, was subsequently ratified and reaffirmed by Emperor Jahāngīr; thus the Bagha Jāgīr was not, as it is said, conferred by both of them under separate Sanads.

In the year 1047 A.H. (1637 A.D.) Shāh Muḥammad Rafīq, son of 'Abdu-l-Wahhāb, made a *waqf* of the eight-annas share of the property, the remaining eight annas remaining with the sons of his brother, Nūru-l-'Ārifīn. The Mutawallī of the Estate, who is styled *Ra'īs*, performs all the duties of his office, *e.g.*, the celebration of the *'Urs* looking after the Madrasah, the Masjid and the Musāfirīn (wayfarers) &c., &c. The first Ra'īs was Mu'īnu-l-Islām, eldest son of Shāh Muḥammad Rafiq, the *donor*. The second and third Ra'īses were respectively his son and grandson, Shamsu-l-Islām and Sharīfu-l-Islām. The fourth Ra'īs was Faṣīḥu-l-Islām, brother of Sharīfu-l-Islam. Faṣīḥu-l-Islām's son, Faiẓu-l-Islām, who was the fifth Ra'īs, died without leaving any male issue. He was, therefore, succeeded, by his son-in-law, Nūr 'Ālam, as the sixth Ra'īs. Khundkār 'Abdullāh, the son of the latter, was elevated to *gadi*, as the Seventh Ra'īs.

Shāh Muḥammad Rafīq's second son, Badru-l-Islām, and grandson, Amīru-l-Islām, were not Ra'īses, as Rafīq's eldest son, and the latter's descendants, succeeded one after another, till the time of the fifth Ra'īs, Faṣīhu-l-Islām, who died leaving no male issue. As 'Abdullāh, like his father, was not descended from the male line of the donor, and as also not qualified for the post of Mutawallī, Amīru-l-Islām's son Musāfiru-l-Islām instituted in 1805 A.D. a suit in the Ṣadr Dīwānī 'Adālat, Calcutta, to establish his rights as a Mutawallī. The case being decided in his favour, he was installed in 1806 as the eighth Ra'īs, when 'Abdullāh had to retire. Musāfiru-l-Islām's two sons, Muẓaffaru-l-Islām and 'Azīzu-l-Islām succeeded one after the other as the ninth and tenth Ra'īses. The latter having lost a grown-up son, declared as his successor to the Riyāsat his other son, Tanṣīqu-l-Islām, who succeeded him. The present or the twelfth Ra'īs, Amīru-l-Islām, is a brother of Tanṣīqu-l-Islām.

The family of the Bagha Khundkars has enjoyed till lately great

respect. It is said, that Shāh Daula was descended from the 'Abbāsī Khalīfa, Hārūn-ar-Rashīd of Baghdād. Shāh Daula ran away from Baghdād, and married the daughter of 'Alā Bakhsh Barkhurdār, Jāgirdār of Lashkarpūr or Putiyā. His family has been known as a *half* family, because according to the proverb "a man is but half a man till he gets a wife" he came to Bengal *alone* or without a wife.

The author of the Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn states that Rājā Kans, among his other tyrannical acts, had killed Shaikh Badru-l-Islām 'Abbāsī, owing to the latter not showing sufficient respect to him. Khundkār Faẓl-i-Rabbī in his "Origin of the Musalmans of Bengal," and in the "Taṣdīqu-n-Nihād," endorses this account, and states that Shaikh Badru-l-Islām was a disciple of the saint Nūr Quṭb-i-'Ālam, and that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sharqī of Jaunpur came at the special request of the saint to punish Kans. As the founder of the Khundkār family of Bagha flourished during the reign of King Nuṣrat Shāh in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century A.D., and Rājā Kans reigned almost a century-and-a-half before that, either the fact stated is untrue, or the person said to be killed has not been identified.

The income of the big *āima* Estate has been variously estimated. Mr. Adam, in his Report on Education, states that its income, according to the Collector of Rājshāhī was Rs. 30,000. According to my information its income was over Rs. 18,000 per annum. As the estate is not well managed, its income must be of a fluctuating nature.

In the earthquake of 1897, the Jāmi' Masjid was severely damaged. Its walls on three sides are still standing: the front or Eastern wall and the roof have fallen. During the famine of 1897 A.D., the Government began re-excavating the big tank as a relief measure, but it was stopped as the rains set in, and has not since been resumed. It is to be regretted that this 'fine mosque, one of the few handsome ancient buildings in the District,' should be allowed to remain in this dilapidated state, while there be an endowment of land for the maintenance of the same and other charitable works.[1]

A religious fair is held at Bagha to celebrate the 'Īd-i-Ramaẓān on the termination of the fastings.

Part II.—Kusamba.

"The next Building I have to mention is the mosque at Kusamba in Manda Thannah in the north of the District. It is of the same shape

[1] The mosque has been inspected by me on behalf of Government in October 1903, and its restoration has been sanctioned. All the domes have fallen, but the walls are still fairly intact, with the exception of a portion of the Eastern facade. In all details, the mosque is almost a duplicate of the famous Tantipara Masjid at

as that at Bagha, but smaller and built of solid stone instead of bricks. It has 6 domes and there are 2 pillars only along the centre of the interior. The arches are of the same shape as those in the Bagha mosque; there are nine arches lengthways and 8 arches transverse, including those cut into the side walls. At each end of the building there are 2 recess windows. On the east side are 3 doors. On the west side are 2 decorated recesses for the leaders of devotion, adorned with dark green stone into which ornamental devices, very elegant and chaste, have been carved. The mosque was roughly measured as 40 haths long by 30 haths broad, and the walls of stone are $4\frac{3}{4}$ haths in depth. On the outside of massive stone there is very little ornamentation. Over the middle doorway is an inscription of which I annex a copy to the following effect: "May God pour forth blessings on the Prophet who said, "The man that maketh a place for the worship of God on earth shall in turn be made happy by God in the day of judgment." The founder of this mosque was a powerful and benevolent Emperor, one who was victorious in worldly and religious affairs, namely Abool Muzaffar Bahadur [Abu-l-Muẓaffar Bahādur], son of Sultan Mahamed Gazee [Sulṭān Muḥammad Ghāzī]. May God keep him and his country and empire in safety. He was a mighty Emperor full of glory and had a large army. Constructed by Suleyman Ram in the year 903 of the Hegira[1]."

"In the interior on the west side but to the north of the recesses are first a stone pulpit with stairs and next reaching to the north-west corner a stone *Dargāh* with stairs.

"Rough sketches of these and of one of the pillars are attempted below.

"The pillars are massive as shown on the margin. The roof is overgrown with heavy jungle which threatens in time to bring down the whole building. This would be a great pity as the building is the finest and oldest of its kind in the district. Close to the mosque is an immense tank of fine clear water: it looks quite like a lake and is said to extend over an area of 70 bighas. If proper care were taken of this property it would be a most interesting and picturesque neighbourhood, but it has fallen into the the hands of a Hindu Mooktear [Mukhtār], who does not appear to find it worth his while to keep it in good order.

"The following is the popular [illegible] about this mosque:—

"A zemindar, by name Chilman Mazumdar, who lived in Kalisaua,

Gaur, but the carvings of the latter exhibit greater skill and elegance. The question of compelling the Rais of Bagha to do the repairs at his own cost is at present under consideration.—T. Bloch.

[1] See below for a correct transcript and translation of this inscription.

fell into arrears of rent, and for his debts was imprisoned at Moorshidabad by the Nawab. In the month of Aswin one night of the Durga Poojah he sang some pathetic songs so beautifully as to enchant one of the Nawab's Begums who was listening to his singing. She spoke about him next day to the Nawab, and he gave orders to the jailor to produce forthwith the man who had been singing in the Jail during the previous night. The jailor accordingly produced Chilman Mazumdar, who was informed that he was then and there to marry the Begum whom he had enchanted and also to turn Mahomedan. He declined at first and expostulated strongly, on which the Nawab sentenced him to death as the alternative. The Mazumdar, to save his life, consented and turned Musalman, took the name of Soleem Khan and was married to the Begum. Then the Begum urged to the Nawab that this husband of her had not the means to support her, on which the Nawab gave them in a *sanad* a lakhraj grant of Perganah Kaligaon, and authorized them to take from his Treasury as much wealth as they could load themselves with, in one prohar's time. So the Begum and her Khan went into the Treasury and carried off as much wealth as they could manage to stow away about their persons within the time allowed. They went to Kushamba near the Khan's old home and built themselves a fine house, which is now in utter ruins and quite inaccessible on account of the thick jungle. Then they erected first a smaller mosque which is also now inaccessible, and then the larger masjid under notice. Two tanks were excavated, and the Khan dedicated one to his *Gooroo Thakur* according to the Hindu Shastras, and the other is known by the name of the Shonadighee, after his wife the Begum, who was named Shona Beebee. Sona Bibee soon bore him a son, and the family occupied their property happily for many years. But in the time of Soleem's great-grandson, Rajah Baidyanath of Dinajpur made an inroad, looted the property, and took possession of Perganah Kaligaon. Subsequently the Perganah came into the hands of the British Government and was disposed of to several zemindars.

"The water of the large Dighee is said to be very clear. No jungle grows in it and from this fact, and also from the comparatively high temperature of its water during the cold season, it is generally alleged that there are metals lying in it."

Notes.

To the north of Rampur-Boalia, the present headquarters of Rājshāhi, and west of the Naugaon Sub-Division, on the west bank of the Atrai river, is situated—Manda, a considerable village and the headquarters of the thana of that name. About four miles south of it

is Kūsambā or Kūsambī, where the mosque which is not, however, the oldest mosque of the District, is situated.[1] It is to be regretted that these interesting archæological remains are at present in a very bad state of preservation. Only *three* out of *six* domes now remain, which are broken, and the *débris* from them cover the inner floor of the mosque. Fortunately the walls are still standing, but some of their stones have fallen or been removed by unscrupulous villagers. It appears that the base of the building was erected on a platform, supported by arches with passages underneath. Although jungle has grown, and the passages have thereby been blocked up, the entrance to the passages can still be seen. Though dilapidated, the mosque was entire till the terrible earthquake of 1897, when the top portions of the domes fell, killing two persons who had gone into the interior of the building, while the *ta'ziya* procession had assembled in the neighbourhood of the masjid. The *mimbar* can be reached by stone steps, though it is not very safe, at their present state, to do so.

The large area towards the back of the Masjid is covered with thick vegetation. It contains moats, smaller tanks, and the remains of two or three brick-built buildings for the use of Muhammadan nobles and officials.

The tale as to the origin of the Masjid, as heard by Mr. Carstairs, and still repeated by the villagers, I am loath to believe in its entirety. Gaur can easily be substituted for Murshidabad, as the latter city was not then founded. Revenue Collectors were often incarcerated till they had paid their dues or satisfied the authorities in other ways. There is nothing strange in this. Sonā Bībī, if that was her name, could not be the Begum: most probably she was one of her maid-servants. The fable may be thus modified:—The zamindar used to play on a flute. Being pleased with the music, Sonā Bībī begged the king to liberate him and allow her to be united with him in holy matrimony. As Sonā Bībī was a Musalman woman, and the zamindar a Hindu, the king could not allow such an interdicted alliance. The zamindar having adopted the safe course, the king allowed the couple to depart as husband and wife, having given them money enough from the Royal Treasury for their immediate needs, and a *Jāgīr* of Mauza Kusambī with 327 other villages in its neighbourhood for their future wants. It is impossible to suppose that the prisoner would have fared better if he was foolish enough to please one of the Royal ladies. No sovereign would put away a wife, because his wife desired it.

[1] I hear that there are other ruins of ancient tanks, tombs and temples as well as the traces of a city some six or seven miles from Bāgmārā *thana* in Rājshāhī Two of the mosques are at Madariganj, and one at Namāz-gāon. The locality is called Mīrkāl.

From the inscription copied below, it will be observed that the Kusamba Mosque was built by Sulaimān in the reign of Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn Abu-l-Muẓaffar Bahādur Shāh, the son of Muḥammad Shāh Ghāzī of the family of Sūr Afghāns, in the Hijri year 966 A.H., corresponding to 1558-9 A.D., some thirty-five years after the Bagha Mosque. Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn Bahādur Shāh reigned from A.H. 962 to 968 only. It appears that Sulaimān obtained his building-materials from ruined and unused Hindu temples, but showed great toleration in preserving those that were in good order or till then used.

Babu Jageswar Biswas, late Deputy Magistrate of Rājshāhi, who visited the Masjid on the 11th December 1901, saw that the stone containing the inscription about the foundation of the mosque had fallen down at the earthquake or later on, and that it was kept inclined against the wall of the middle-arched door of the mosque. In September, 1902, I learnt that it was removed by one Khudī Munshī of the village to his own house, and there it now rests.

I take this opportunity of suggesting that when steps are being taken to preserve the ruins of Gaur and Panduah, it is worth while to repair this ancient and stone-built Masjid of the District, and preserve it from farther dilapidation.

The following is the text of the inscription engraved in bold Tughrā character. It is in two lines, each line measuring 2 ft. $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $8\frac{1}{4}$ in.

(1) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني لله مسجدا يبتغي به وجه الله بني الله له
في الجنة مثله في عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم غياث (2) الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر بهادر
شاه السلطان ابن محمد شاه غازي خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه وعلى امره و شانه و عز جنده
و برهانه بناكرده سليمان دام عدله في سنة ست ستين تسعمأية

Translation :—

The Prophet, may God's blessings and favour be on him, has said, "He who maketh a mosque for God, desiring thereby God's honour, will have one like it built for him by God in paradise." In the time of the exalted and benevolent Sultān, Ghiyāṣu-d Dunyā-wad-Dīn Abu-l-Muẓaffar Bahādur Shāh, the Sultān, son of Muḥammad Shāh Ghāzī, (may God perpetuate his kingdom and his sovereignty, and exalt his command and dignity, and may his army and example be honoured!) constructed by Sulaimān, (may his justice be lasting!) in the year 966

A list of Tibetan books brought from Lhasa by the Japanese monk, Mr. Ekai Kawa Gochi.—*By* E. H. C. Walsh, I.C.S.

The books which are contained in the following list are a collection which was brought from Lhasa by a Japanese monk, Mr. Ekai Kawa Gochi, who kindly placed them at my disposal when in Darjeeling on his way back from Lhasa in the summer of 1902. Mr. Ekai Kawa Gochi who is a doctor of the Tokio University visited Tibet with the purpose of studying Tibetan Buddhism at Lhasa and also of making a collection of such valuable books from the point of view of Buddhist religion and Doctrine, as he could obtain, to take back to Japan for his University, and the result of a year's, work in this respect, during the time that he remained as a monk in the great monastery of Sera, and practiced as a doctor of medicine in Lhasa itself is contained in the present list.

Before referring more fully to the ist I will therefore give a short description of Mr. Ekai Kawa Gochi himself.

Mr. Ekai Kawa Gochi, who is a Japanese and a Buddhist by religion, is 34 years of age. He came to India in 1898, with letters of recommendation from Mr. Bonio Nanju, Professor of Sanskrit in the Tokio University, to Rai Sarat Chandra Das, Bahadur. He remained for two years in Darjeeling where he lived with Rai Sarat Chandra Das, Bahadur, and under his supervision studied Tibetan, from Lama Shab Dung. When he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of Tibetan he started in February, 1900, for Tibet. Having first visited Gaya he went on to Nepal and after staying there a month with a Lama at the Temple of Muktanath at Kathmandu he went on to Tsha rong, on the frontier of Tibet, where he remained for a year studying Tibetan with a Geshe (Professor) of the Sera Monastery who lived there. He then started on his journeys in Tibet. He first visited Lake Mansarowar and Mount Kailash where he spent three months at the Monastery of "Pretapuri." From here he went to Harjye, a journey which took him three months and lay through desert, of sandy and grass land, where he used to obtain accommodation in the Tents of the Nomads, who graze large herds of yaks. From Harjye

where there is a small Monastery he went on to Sakya Monastery where he stayed ten days. From there he went on to Tashi Lhunpo, which took five days, and stayed there for three weeks. He then went on to Ramba, where he stayed four months at the Monastery, where he read the "Kangyur" (bkah-agyur) and was admitted as a monk and given the monks dress. From there he went on to Lhasa where he arrived March 1901, and at once obtained admission as a novice (Drapa) at the Monastery of Sera, and pursued his studies there until he had to leave in June, 1902, as his identity then became known to certain persons and he had to escape so as to prevent his being taken for a foreign spy. During the time he was at Sera he practiced as a doctor in Lhasa and in this way made a number of friends amongst the influential men, and officials, and it was on this account that he was able to get away, and also to bring with him the collection of Tibetan books which he had occupied his time in making and which was the object of his visit.

He did not himself wish to leave Lhasa and wished to represent his case to the Dalai Lama that he was himself a Buddhist and had merely visited the country in disguise as a Tibetan monk for religious purposes with the object of learning the Tibetan Buddhist teaching. His friends, however, dissuaded him from doing this, as they feared his discovery as a foreigner would compromise them; as it would be held that they ought to have discovered the fact before and reported it, and it was on their advice that he at once secretly made his escape before his identity was generally known.

Mr. Ekai Kawa Gochi remained for some time in Darjeeling, during which time I saw him on several occasions. He then proceeded to again visit Kathmandu, where he spent some time, and has since returned to Japan.

The list of books, brought from Lhasa.—The list contains the names of 85 books. In the second column will be found the name of the book with a transliteration in the Roman Character. In the transliteration I have used the letter *a* for the prefix ཨ and the others are transliterated by their corresponding Roman letter without and diacritical marks.

In the third column are given the particulars of the book. The size of the leaf, the printing press or other place that it was obtained from, and the price paid for it.

As the width of the margin of the paper left round the printed wood-block that forms each page varies considerably I have also noted the size of the actual printing on the leaf as well as the size of the leaf itself. As all Tibetan books are printed on both sides of the paper the number of pages in each case is double the number of the leaves; as

the leaf is numbered and not the page. I have also, to make the description more complete, given in each case the number of lines of print that go to the page in each book, which number is always uniform throughout the book. All Tibetan printed books are xylographs and each page forms a separate woodblock. In most cases if a book is required the intending purchaser goes to the printing press, generally attached to a Monastery, where its woodblocks are kept, and has it printed to order. Mr. Ekai Kawa Gochi obtained most of his books in this way, and he told me that he found it necessary to check the numbering of all the leaves very carefully to see that the printer had actually printed everyone; as otherwise it is a very common form of fraud to leave a large number of leaves out.

Some books for which there is a general demand are printed ready for sale and can be bought at book-shops other than the actual printing press, and wherever this is the case I have noted it in column 3.

In ordering a book to be printed the purchaser can either purchase the paper at the printing press, or, as is very often done he procures his paper elsewhere and makes it over to the press and in that case pays for the actual printing only for which the ordinary rate is two *Tangkas* (=12 annas) a day for the printer, without food, or one *Tangka* (=6 annas) a day, and food. The printer works from about 8. A.M. to abont 4 P.M. and can print about 200 pages a day. The general rate, including paper is two *Tangkas* per fifty pages and an extra half tanka (= 3 annas) more for a special order. I have given in each case the price at which the book is obtainable in Lhasa. The price is given in "*Tangkas*," the Tibetan standard silver coin, equivalent to six annas (-T.), and I have given the equivalent in Indian money.

From columm 3 it will be seen that 14 of the books were printed at the Depung Monastery Press, 8 at the Press attached to the Palace at Potala, the Dalai Lama's residence, 7 at the Chief Printing Press and book-shop in Lhasa at Paljor Rabdan, 4 at the Pulunka Monastery, 3 at the Tengeling Monastery, 3 at Meru, 1 at Sera, and 1 at Chos-tse-ling, all monasteries in or near Lhasa.

Of the remainder, 28 are procurable ready printed, at any book-sellers. They are chiefly (*e.g.*, Nos 35 to 52) cheap Religious or Devotional books, costing a few annas each, and used mostly by the Lamas, but also by the Laity. Many of these latter are written in Sanskrit, which is printed in the old form of the Sanskrit letters known as "*Lan-tsha*," which is the old *Svayambhu* character of Magadha and always employed in Tibet, and in such case the Transliteration in Tibetan is printed, usually above the Sanskrit line and the Translation in Tibetan below the Sanskrit.

The short description of the contents of the book, in column 4, was given by Mr. Ekai Kawa Gochi himself, and my thanks are due to him for the trouble he took in stating the subject matter of each book, and also to Rai Sarat Chandra Das, Bahadur, who kindly assisted him in doing this, and dictated to Migmar Tendup what should be given as such description.

My thanks are also due to Migmar Tendup for kindly transcribing the names of the books in column 2, and taking down the description in col. 4.

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
1	རྗེ་ཙོང་ཁ་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་། (*Rje-tsong-kha-pa-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 376.	21¼ × 3½ Print 18½ × 2½. Bought from the De-pung Press. 17. T = Rs. 6-6-0. But the print was not very clear, so E. K. G. got another copy specially printed for which he paid 22. T = Rs. 8-4-0.	The biography of the reformer Je-tsong Khá-pa who came from Amdo to Tibet and was the the founder of the Galugpá or the Yellow Cap Sect in Tibet. It relates how he built celebrated monastery of Gahden of the Yellow School (in the year 1409) about thirty miles east of Lhasa.
2	སྐྱབས་མགོན་ལྔ་པ་ངག་དབང་བློ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་། (*Skyabs mgon lna-pa ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya mtsho-i-rnam-thar*). Volumes ཀ to ཇ། 2,427 sheets.	7 Vols. 23½ × 4. Print 18½ × 2½, six lines, on good paper. 1st Vol. ཀ 418. 2nd „ ཁ 385. 3rd „ ག 366. 4th „ ང 367. 5th „ ཅ 364. 6th „ ཆ 281. 7th „ ཇ 246. Total 2,427 leaves.	The life of the fifth Dalai Lama named "Ngág-wáng-Lob-Zang-Gya-tsho," who is the most celebrated of all the Dalai Lamas. According to some he was the first sovereign Dalai Lama, those who preceded him being merely Supreme Lamas of the Yellow School; but his long minority led to political disturbances. It relates how in the end this Grand Lama overcame all difficulties, the power of a king of Tibet was made over to him, and how he built a monastery on the summit of the hill *Potálá* in which he still resides in his continual re-incarnations.

		Rs. 49-0-0. Printed to order at the De-pung Press. It can only be got there.	
Vol. ཇ། Series (a)	རྒྱལ་བས་མཚོན་གསུམ་པ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཡི་རྣམ་ཐར། (*Skyabs-mgon gsum-pa bsod-nams rgya-mtsho-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 106.	Same series as the preceding, and same size and print. The volume contains 395 leaves in all, under the different headings given. Price, Rs. 8.	The life of the third Dalai Lama named "Sód-nam-Gya-tsho." He was the first who really took the half Mongolian title of Dalai Lama. It describes how hard he laboured to spread Buddhism among the Mongolians and founded the first Great Lama's chair in Mongolia.
" (b)	རྒྱལ་བས་མཚོན་བཞི་པ་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཡི་རྣམ་ཐར། (*Skyabs-mgon bshi-pa yon-ten-rgya-mtsho-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 52.	Included in the above volume.	The life of the fourth Dalai Lama named "Yón-ten Gya-tsho," who was born in Mongolia and lived there up to his fourteenth year, when he moved to Lhasa.
" (c)	ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤྲུལ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཆན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར།	Do.	This book contains the life of the first Panchhen Lama of Tashi Lhunpo Monastery.

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
	(*Chhos-kyi rgyal-po blo-bzang chhos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan gyi-rnam-thar*). Leaves 8.		
Series (*d*)	རྗེ་རྗེ་སེམས་པའི་སོ་སོ་འི་ མཐོན་བསོད་ནམས་མཆོག་ ལྡན་བསྟན་པའི་ཟླ་མཚོན་ དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་འི་རྣམ་ཐར།	Included in the above volume.	
	(*Rdo-rje-sems-pa-i so-so-i mgon-bsod-nams mchhog-ldan bstan-pa-i rgyal-mtshen-dpal-bzang-po-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 102.		
,, (*e*)	འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱངས་ ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོགོན་མཆོག་ཆོས་ འཕེལ་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར།	Do.	Biographies of celebrated Lamas of various Sects of Tibet during the time of the fifth Dalai Lama.

	(*Ajam-dpal-dbyans chhos-kyi-rje-dkon-mchhog-chhos-aphel-gyi-rnam-thar*). Leaves 19.		
Series (*f*)	ཇྙན་བདག་འཇམ་མེད་ཡེ་ཤེས་དབང་པྱུག་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་།		
	(*Khyab-bdag akhor-lo-i-dbang-phyug dpal-abyor lhun-dub-kyi-rnam-thar*). Leaves 44.	In the same series as the preceding. Total pages 514 = Rs. 11.	Biographies of celebrated Lamas of varions Sects of Tibet.
, (*g*)	ཁྱབ་བདག་འཁོར་ལོ་དབང་ཕྱུག་དཔལ་འབྱོར་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་།		
	(*Byang-pa rig-azin chhen-po ngag-gi dbang-po-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 64.		
Vol. ཏ། Series (*a*)	ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་དབྱིངས་རང་གྲོལ་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་།		

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
	(*Thams-chad mkhyen-pa-chhos-abyins-rang-grol-gyi-rnam-thar*). Leaves 121.		
Series (*b*)	ཉང་སྟོན་ཁྲ་ཚང་པ་བློ་གྲོས་མཆོག་གི་རྡོ་རྗེའི་རྣམ་ཐར་།		
	(*Nyang-ston khra-tshang-pa blo-gros-mchhog-gi rdo-rje-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 63.		
,, (*c*)	རིགས་དང་དགེ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་གྲྭ་གྱི་ཁྲབ་བདག་རྣམས་རྣམ་ཐར་བྱོན་གསལ་ཀུ་མཆོག་གྲགས་པ་ཀུལ་མཆོན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་།	In the same series as the preceding. Total pages 514 = Rs. 11.	Biographies of celebrated Lamas of various Sects of Tibet.

	(*Rigs-dang-dkyil-akhor-kun-gyi khyab-bdag rdo-rje-achhang-blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho grags-pa rgyal-mtshen-dpal-bzang-po-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 120.		
Series (*d*)	བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་རྣམ་ཐར།		
	(*Bstan-pa-i-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 55.		
„ (*e*)	བསོད་ནམས་མཆོག་གྲུབ་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་རྣམ་ཐར།		Biographies of celebrated Lamas of Tibet.
	(*Bsod-nams-mchhog-grub-bstan-pa-i-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 55.		
3	སྐྱབས་མགོན་བདུན་པ་བསྐལ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐར།	23¾ × 4. Print 20¾ × 2¾. Six lines. Printed to order at Depung Press. Good paper. Rs. 19.	The life of the seventh Dalai Lama named "Kal-zang Gya-tsho." It describes how he upheld the power of the Yellow Sect over that of the Red Sect and spread religious works throughout the country, in which religious zeal had rather diminished in the sixth Dalai Lama's time.

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
	(*Skyabs-mgon-bdun-pa bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 946.		
4	བླ་མ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་། (*Blama-brgyud-pa-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 972 (498 + 474). In two Volumes I. Vol. 474 II. Vol. 498.	21½ × 3¼. Print 19¼ × 2¾. Six lines. Printed to order at Chos-tse-ling Monastery (about three miles from Lhasa) at 2 T. per 50 leaves. 20 T. each = Rs. 7-8 each. Rs. 15 for the two volumes. It can be occasionally bought at booksellers but should be printed to order.	This book contains the history of India and Tibet from Buddha's birth to the time of the eighth Dalai Lama. It contains the particulars of Yellow Sect only.
5	སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པའི་སྐྱེས་རབས་སུམ་ཅུ་རྩ་གཞི་། (*Sang-rgyes-shākya-thub-pa-i-skyes-rabs-sum-chu-so-bshi*). Leaves 422.	23¾ × 4. Print 17⅝ × 2½. Seven lines. Printed to order at Potala Shō. Good paper. Rs. 9.	The thirty-four different birth stories of "Shya-kya-thub-pa" before his re-appearance in human form as "Gautama" for the welfare of the world. The particulars of his several births, names of birth places and the length of life at each birth are fully described.

6	སངས་རྒྱས་ཤཱཀྱ་ཐུབ་པའི་སྐྱེས་རབས་བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱད་པ། (*Sangs-rgyas-shākya-thub pa-i-skyes-rabs brgya-dang-brgyed*). Leaves 620.	Similar to the above. Rs. 13.	Contains one hundred and eight further stories of Buddha's previous births with Sanskrit text interlined.
7	རྒྱལ་པོ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོའི་བཀའ་འབུམ། (*Rgyal-po srong-btsan-sgam-po-i-bka-abum*). Leaves 377. Volume ཀ	21¼ × 3½. Print 19¾ × 2¾. Can be bought at any booksellers. Price at 2 T. per 50 leaves (*viz.*, 100 pages) = 16 T. = Rs. 6.	This volume describes the history of Tibet from the beginning to King Srong-tsan-gam-po's reign. It contains some particulars of this king, who was a great Conqueror and Reformer; certain marks of perfection described in him even in his infancy like those of Avalokitesvara, how he began the work of civilising his subjects and directed his minister "Thumi Sambhota" to proceed to India and make acquaintance with Buddhist writings.
Series (*a*)	མ་ཎི་བཀའ་འབུམ། (*Ma-ni-bka-abum*). Leaves 331. Volume ཁ	24¼ × 3½. Print 19¼ × 2½. Can be bought at any booksellers. Rate 14 T. Rs. 5-4-0.	This book explains the spiritual good derived from the six favourite mystic syllables. (Om-ma-ni-pad-me-Hung).
8	རྗེ་བཙུན་མི་ལ་རས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར།		This book contains the life of "Je-tsun-mila-ras-pa." He was born in Kyā-ngā-tsa, whence owing to the ill-treatment of his uncle after his father's death, he was compelled to go to Nyā-lam (the boundary between Nepal and Tibet). He is said

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1	2	3	4
	(*Rje-btsun-mi-la-ras-pa-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 116. Volume ཀཀ་		to have studied the law of Buddha and passed the rest of his life here in religious meditation and preaching. Certain marks of perfection exhibited by him during his life-time, the difficulties undergone by him while studying the laws of Buddha under his master named "Marpa Lotsawa" and how he became celebrated for his holy meditation are described in it.
Series (*a*)	མི་ལ་རས་པའི་མགུར་མ། (*Mi-la-ras-pa-i-mgur-ma*). Leaves 290. Volume ཁ་	21 × 3½. Print 19 × 2¾. Six lines. From any booksellers. Good paper. Rs. 6.	This volume consists of religious "hymns" composed by Saint Milarapa during his life-time.
9	ཨུ་རྒྱན་གུ་རུ་པད་མ་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་རྒྱས་པ་བཤུགས་སོ། (*U-rgyan gu-ru-pad-ma-abyung-gnes-kyi-rnam-thar-rgyas-pa-bshugs-so.*) Leaves 365.	23¼ × 4. Print 20¼ × 2¾. Six lines. Printed to order at Depung Press. Good paper. @ Re. 1. Rs. 7.	It contains a full biography of "Guru-pad-ma-jung-ne" also called "Padma-Sambhava." It describes how under him the great monastery at *Samye* was built, how he became celebrated for his skill in Magic, Sorcery, and Alchemy, also as the real founder of the Red Sect after instructing several young Tibetans in his own lore in king Thi-srong-De-Tsan's time. Some extraordinary marks of perfection discovered in his childhood. He was sent for from the land of Urgyan or Udyāna, north of Peshawar, where the people were addicted to witchcraft.

10	ཨུ་རྒྱན་གུ་རུ་པདྨ་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེས་རབས་པདྨ་བཀའ་ཐང་། (*U-rgyan-gu-ru-pad-ma-abyung-gnes-kyi skyes-rabs-pad-ma-bka-i-thang*. Leaves 258.	21¼ × 3½. Print 18 × 2½. Bought from a bookseller. Can be bought at any bookseller's shop in Lhasa Price 11 T. = Rs. 4-2-0.	This book is a brief biography of the above Gu-ru-pad-ma-jung-ne.
11	ལྷ་འདྲེ་བཀའ་ཐང་། (*Lha-adre-bka-i-thang*). Leaves 53.	23¼ × 4. Print 20¼ × 2¼. Six lines. Printed to order at Depung Press. Good paper. @ Re. 1 The Vol. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. = Rs. 7.	This book contains the instructions of "Gu-ru-pad-ma-jung-ne" to gods and demons, as how to recite the law of Buddha and obey certain strict rules of discipline.
12	རྒྱལ་པོ་བཀའ་ཐང་། (*Rgyal-po-bka-i-thang*). Leaves 95.	Part of the above Volume.	This contains the several instructions of Gu-ru-pad-ma-jung-ne to Kings explaining how to keep justice on worldly affairs and to follow the law of Buddha.
13	བཙུན་མོ་བཀའ་ཐང་། (*Btsun-mo-bka-i-thang*). Leaves 48.	Do.	Similar instruction to Queens.
14	བློན་པོ་བཀའ་ཐང་། (*Blon-po-bka-i-thang*). Leaves 76.	Do.	Similar instruction to Ministers.

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
15	ལོ་པཉ་བཀའི་ཐང་། (*Lo-pan-bka-i-thang*). Leaves 81.	Do.	Contains the instructions of "Gu-ru-pad-ma-jung-ne" to Pandits regarding the prohibitions relating to the monastic life, conduct, dress, food and habitations, etc., and also as to how to follow his rules.
16	སྒྲ་བཅྱུར་མར་པ་ལོ་ཙྪའི་རྣམ་ཐར་། (*Sgra-bsgyur mar-pa lo tsha-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 91.	53 × 9. Print 49 × 5·80. Price 4½ T. = Rs. 1-11-0. Blocks at Tenge-ling. This has to be ordered to be printed from the block there.	The biography of "Marpa-lo-tsa-wa," who was the master of Jetsun-mila-ras-pa. It describes how Mila-ra-pa was tanght the rules of his Sect (Kar-gyud-pa), how he became a celebrated reformer of that Sect and translator of many Buddhist Canons from Sanskrit into Tibetan.
17	བཻ་རོ་ཙ་ན་ཡི་རྣམ་ཐར་། (*Bai-ro-tsa-na-i rnam-thar*). Leaves 130.	53 × 9. Print 43·50 × 5·80. Price 6 T. = Rs. 2-4-0. Printed as No. 16.	The life of Bai-ro-tsa-na. He was remarkable for his knowledge of Indian languages and was active in promoting the taste for literature in Tibet. He became celebrated as a translator of many Buddhist Canons from Sanskrit into Tibetan.
18	དེ་ལོ་ན་རོ་གཉིས་དང་མར་པ་ལོ་ཙྪ་དང་རྗེ་བཙུན་མི་ལ་	21″ × 3½″. Print 19 × 2⅝. Price 4½ T. = Re. 1-11-0.	A short biography of the above Lamas showing how they taught one another and how they became celebrated reformers of the Kargyudpa Sect. It also describes how their instructions were obeyed.

19	ཏེ་ལོ་ན་རོ་གཉིས་དང་མར་པ་ལོ་ཐ་དང་རྗེ་བཙུན་མི་ལ་རས་པ་དང་དྭགས་པོ་ལྷ་རྗེ་རྣམས་འདུས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར། (*Te-lo-na-ro gnyis dang mar-pa-lo tha-dang rje-btsun-mi-la-ras-pa-dang dvags-po-lha-rje-rnams ḥdus-pa-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 82.	This is an old book in MSS. very neatly written in U-med. The cover in U-chan. 19½ × 3¾. Print 16¾ × 1¾. Bought from a Lama of Tashi Lhampo for 20 T = Rs. 7-8-0.	It explains how this world first came to existence or was created.
1st Chapter	འཁོར་ལོས་བསྒྱུར་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པ་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན། (*Akhor-los-bsgyur-ba-rnams-kyi-byung-ba gsal-bar-byed-pa-mkhas-pa-i-dga-ston*). Leaves 73.	In written character.	

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
	(Le-u-dang-po) dam-pa chhos-kyi-byung-gnes gsal-bar byed-pa).	In written character.	
2nd* ,,	ལེའུ་གཉིས་པ། སྟོན་པའི་མཛད་པ་བཤད་པ། *(Le-u-gnyis-pa) ston-pa-i mdzed-pa-bshad-pa.*	Mr. Ekai Kawa Gochi says this is the only copy of this book he has seen in Tibet. It cannot be bought. The Lama told him that he had received it from his Teacher and did not know the contents of it, so sold it.	*This second chapter contains the biography of Buddha in poetry.
2nd ,,	ལེའུ་གསུམ་པ། བཀའི་བསྡུ་བ་ཁྱེད་པར་དུ་བཤད་པ། *(Le-u-gsum-pa-) bka-i-bsdu-ba-khyed-par-du bshad-pa.*		It describes the three successive epochs after Buddha's death, how the three gatherings of his followers took place for the purpose of collecting his sayings and settling the true Canon, how King Asoka spread the Buddhist system over his kingdom and how he became a celebrated king by spreading Buddhism.
,,	ལེའུ་བཞི་པ། དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་འབྱུང་། *(Le-u-bshi-pa) dkon-mchhog-gsum gyi rten-atshul.*		It explains the important modes of prayers by monks or other Buddhists to their gods and also how Buddha lives in the *Dharma*, in the *Sangha* and in the monks who recite them.

20	རྫོགས་ཆེན་པོ་རང་འབྱུང་རྡོ་རྗེའི་རྣམ་ཐར། (*Rdzogs-chhen-po-rang-abyung rdo-rje-i-rnam-thar*). Leaves 251.	23¾ × 4. Print 18¾ × 2½. Six lines. Printed to order at Paljor Rabtan bookseller. Rs. 5.	The life of Lama Rang-jung-Dorje, celebrated among the Red Sect for his wisdom and eloquence It relates how he tried to spread the Red Sect system over many places.
21	དགེ་སློང་གི་བསླབ་བྱ་སོགས་ཉེ་བར་མཁོ་འགའ་ཞིག། (*Dge-slong-gi bslab-bya-sogs nye-bar-mkho-aga-shig*). Leaves 11.	22 × 4. Print 19½ × 2½. Six lines. Any booksellers. Six annas.	It describes the laws of *Gautama* in regard to professed Monks or Bhikshus.
22	འོད་གསལ་རྫོགས་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཁྲིགས་ཆོད་ལྟ་བུའི་སྒྲུབ་དབྱངས་སྐལ་མ་མས་ལྷས་སྡུད་དུ་བཀོད་པའི་རྩལ་ལྡན་མཁའ་འྲིང་གཡོག་དྲུབས།	20½ × 3¾. Print 18½ × 2⅝. Six lines. Printed to order at Paljor Rabtan bookseller. Good paper. Re. 1.	Composed by Lama Lhag-ba ma pad-ma-chhog (ལྷག་བ་མ་པདྨ་མ་ཆོག། It describes the way to become a Buddha.

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
	(Oḍ-gsal-rdzogs-pa-chhen-po-i-khrigs-chhod ta-bu-i glu-dbyans-sa-la-ma ma-lus myur-du-bgrod-pa-i-tsal-ldan-mkha-lding-gshog-rlabs). Leaves 60.		
23	ལྷོད་ཁྲིའི་འདྲེན་མཆོག་དང་སྐྱེས་བུ་ཕ་ལྟ་བ་བཀའ་དབང་བླ་ཡི་ཐུགས་མཆོག་འཛིགས་མེད་གོ་ཆ་ཁྱབ་བསྡུན་ལང་ཆོའི་སྡེའི་གསུང་འབུམ་དཀར་ཆག་དཔྱོད་ལྡན་ཡིད་དབང་འཕྲོག་བྱེད་	$23\frac{1}{2} \times 4$. Print $18\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$. Six lines. Printed to order at Potala Shö. Good paper. $1\frac{1}{2}$ T. Rs. 9.	A catalogue or index in connection with the fifth Dalai Lama's biography as mentioned in S. No. 2.

	སྲིད་ཞི་ཨི་ཨ་དྲེན་མཆོག་དུར་སྨྲིག་ཆས་བཞི་པ་ལྔ་པ་དགའ་དབང་བློ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འཇིགས་མེད་གོ་ཆ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་ལང་ཚོ་ཨི་སྡེ་ཨི་གསུང་འབུམ་དཀར་ཆག་དཔྱོད་ལྡན་ཡིད་ཀྱངས་ཕྲོག་བྱེད་ལྷ་ཨི་རྣ་གསང་ཤེས་བྱ་བ་བཤུགས་སོ། *(Srid-shi-i-adren-mchhog dur-smrig achhang-ba lnga-pa-ngag-dbang blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho ajigs med-go-chha-thub-bsten lang-tsho-i-sde-i-gsung-abum dkar-chhag-dpyod-lden-yid-dwang-aphrog-byed lha-i-rnga-gsang-shes-bya-ba-bshugs-so).* Leaves 14.		
24	གངས་ཆེན་དི་སེ་དང་མཚོ་མ་ཕམ་བཅས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཡིག་བསྐལ་ལྡན་ཐར་ལམ་འདྲེན་པའི་ལུགས་ཀྱུ་ཤེས་བྱ་བ། *(Gnes-chhen-ti-se-dang mtsho-ma-pham bchas-kyi-gnès-yig bskal-ldan thar-lam-adren-pa-i-lugs-kyu-shes-bya-ba).* Leaves 17.	$21\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$. Print $19\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$. Six lines. Bought at the monastery of Bri-ra-phug, the chief monastery at Khang Rimpoche Ti-tse (near Mansarowar). Price Rs. 2. This book is very difficult to get as it can only be got there. E. K. G. wishes to have this printed.	Full particulars of the holy places, *viz* :—Ti-se (a mountain near lake Manasarowar in Tibet) and Tsho-ma-pham or the lake Manasarowar have been described in it. (This book is said to be very rare in Tibet).

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
25 1st Part	བྱ་ཀ་ར་ཎའི་རྩ་བ་སུམ་ཆུ་པ་དང་། རྟགས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པ་གཉིས་བཤུགས་སོ། *(Byā-ka-ra-ṇa-i-rtsa-ba-sum-chhu-pa-dang rtags-kyi-ajug-pa-gnyis-bshugs-so).* Leaves 4.	22 × 3¼. Print 20½ × 2¾. Six lines. Bought from a bookseller at Shigatshe.	A short original Tibetan Grammar composed by Thumi-Sambhota.
2nd „	ཡུལ་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་སྐད་ཀྱིས་བཏང་སྙོམས་བའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་སུམ་ཅུ་པ་དང་རྟགས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པའི་རྣམ་ཤད་མཁས་མཆོག་སི་ཏུའི་ཞལ་ལུང་།	2 T. = Twelve annas.	This part is also a Tibetan Grammar composed by Pandit-Nool-choo, but the greater part of it is taken from Situ's Grammar.

	(*Yul gangs-chan-gyi skad-kyis-brda-sprod-pa-i bsten-bchos sum-chu-pa dang rtags-kyi-ajug-pa-i-rnam-shad-mkhas-mchhog si-tu-i-shal-lung*). Leaves 56.		
26	བོད་ཀྱི་བརྡ་སྤྲོད་པའི་བསྟེན་བཅོས་གཞུང་སུམ་ཅུ་པ་དང་རྟགས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པ་ཉུང་ངུའི་ཚིག་གིས་གོ་སླ་བར་བཀྲལ་བ་ལེགས་བཤད་སྣང་བ་དམ་པ་ཤེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།	$17\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$. Print $15 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$. Six lines. Good paper. See No. 29. Re. 1 per 50. Ordered to be printed from the Pu-lu-uka-Khempo.	This is said to be an easiest and best Tibetan Grammar in Tibet composed by Lama "Lhag-sam" who died only five years ago. It is said to be founded on the Situ Sumtag and to be the best Practical Tibetan Grammar.
	(*Bod-kyi brda-sprod-pa-i gzhung-sum-chu-pa dang rtags-kyi-ajug-pa nyung-ngu-i-tshig-gis-go-sla-bar-bkral-ba legs-bshad snang-ba dam-pa shes-bya-ba-bzhugs-so*). Leaves 49.		
(*a*) Two Copies	སུམ་ཅུ་པའི་སྐྱོང་ཡིག་བཞུགས་སོ།	$10\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$. Print $8\frac{1}{4} \times 2$. Any book-seller. Two annas.	Contains only the principal parts of Tibetan Grammar.

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
	(*Sum-chhu-pa-i snying-po-bshugs-so*). Leaves 4.		
27	ལུང་སྟོན་པའམ་བརྡ་སྤྲོད་པའི་རྩ་བ་སུམ་ཆུ་པའི་ལྷན་ཐབས། (*Lung-ston-pa-am brda-sprod-pa-i rtsa-ba-sum-chhu-pa-i lhan-thabs*). Leaves 4.	This is a portion of the same volume as No. 29 below.	This is a guide to learn Grammar.
28	བོད་ཀྱི་བརྡའི་བྱེ་བྲག་ཕྱོགས་ཉེར་མཁོའི་སྒྲོན་གསལ། (*Bod-kyi brda-i bye-brag blo-ldan nyer-mkho-i sgron-gsal*). Leaves 25.	17¾ × 3½. Print 14¾ × 2¼. Price 5 T. = Re. 1-14-0. Got from the Khampo (Hd. Lama) of Phu-Lung-Ka Monastery about 2 miles west of Sera, where the blocks are. One must get this printed—it is not for sale ready printed.	A part of Tibetan Grammar containing the three tenses only which was composed by Lama Den-wang-Tsi-Zur-gya-Tsho. (བདེན་དབང་ཚེས་གུར་རྒྱ་མཚོ།)
29	བོད་ཀྱི་བརྡའི་བྱེ་བ་བྲག་	Includes No. 27 above. 20¼ × 3½. Print 19¾ × 2½. Six lines. Price	It explains the plain way of learning Tibetan Grammar. It is written in Sanskrit side by side

	གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཆོགས་ལེའུ་བྱད་པ་མཁས་པའི་ངག་གི་སྒྲོན་མ། (*Bod-kyi-brda-i bye-ba brag-gsal-bar-byed-pa-i bsten-bchos-tshigs-le-u byad-pa mkhas-pa-i ngag-gi sgron-ma*). Leaves 24.	2 T. = Twelve annas. Was bought at a bookseller's, but copies are not always obtainable. It can generally be purchased somewhere. E.K.G. does not know where the blocks are.	with Tibetan. It was composed by Lama Nag-Wang-Chhos-Ki-Gya-Tsho-Yang-Chen-Nyem-pa-i-de. (ངག་དབང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དབྱངས་ཅན་མྱེས་པའི་རྗེ།)
30	རྒྱལ་བ་ཁྱབ་བདག་རྡོ་རྗེ་འཆང་ཆེན་པོའི་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པ་གསང་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་གནད་རྣམ་པར་ཕྱེ་བ། (*Rgyal-ba khyab-bdag rdo-rje-achhang-chhen-po-i lam-gyi rim-pa gsang-ba kun-gyi gnad-rnam-par-phye-ba*). Leaves 441.	23½ × 4. Print 19¾ × 2½. Six lines. On good paper. Printed to order at Potala Shō Press = Rs. 9.	This book is called Nag-rim-ch-hen-po. (ངག་རིམ་མ་ཆེན་པོ།). It narrates the sacred way of becoming a Buddha and also points out the mistakes of the Red Sect system.
31	རྡོག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་བློང་ཆེན་ཤྱིང་གི་སྡེའུ་	45 × 9·50. Print 40 × 5·75. Price 16 T. = Rs. 6. Printed at "Pal-jor Rab-tan" Blocks, i.e. house where Tashi Lhunpo monks reside. This book was purchased ready printed. Can be bought there from the Par-pon.	It contains certain instructions of Kun-Zang-Lama, regarding religious feeling and teaches how to acquire moral merit according to the Red Sect system.

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
	འབྲི་ལི་ཁྲིད་ ཡིག་ དཀྱུན་ བཟང་བླ་མའི་ཞལ་ལུང་། (*Rdzogs-pa-chhen-po klong-chhen-snying-thig-gi sngon-agro-i khrid-yig dkun-bzang-blama-i shal-lung*). Leaves 274.		
32 Part (*a*)	ཁམས་གསུམ་ ཆོས་ཀྱི་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ ཚོང་ཁ་པ་ ཆེན་པོས་ མཛད་པའི་ བྱང་ཆུབ་ ལམ་གྱི་ རིམ་པ་ ཆེན་མོ། (*Khams-gsum chhos-kyi-rgyal-po tsong-kha-pa chhen-pos mzad-pa-i byang-chhub lam-gyi rim-pa-chhen-mo*). Leaves 481.	$23\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$. Print $20 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$. Six lines. Bought at Potala Press. Better Paper = Rs. 10-0-0, at rate of 1 T., 4 annas per 50 leaves.	It contains full explanations of the ways of attaining Bodhisattva-ship and Buddha-ship. It is said to have been composed by Je-tsong-kha-pa.

" (b)	བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པའི་ཟབས་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་སྒོ་བཅད་། (*Byang-chhub lam-gyi-rim-pa-i akhrid-kyi sa-bchad*). Pages 11.		The index of the book mentioned above.
33	སྐྱེས་བུ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཉམས་སུ་བླང་བའི་བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པ། (*Skyes-bu-gsum-gyi nyams-su-blang-ba-i byang-chhub-lam-gyi rim-pa*). Leaves 201.	23¾ × 4. Print 19½ × 2¼. Six lines of print. Very good quality paper. Printed to order at Depung Press at 2 T. 1. sho-khang per 50 leaves. = Rs 4-0-0.	A brief explanation regarding attainment of Bodhisattva-ship and Buddha-ship. It is also composed by the same author, Je-tsong-kha-pa.
34	གཅོད་དབང་མདོར་བསྡུས་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཕྲེང་བ་བཤུགས་སོ། (*Gchod-dbang mdor-bsdus-rin-po-chhe-i phreng-ba-bshugs-so*). Leaves 94.	16¼ × 3½. Print 13½ × 2½. Six lines. Printed to order at Potala Shö. Good paper. Cost 7 T. = Rs. 2-10-0.	It describes several ways of doing good and bad to men according to one's wishes, by the help of many pictures of gods, and other charms.
Series (a)	གཅོད་ཆོག་ཀྱི་སྐོར		

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
	གཅོད་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དྲག་པོ། (*Gchod-tshogs-kyi-snyen-thabs-tshogs-kyi-bstab-pa drag-po*). Leaves 5.		
,, (b)	གཅོད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ཆ་དྲུག། (*Gchod-kyi-bstab-pa-chha-drug*). Leaves 10.	$16\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$. Print $13\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$. Six lines. Printed to order at Potala Shö. Good paper. Cost 7 T. = Rs. 2-10-0.	It describes several ways of doing good and bad to men according to one's wishes, by the help of many pictures of gods, and other charms.
,, (c)	གཅོད་ལུགས་མཁོ་ཆང་བུ་བརྒྱ་རྩའི་ཕྱག་ལོན། (*Gchod-lugs-mkho-chhang-bu-brgya-rtsa-i-phyag-lon*). Pages 8.		
,, (d)	མཐའ་གདད་མེ་ཡི་གཟེར་བྱེས་བྱ་བ།		

Series (e)	(*Mtha-gtad me-yi-gzer-bu-shes-bya wa*). Pages 7.	
	གཅིག་ཅོག་མཐའ་ལ་གཏད་པ་ཤེས་བྱ་བ།	
	(*Gnyan-chhen-mtha-la-gtad-pa*). Leaves 10.	
(f)	གཅོད་ཁྲག་ཆགས་ཐབས་དང་བྲལ་བ་ཡོན་ཏན་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པ།	Do.
	(*Gchod-khrag chhar-abod-snyan-pa-rgyud-yi-ger bkod-pa ado-bsgom phyag-len dang bcas-pa*). Leaves 24.	
(g)	གཅོད་ཀྱི་ཟླ་མཚན་ལྡན་པ།	Do.
	ཐབས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིད་ཡིག་ཏུ་བཀོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི།	

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
Series (*h*)	(*Gchod-kyi sgo-nas ser-ba-bsrung-ba-i gdams-pa zab-mo*). Leaves 5. དྲུར་ གཅོད་ ཀྱི་ ངག་ འདོན་ འགྲིག་ ཚགས་ བཀོད་པ་དྲུར་སྤྱི་ རྒྱན་གཅོད་། (*Dur-gchod-kyi ngag-adon agrigs-chhags-su-bkod-pa dur-sri-rgyan-gchod*). Leaves 22.	$16\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$. Print $13\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$. Six lines. Printed to order at Potala Shō. Good paper. Cost 7 T. = Rs. 2-10-0.	It describes several ways of doing good and evil to men according to one's wishes. by the help of many pictures of gods, and other charms.
„ (*i*)	གཅོད་ ལུགས་ ཀྱི་ གོད་ བཅོད་བཤུགས་སོ་། (*Gchod-lugs-kyi god-bchod bshugs-so*). Leaves 2.		
„ (*j*)	མ་ཅིག་ གི་ ཅོད་ཀྱི་ ཆ་ལག་།		

Series (k)

(*Ma-chig-gi chod-kyi chha-lag*). Leaves 2.	Do.
གཅོད་ཀྱི་གཤེད་འདུལ་གདུག་པ་ཚར་གཅོད་དུང་གཅོད་ཀྱི་དོན་བསྡུས་པ་ཀུན་ནས་ཉོན་མོངས་ཤིན་ཏུ་གསལ་བ། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༣༣ ། (*Gchod-kyi gshed-adul gdug-pa-tshar-gchod dung-gchod kun-gyi don-bsdus-pa adon-agrigs-shin-tu-gsal-ba*). Leaves 33.	Do.
(l) ,,	
གཅོད་ལུགས་ཕྱོགས་བསྡུས་རྩ་མེད་ཆོད་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་བཀོད་པ། (*Gchod-lugs phyogs-sum-tshogs-pa-i me-mchhod Thas-chhog-tu bkod-pa*). Leaves 24.	

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
Series (*m*)	རྒྱུ་རང་བྱུང་རྟོག་རྗེས་མཛོད་ པའི་གདོན་ཆོག་དག་ དབང་བདག་ཏུག་སྦྱོར་མི་ བསྒོད་རྟོག་རྗེས་ མཛད་ པའི་ གདན་ཁྲིག་གཅིག་མ་གཏད་ ཆོགས་བཅད་མ་དང་གཏེས་ གབ་སྤྲད་ནས་ལྷས་སྦྱིན་དང་ བསྟབ་པ་བྱ་ ཚུལ་ བཟུས་ ཆོག་ འདོན་ བསྒྲིགས་ སྟུ་ བཀོད།	16½ × 3½. Print 13½ × 2½. Six lines. Printed to order at Potala Shö. Good paper. Cost 7 T. = Rs. 2-10-0.	It describes several ways of doing good and evil to men according to one's wishes, with the help of many pictures of gods, etc.

	(*Rje-rang-byung-rdo-rjes mdzad-pa-i gdon-tshogs dgu-ma-dangs bdag-drug-sbyor-mi-bskyod rdo-rjes mdzad-pa-i gdan-thog-gchig ma-gchad tshigs-bchad-ma-dang gnyis-gab-sprad-nas lus-sbyin dang bstab-pa bya-tshul-bltas-chhog adon-bsgrigs-su-bkod*). Leaves 20.	Do.	Do.
34 (*a*)	སྒྲུབ་ངག་གི་བསྟན་བཅོས་མེ་ལོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Snyan-nag-gi bstan-bchos me-long-shes-bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 34.	22¼ × 4. Print 18¼ × 2⅝. Six lines.	A book of plain poems, composed by Lob-pon yug-pa-chen. (སློབ་དཔོན་དབུགས་པ་ཆེན།)
,, (*b*)	སྒྲུབ་ངག་མེ་ལོང་གི་དཀའ་འགྲེལ་དབྱངས་ཆན་དགྱེས་པའི་གླུ་དབྱངས་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Snyan-ngag me-long-gi dka-agrel dbyans-chan-dgyes-pa-i glu-dbyans bshugs-so*). Leaves 122.	Part of the above Volume.	A book of poems composed by the fifth Dalai Lama.

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
35	གཟུངས་སྔགས་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་ མཚན་།དཀའ་འགྲུབ་སྙིང་ པོ་སོགས་། ཁ་འདོན་བྱེད་ ཀྱི་ཟབ་མོ་དེ་རིགས་ཕྱོགས་ གཅིག་ཏུ་བཀོད་ པ་དོན་ གཉིས་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་བཤུགས་སོ་།	$10\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$. Print $7\frac{3}{4} \times 2$. Five lines. Any bookseller. Five-annas.	This contains many sorceries, and various names of Tathāgatas, and it is generally used by the monks for daily prayers.

(*Gzuns-snags-dang de-bshin-gshegs-pa-i mtshen dka-agyur-snying-po-sogs kha-adon byed-rgyu zab-mo-i rigs-phyogs gchig-tu-bkod-pa don-gnyis lhun-grub bshugs-so*). Leaves 29.

36	དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ་རྒྱལ་བ་བློ་བཟང་ གྲགས་ པ་ ལ་གསོལ་འདེབས་པའི་སྨོན་ཚིག་བསམ་པ་ལྷུན་གྱིགྲུབ་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། (*Dus-gsum-sangs-rgyas thams-chad-kyi ngo-bo rgyal-ba blo-bzang grags-pa-la gsol-adebs-pa-i smon-tshig bsam-pa-lhun-gyi-grub-pa zhe bya-wa*). Leaves 11.	10¾ × 2¾. Print 8¼ × 2¼. Five lines. Any bookseller. Coarse, As. 2.	It is the manual of prayers to Je-tsong-kha-pa.
37	བཀྲ་ཤིས་བརྩེགས་པ་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Bkra-shis brtsegs-pa bshugs-so*). Leaves 25.	10¼ × 2¾. Print 7¾ × 2. Five lines. Any bookseller. As. 5.	It relates how to accumulate glory for the worshiper.
38	ཨོ་རྒྱན་པདྨ་མཇུང་གནས་པའི་བཀའ་ཐང་བསྟན་པ་བཞུགས་སོ།	10¼ × 2¾. Print 7¼ × 2⅛. Six lines. Any bookseller. Coarse, As. 4.	A short biography of O-rgyen-pad-ma-jhung-ne. Some of his predictions are also described in it.

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
	(*O-rgyen pad-mes mzad-pa-i bka-thang-bsdud-pa bshugs-so*). Leaves 18.		
39	རྒྱ་གར་ཡུལ་གྱི་དཔལ་ལྡན་ཀླུ་ཡི་བོ་དེ་ལ་སྐབས་འཛིག་རྟེན་དབང་ཕྱུག་བྱ་བ་དེས་ཀྱིན་རྡེ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཁྲུ་ལན་ལས་རྡོ་བོ་ཁྲག་སྐྱེ་ཆེན་པོའི་དང་ལྡོག་གི་ཕན་ཡོན་ལྟོས་དོན་མདོར་བསྡུས་བཞུགས་སོ།	$10\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$. Print $9 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$. Six lines. Any bookseller. Coarse, As. 3.	Describes the nature and benefits of prayer flags erected to Avalokitesvara.

	(*Rgya-gar yul-gyi rnga-sgra-i rgyal-po de-la sres-ajig-rten-dbang-phyug bya-ba des »hin-rje-chhos-kyi rgyal-po-la »hu-lan-las-jo-bo-thugs-rje-chhen-po-i dar-lchog-gi phan-yon shus-don mdor-bsdus bshugs-so*). Leaves 15.		
40	གནས་བརྟན་ཕྱག་མཆོད་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Gnas-brtan phyag-mchhod-bshugs-so*). Leaves 9.	10½ × 2¾. Print 9 × 2¼. Six lines Any bookseller. Coarse paper. As. 2.	Explains how to worship and make offerings to the sixteen Arhats.
41	བཅོམ་ལྡན་ལངས་སྐྱེས་སྨན་ལྷའི་ མདོ་ཚོགས་སྙིང་པོ་ བསྡུས་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་ བུ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Bchom-ldan-ades sman-lha-i mdo-tsho-ga-snying-po bsdus-pa-yid-bshin nor-bu shes-bya-ba-bshugs-so*). Leaves 16.	10¼ × 2¼. Print 9½ × 2¼. Six lines Any bookseller. Coarse paper. As. 4.	Contains the principal instructions of the God of Medicine. (This is generally used by the monks when a patient is under medical treatment).

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
42 Two copies	ཚངས་དབྱངས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་སྙན་ངགས་ཀྱིས་བཀོད་པ་ཆེས་བྱ་བ་བཤུགས་སོ།	10¼ × 3. Print 7¾ × 2. Five lines. Any bookseller. As. 4.	A small song book composed by the sixth Dalai Lama named Tshang-Yang-Gya-tsho.
	(Tshans-dbyangs-rgya-mtsho-i rnam-thar snyan-agrugs-kyis bkod-pa ches-bya-ba bshugs-so). Leaves 10.		
43	དཔལ་ལྡན་བཙུན་མོའི་མཚན་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱེས་པ་སྐད་གཉིས་གཅིག་ཏུ་བཤད་པ།	Same size and get-up as preceding book. Print 7¾ × 2¾. Two lines. Old Sanskrit character with transliteration in Tibetan above and translation below each. Any bookseller in Lhasa. As. 3.	Describes one-hundred-and-eight separate names of Goddess Tara (written both in Sanskrit and Tibetan).

	(*Dpal-rje-btsun-sgrol-ma-i mtshan brgya-rtsa-brgyad shes-pa skad-gnyis gshen-sbyar-bshugs-so*). Leaves 23.		
44 Three copies	སྒྲོལ་མ་ཉེར་གཅིག་གིས་བསྟོད་པ་གསུང་གཉི་མཚན་སྦྱང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།	Do. In Devanāgarī Sanskrit with the transliteration below and the translation below that. A bookseller in Lhasa. As. 3.	This narrates how to worship 21 Goddesses of the Sect (written both in Sanskrit and Tibetan).
	(*Sgrol-ma-nyer-gchig-gis bstod-pa gsung gnyi mtshen-sbyang shes bya-ba-bshugs-so*). Leaves 11.		
45	འཕགས་པ་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་གཙུག་ཏོར་ནས་བྱུང་བའི་གདུགས་དཀར།	Do. In Tibetan only. Print $8\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$. Five lines. Any bookseller. As. 5.	It describes how the white umbrella came out of the head of Tathāgata (Buddha) (A manual of prayers generally used by the monks for driving away all sorts of evils).
	(*Aphags-pa de-bhsin gshegs-pa-i gtsug-tor-nas byung-ba-i gdugs-dkar*). Leaves 29.		

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
46	སྒྲོལ་མ་དཀར་སྔོན་གྱི་བསྟོད་པ་དང་གཟུངས་བཅས་བཤུགས་སོ། *Sgrol ma-dkar-sngon-gyi bstod-pa-dang gzungs-bchas bshugs-so).* Leaves 28.	Do. Print $7\frac{3}{4} \times 2$. Five lines. Any bookseller. As. 5.	It contains certain instructions regarding the worship of white and blue Goddesses Tara.
47	ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་སྙིང་པོ་བཤུགས་སོ། *(Shes-rab kyi-snying-po bshugs-so).* Leaves 8.	Do. Print $7\frac{3}{4} \times 2$. Five lines. Any bookseller. As. 2.	This is a resumé of the main substance of the "Prajñāpāramitā."
48	རྣམ་དག་བདེ་ཅིན་ཞིང་གི་སྨོན་ལམ་བློག་ཚུལ་སྟན་པ་བཞུགས་སོ།	Do. Print $8\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$. Any bookseller. As. 5.	This describes how to pray for attaining the best and happiest world at the next birth.

	(*Rnam-dag bde-chhen shing-gi-smon-lam rlag-a-syas-mdzad-pa bshugs-so*). Leaves 17.		
49	བླ་མ་མཆོད་པའི་ཆོ་ག་། (*Bla-ma-mchhod-pa-i chho-ga*). Leave 26.	Do. Print $8\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$. Five lines. Any bookseller. As. 4.	Gives instructions regarding the method of making religious offerings during religious worship.
50	སྡེ་བགྱིད་གསེར་སྐྱེམས་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Sde-brgyed gser-skyems-bshugs-so*). Leaves 5.	Do. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 3$. Print $8\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$. Five lines. Note Nos. 63 and 66 are of the same size and similar in appearance. Any bookseller. As. 2.	It relates how to make offerings during the worship of the eight classes of Gods.
51	དཔལ་ལྡན་དམག་ཟོར་རྒྱལ་མོའི་སྒོ་ནས་རྣམ་ཐོང་སྒྲུབ་ཆུལ་དེའི་ཨགྲས་བཤད་དང་བཅས་པ། (*Dpal-ldan dmag-zor-rgyal-mo-i sgo-nas rnam-thong-sgrub-chhul-de-i agras-bshad-dang*	$10\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$. Print $6\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$. Six lines. Any bookseller. Price Re. 1.	This contains certain instructions during the worship of Goddess Palden Magzor. It is always used by monks to cast lots (མོ་) for divination.

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
	bchos-pa bshugs-so). Leaves 68.		
52	སྐུར་བྱོན་སྨོན་ཚིགས་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་འདྲེན་བྱེད་གསོལ་བའི་ཨུཏྤལའི་ཕྲེང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། ། (*Myur-byon-smon-tshigs thugs-rje-i adren-byed-gyo-ba-i ut pala-i phreng-ba shes-bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 5.	11¼ × 4. Print 9 × 2½. Presented to Mr. Ekai Kawa Gochi. Can be bought at Pu-bhu-Cha Press near Sera.	Certain prayers composed by the present Dalai Lama asking for his deceased teacher's re-birth at an early date.
53	ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དྲི་མེད་འོད་ཟེར་ཞེས་ཀྱི་གསུང་ཐོར་བུའི་བཞུགས་བྱང་	23¾ × 4. Print 21½ × 2⅞. Seven lines. Printed to order at the "Paljor Rabtan," the greatest bookshop in Lhasa. Good paper. C. Re. 1 for 50 leaves.	This book contains the works and teachings of Lama "Dri-med-od-zer."

	རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་སྐྱེས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Kun-mkhyen chhos-kyi-rgyal-po dri-med-od-zer-gyi-gsung-thor-bu-i bshug-byang-rin-po-chhe-i snyem-shes bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 61.		
Series 1	བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་ལྷའི་དབྱངས་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Bde-bar gshegs-pa-la bstod-pa-lha-i rnga-bo-chhe-i sgra-dbyangs-shes-bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 26.	Ditto	By the same author :— A book of praise to the various Buddhas.
" 2	ཆོས་གཞི་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འཕྲིན་བ་ཞལ་གདམས་དྲིས་ལན་སྒོར་།	.....	Catechism of instructions regarding Buddhism.

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
	(*Chhos-gshi-rin-po-chhe aphreng-ba shal-gdams-dris-lan-skor*). Leaves 55.		
Series 3	ཆོས་གཞི་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཕྲེང་བ་ཤལ་གདམས་དྲིས་ལན་སྐོར་མཛད་དོ།	.....	A Manual relating to the "mild" and "angry" deities showing how to coerce them.
	(*Rgyal-gshi-khro-i sgrub-dkyil-rin-po-chhe-i gter-mzod*). Leaves 35.		
,, 4	རྒྱལ་གཞི་ཁྲོ་ཡི་སྒྲུབ་དཀྱིལ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་གཏེར་མཛོད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ།	.....	The "previous life" of the works of Lama "*Shiwa.*"
	(*Bla-ma-shi-ba-i phrin-sgrub-rin-po-chhe-i sgron-me nyang-bted*). Leaves 43.		

Series 5	སྡེ་བདུན་གྱི་དབང་ཆོག་ལག་ལེན་དང་བཅས་པ་ཆོས་སྲུང་གི་སྐོར་། (*Sde-bdun-gyi-dbang-chhog lag-len-dang bchas-pa chhos-srung-gi skor*). Leaves 34.	.....	The method of obtaining the "power" of the seven classes of gods, and a statement of the religious duties of Lamas.
" 6	རྒྱལ་བརྒན་ལག་ལེན་གནང་གི་ལྡེའུ་མིག་། (*Rgyal-brngan lag-len gnang-gi lde-u-mig*). Leaves 33.	.....	The key of the practice of the "Royal Honour" blessing.
" 7	རྫོགས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་སེམས་ཉིད་རང་གྲོལ་སྐོར་གསུམ་དང་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བྱེད་ཁྲིད་བཅས་བཤུགས་སོ་། (*Rdzogs-pa-chhen-po sems-nyid-rang-grol skor-gsum-dang dkun-byed don-khrid-bchas bshugs-so*). Leaves 70.	.....	Instructions regarding initiation to the Red Sect.

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
Series 8	རྡོ་རྗེའི་གླུའི་དཀར་ཆག་ལེགས་པར་བཀོད་པ་གསུང་མགུར་། (*Rdo-rje-i glu-i dkar-chhag legs-par-bkod-pa gsung-mgur*). Leaves 42.	.....	Complete catalogue of the songs of *Dorje* and edited as hymns.
„ 9	གསང་བ་བླ་ན་མེད་པའི་ཆོས་སྤྱོད་ལམ་ཁྱེར་གྱི་རིམ་པ་། (*Gsang-ba bla-na-med-pa-i chhos-spyod lam-khyer-gyi rim-pa*). Leaves 40.	.....	Contains a series of esoteric doctrines of mysticism.
„ 10	རྡོགས་ཆེན་གསོལ་འདེབས	.....	Prayers of the "Red Sect" Lamas with instructions how to pass through "*Bar-do*" the interval between death and rebirth.

	རྫོགས་ཆེན་གསོལ་འདེབས། བར་དོའི་གདམས་པ་བསྙོ་བ་བཅས་བཞུགས་སོ།		
	(Rdzogs-chhen gsol-adebs rtsa-gsum gsol-adebs bar-do-i gdams-pa-bsngo-ba bchas bshugs-so). Leaves 15.		
Series 11	བསྟན་བཅོས་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆག་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་མཛོད་ཁང་ཤེས་བྱ་བ།	.....	The precious catalogue of commentaries.
	(Bstan-bchos-kyi dkar-chhag-rin-po-chhe-i mdzod-khang she-bya-ba). Leaves 4.		
54	ཟབ་མོ་སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་དེ་ཁོ་ན་ཉིད་རབ་ཏུ་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་	22 × 4. Print 20 × 2½. Six lines. Any bookseller. Good paper. Rs. 5.	Commentary explaining the philosophical speculations of the Buddhists relating to the "profound emptiness" (ཟབ་མོ་སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་) or unreality of all worldly things.

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1	2	3	4
	སྣང་བཟང་མིག་འབྱེད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Zab-mo stong-pa-nyid-kyi de-kho-na-nyid rab-tu gsal-bar byed-pa-i bsten-bchos skal-bzang mig-abyed-ches bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 259.		
55	ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་མན་ངག་གི་བསྟན་བཅོས་མངོན་པར་རྟོགས་པའི་རྒྱན་ཅེས་བྱ་བའི་འགྲེལ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།	21⅛ × 4. Print 19¼ × 2¾. Six lines. Bought at Depung Press. Price 4 T. = Re. 1-8-0.	Commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā, or means of arriving at the other side of wisdom in which are laid down the doctrines of the *Mādhyamika* or "Middle Path" system of religion.

	(*Shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-du phyin-pa man-ngag-gi bstan-bchos mngon-par-rtogs-pa-i rgyen-ches-bya-ba-i agrel-bu shugs-so*). Leaves 94.		
56	བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པའི་དམར་ཁྲིད་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པར་བགྲོད་པའི་བདེ་རིམས་ཤེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།	22 × 3¼. Print 18½ to 19 × 2½. Six lines. Same as No. 70. Printed to order at Depung Press @ Re. 1.	This book contains certain instructions regarding the way to obtain perfection.
	(*Byang-chhub-lam-gyi-rim-pa-i dmar-khrid-thams-chad-mkhyen-par bgrod-pa-i bde-rims shes-bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 31.		
57	ས་ལམ་གྱི་རྣམ་བཤད་དགེ་གསུམ་མཛེས་རྒྱན་ཤེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།	22 × 3¼. Print 19 × 2¾. Six lines. Printed to order at Depung Press. Coarse paper. Re. 1 As. 6.	Contains the classification of the "three conveyances" by means of which the distant shores of salvation may be reached, namely the *Mahāyāna*, *Hīnayāna*, and *Mādhyamika* doctrines of religion.
	(*Sa-lam-gyi rnam-bshag thegsum-mdzes-rgyen shes-bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 20.		

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
58 In written	སྐྱབས་གསུམ་གྱི་ཕྱི་སྒྲིགས་། ཐར་འདོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བོ་སྲིད་ཞི་ཡི་སྡུག་བསྔལ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་སྒྲོང་པའི་ལུང་རིགས་རིན་ཆེན་འཇྲེན་པའི་ཤིང་རྟ་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Skyabs-gsum-gyi phyi-sgrigs thar-adod-kyi skye-bo-srid-shi-i sdug-bsngal rgya-mtsho-i pha-rol-du sgrong-pa-i-lung-rigs-rin-chhen adren-pa-i shing-rta bshugs-so*). Leaves 8.	19¼ × 3¾. MSS. 15½ × 2½. Six lines. Very neatly written in U-chan. Presented. Cannot be purchased as it is not printed so far as E.K.G. knows.	"The precious carriages," containing instructions how to escape from the ocean of misery and to take refuge in the three holy refuges.
59	འཕགས་པ་བཟང་པོ་སྨོན་	21 × 3½. Print 19¼ × 2½. Six lines. Any bookseller. Good paper. Re 1.	It explains the form of prayer used by Kun-tu-zang-po.

	དཔའ་སྦྱོན་ལམ་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་ བཤད་ པ་ཀུན་ ཏུ་ བཟང་ པོའི་ དགོངས་ པ་གསལ་ བར་བྱེད་པའི་རྒྱན། (*Hphags-pa-bzang-po-spyod-pa-i smon-lam-gyi rnam-par-bshad-pa kun-tu-bzang-po-i dgongs-pa gsal-bar-byed-pa-i rgyan*). Leaves 42.		
60	ཚད་ མའི་ གཞུང་དོན་ འབྱེད་ པའི་ བསྡུས་ གྲྭའི་ རྣམ་ བཤག་རིགས་ ལམ་ འཕུལ་གྱི་སྒྲོ་སྐོག། (*Tshad-ma-i gshung-don abyed-pa-i bsdus-grva-i rnam-bshag-rigs-lam-aphul-gyi lde-mig*). Leaves 82.	23½ × 4½. Print 22¼ × 3. Seven lines. Printed to order at Sera Che-pa Press. 4 T. = Re. 1-8-0.	Contains the key to an original work on dialectics.
61	འཕགས་པ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་	9½ × 3¼. Print 7 to 7¾ × 2 to 2¼. Five lines. Any bookseller. Price As. 8.	A religious book containing the instructions of Buddha given in reply to the questions put by his disciples. It is a book in very general use.

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1	2	3	4
	ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་རྡོ་རྗེ་གཅོད་པ་ཤེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Aphags-pa shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa rdo-rje-gchod-pa shes-bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 69.		
62	རྒྱ་ནག་སྐག་ཟློག་ཆེས་བྱ་བའི་གཟུངས་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Rgya-nag skag-zlog ches-bya-ba-i gzuns bshugs-so*). Leaves 14.	10¼ × 3. Print 7¾ × 2¼. Five lines. Any bookseller. As. 4. Same size and get-up as Nos. 42-50.	This book is derived from the Chinese and is used in averting dangers and unlucky times.
63	རྒྱལ་བ་གཙོང་ཁ་པའི་བཙུན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་	10 × 3½. Print 7¼ × 2. Five lines. An old book, a present.	It narrates the form of prayers to king Tsong-kha-pa, the founder of the Yellow Cap Sect in Tibet.

	ཕྱག་རྒྱ་གཉིས་པ་རྗེ་བཙུན་པ་ཚོང་ཁ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་བསྐུལ་བ་ཡི་གསོལ་འདེབས་བྱིན་རླབས་མྱུར་འཇུག་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། ། (*Rgyal-ba-gnyis-pa rje-btsun-pa tsong-kha-pa chhen-po-la thugs-rje-bskul-ba-i gsol-adebs-byin-rlabs myur-ajud-ches-bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 7.		
64	འཕགས་པ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་བརྒྱད་སྟོང་པ་བཞུགས་སོ། ། (*Aphags-pa shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa brgyad-stong-pa-bshugs-so*). Leaves 574.	$12\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$. Print $10\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$. Six lines. Good paper. Printed to order at Paljor Rabtan Press. 20 T. = Rs. 7-8-0.	The eight thousand stanzas of Prajñāpāramitā "the arriving at the other shore of salvation."
65	གངས་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེའི་བློག་གས་ཐབས་དང་ལེགས་ཤེན་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ།	$10\frac{1}{4} \times 3$. Print $7\frac{1}{4} \times 2$. Four lines Any bookseller. As. 5.	Contains both kinds of Alphabets and also Spelling, &c. It is used in monastery schools for the first candidates.

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1	2	3	4
	(*Gangs-ljongs-kyi-yi-ge-i glogs-thabs-dang legs-shen-gyi yi-ge*). Leaves 28.		
66	བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྤྱོད་པལ་འཇུག་པ་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Byang-chhub-sem-dpa-i spyod-pal ajug-pa-bshugs-so*). Leaves 52.	23½ × 4. Print 19¼ × 2¾. Six lines. Printed to order at Potala Shö. Good paper. Re. 1.	It briefly explains the conduct of life of a "Jhang Chhub" or "one who always thinks the truth with a pure heart." It is composed by Lob-pon-shān-ta de-wa (སློབ་དཔོན་ཞཱན་ཏ་དེ་བ།) and is said to be generally used in all monasteries.
67	བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྤྱོད་པ་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་འགྲེལ་བ་ལེགས་པར་བཤད་པའི་ཆུ་མཚོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།	23¼ × 4. Print 20¾ × 3. Seven lines. Printed to order at Depung Press. Good paper. Rs. 2.	Commentary on the above book of conduct for a Jhang Chhub, explaining more clearly and fully than the book above. It is composed by Lama Tshul-thim Gya-tsho.

	(*Byang-chhub-sems-dpa-i spyod-pa-la ajud-pa-i agrel-ba legs-par-bshad-pa-i rgya-mtsho shes-bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 100.		
68	ཟུག་མེད་གསུང་བསྔོའི་ འཁྲིད་ཡིག་སྔོན་མེད་ལེགས་ བཤད་མཐོང་ བ་དོན་ལྡན་ ཤེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།	23¾ × 4. Print 21½ × 3. Seven lines. Printed to order at Mu-ru monastery.	This book contains instructions relating to the offering of incense to Gods.
	(*Zag-med gsur-bsngo-i akhrid-yig sngon-med-legs-bshad mthong-ba-don-ldan shes-bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 11.		
69	བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་གྱི་དམར་ ཁྲིད་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པར་ འགྲོད་པའི་བདེ་ལམ་ཤེས་ བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།	Same Book as No. 57. Another copy.	Contains all practical instructions describing the way of attaining the Bodhisattva-ship. It is composed by the first Panchhen Lama named Lopsang Chhoe-ki Gyam-tsho.
	(*Byang-chhub-lam-gyi dmar-khrid thams-chad mkhyen-pa agrod-pa-i bde-lam-shes-bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 31.		

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
70	དབུ་མ་རྩ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཕྲེང་བ་བཤུགས་སོ། (*Dbu-ma-rtsa-ba shes-rab-kyi ngag-don bshad-pa rin-po-chhe-i phreng-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 48.	23¾ × 4. Print 18¾ × 2¾. Six lines. Can be bought at any booksellers. Good paper. Re. 1.	Contains the principal doctrines of the "Middle Way," which endeavours to avoid the two extremes of the *Mahāyāna, Hinayāna*. This book is composed by the first Dalai Lama named Gedunthub.
71	བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པའི་ཨཁྲིད་ཡིག་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་lung། (*Byang-chhub lam-gyi rim-pa-i-akhrid-yig ajam-pa-i dbyans-kyi shal-lung*). Leaves 92.	23½ × 4. Print 19½ × 2½. Six lines. Printed to order at Potata Shō. Good paper. Rs. 2.	Contains the instructions of the "God of wisdom," explaining the way of obtaining the highest perfection and holiness. It is composed by the fifth Dalai Lama.

72	འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་ མཚན་ཡང་ དག་པར་ བརྗོད་པ་ སྐད་གཉིས་ སྦན་སྦྱར་ ཤེས་ བྱ་བ་ བཞུགས་སོ། । (*Hphags-pa ajam-dpal-gyi mtshen-yang-dag-par brjod-pa skad-gnyis sban-sbyar shes bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 28.	23¾ × 4. Print 19½ × 2½. Six lines. *Viz.*: two lines of Sanskrit with Tibetan transliteration above and translation below each. Printed to order at Meru Press. Re. 1.	Praises to "Mañjuśri" or the God of wisdom Tibetan and Sanskrit texts are given side by side.
73	ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ ཕྱིན་པ་མན་ ངག་གི་ བསྟན་ བཅོས་ མངོན་ པར་རྟོགས་ པའི་ རྒྱན་ཞེས་ བྱ་བ་ བཞུགས་སོ། । (*Shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa man-ngag-gi bstan-bchos-mngon-par-rtogs-pa-i rgyan-ches-bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 37.	12 × 3½. Print 10 × 2½. Six lines. Can be bought at any booksellers. 2 T. = As. 12.	Explains the clear comprehension of the "Prajñā-pārāmita," means of arriving at the further shore of wisdom.
74	དབུ་ མ་ ལ་ འཇུག་ པ་ བཞུགས་སོ། །	Ditto	Explains how to enter into "Middle Way" doctrine.

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
	(*Dbu-ma-la-ajug-pa bshugs-so*). Leaves 53.		
75	བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཐུབ་པའི་དབང་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ལ་བསྟོད་པ། (*Bchom-ldan-adas thub-pa-i dbang-po-i rnam-par-thar-pa-la bstod-pa*). Leaves 12.	$22\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$. Print $19\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$. Six lines. Given by a Priest of Tashi Lhümpo. Can be ordered to be printed at Tashi Lhümpo monastery.	This is a short biography of Buddha Shakhyathub-pa Containing the form of praises to be used by the monks during religious rites.
76	རྗེ་བཙུན་སྒྲོལ་མའི་གདུང་འབོད་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Rje-bstun-sgrol-ma-i gdung-abod bshugs-so*). Leaves 7.	$10\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$. Print $8\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$. Five lines Any bookseller. As. 2.	A prayer to the Goddess Dolma (Tarâ).
77	སྒྲོལ་མ་མཉན་གཉེར་ཆོག	$10\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$. Print $9 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$. Six lines. Any bookseller. As. 5.	Contains descriptions of "*Maṇḍala*," sacrificial offering arranged in a circle as an oblation to the Goddess Dolma.

	དཔག་བསམ་སྐྱེ་མ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།		
	(*Sgrol-ma-maṇḍal-gshi-chhog dpag-bsam-snye-ma shes-bya-ba bshugs-so*). Leaves 25.		
78	ལམ་རིམ་གསོལ་འདེབས་ལམ་མཆོག་སྒོ་འབྱེད། ཡོན་ཏན་གཞི་གྱུར་མ་བཅས་བཞུགས་སོ།	10 × 3½. Print 8 × 2¼. Six lines. Sera Do Khang Press ready printed. As. 2. The Press is not at Sera, but on the top of a hill above Sera where the Lamas go to meditate.	This book contains prayers of the several steps towards perfection.
	(*Lam-rim-gsol-adebs lam-mchhog sgo-abyed yon-tan-gshi-gyur-ma-ches bshugs-so*). Leaves 11.		
79	འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་མཚན་ཡང་དག་པར་བརྗོད་པ་བསྟན་པ་བཞུགས་སོ།	13½ × 3¼. Print 10¾ × 2½. Six lines. Bookseller at Paljor Raptan.	This book contains praise to the God of wisdom (Mañjuśrī).

Serial No.	Name of Book in Tibetan.	Description, size, price, number of leaves and other particulars, also the Printing Press or other place where the book is procurable.	Nature and Contents.
1	2	3	4
	(*Aphags-pa-ajam-dpal-gyi mtshan-yang-dag-par brjod-pa-bklags-thabs-bchas bshugs-so*). Leaves 23		
80	འཕགས་པ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་བསྡུད་པ་ཚིགས་སུ་བཅད་པ་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Phag-pa-shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa bsdud-pa tshigs-su-bchad-pa bshugs-so*). Leaves 44.	80, 81, 81(*a*) and 81(*b*) are all similar. 4½ T. for the 4 = Re. 1-11-0.	A poetical rendering of the Prajñāpāramitā.
Series (*a*)	འཕགས་པ་བཟང་པོ་སྨོན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞུགས་སོ།	.....	"The king of prayer." It contains prayers of Phagpa Zangpo.

	(*Aphags-pa-bzang-po sphyod pa-i smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po bshugs-so*). Leaves 9.		
Series (*b*)	འཕགས་པ་བཟང་པོ་སྤྱོད་པའི་ཚིག་དོན་གྱི་འགྲེལ་བ་ལེགས་བཤད་ཀུན་ལས་བཏུས་པ་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Aphags-pa-bzang-po spyod-pa-i tshig-don-gyi agrel-ba legs-bshad-kun-las-btus-pa bshugs-so*). Leaves 35.	.....	This book contains a commentary of "elegant sayings" collected from various sources by Phagpa-Zangpo.
81	དྲང་བ་དང་ངེས་པའི་དོན་རྣམ་པར་འབྱེད་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ལེགས་བཤད་སྙིང་པོ་བཞུགས་སོ། (*Drang-ba-dang-nges-pa-i don-rnam-par-abyed-pa-i bstan-bchos-legs-bshad-snying-po bshugs-so*). Leaves 114.	23¼ × 4. Print 19½ × 2¾. Six lines. Printed to order at Depung Press. Good paper. Rs. 3.	Explains a scientific work explaining "ཉན་བྱ་" (Knowledge obtainable through the medium of the sacred writings) and "རྟེན་བྱུང་" (Knowledge of the truth obtained mystically by continued contemplation).

History of the Hutwa Raj with some unrecorded events of the administration of Warren Hastings and of the Indian Mutiny.—*By* GIRINDRA NATH DUTT.

(With a Genealogical Table.)

The Rajas of Hutwa are of the same caste as the Rajas of Benares, Bettiah, and Tikari. They are popularly called Babhans or Bhuinhar Babhans, to which caste the majority of the landed aristocracy of Behar belong. Although the origin of the Bhuinhars is much disputed, there is every reason to believe that they had been swaying over Behar from a prehistoric age. The word "Babhan" is neither Sanskrit nor Prakrit. But the word distinctly appears to have been used in the inscriptions of Asoka and in the Buddhist Suttas in the sense of Brahmin. This, as well as their *locale*, the cradle and arena of Buddhism, has led antiquarians to believe the Babhans to be those Brahmins who had turned Buddhists in the palmy days of Buddhism, but had forsaken Buddhism after its downfall and usurped the lands of the Buddhist monasteries for which they were called "Bhuinhars," which too is not a Sanskrit word. The Pandits hold them to be "Murdhābhiṣiktas," a caste, mentioned in Mana and other Smritis, intermediate between the Brahmin and the Kshatriya, whilst the Babhans hold themselves to be those Brahmins who had, out of the six duties enjoined, forsaken three and allege the term to be a phonetic contraction of Brahmin. The Deśabali,[1] (a rare MSS. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal) which narrates the conquest of a Buddhist king, speaks of a king Ratul, who had settled at Amnour making friendship with the Bhuinhars there, and who subsequently conquered

[1] पौठघट्टाच्च निःसृत्य बहवो राजपुत्रकाः। मगधदेशे मागधीतीरे वसन्ति स्म पुरा नृप। पौठघट वसत्ताच चक्ररातुलो महीपतिः। गतवान् काश्चिद्रोहमवासैव गतयान् चामोनरकं। आमनोरेव वसतिश्चक्रे भूपो दैवतः। चयनपुरञ्च येनैव जितं युद्धकुतूहलैः। भोजपुरञ्च प्रग्रसाम निजबाहुबलेन च। पञ्चविंशतिराज्यानि कृत्वा रातुलभूपतिः। पञ्चत्वं गतवान् तत्र ब्रह्मकोपाच्च वैजन। त्रिषु स्थानेषु भूमिहारजातिश्चैव ततः परम्। निपात्य च गङ्गायाश्चोभयपार्श्वञ्च चाधिचक्रे च वैजल॥

Cheynpore[1] and the extensive tract on both sides of the Ganges after killing the Bhuinhars who swayed there. The Hutwa Raj family also dates its origin from a prehistoric age. The present minor Maharaja-Kumar traces his descent from a long line of ancestors, Rajas, whom he counts up to 102 generations above him. The founder of the Dynasty was Raja Bir Sen. Allowing even an average of 25 years for each generation, Raja Bir Sen would be about 25 centuries older than the present progeny of his and this would carry us back some six centuries before the Christian era, *i.e*, nearly about the time of Buddha's birth. The popular belief is that this part of the country anciently called Kośala was in the days of yore inhabited by an aboriginal race called the *Cheros* and numerous mounds, ghats, square wells, and old tanks are still being pointed out as the vestiges of supremacy of the Chero Rajas. The remnants of this aboriginal race are still to be found in this part of the country and many of them hold jagirs from the Bettiah Raj for their services as guards and peons; but they have now been classed in the lowest order of the Hindu Society with the *Musahars*. This popular belief seems to have a very good historical significance as we know from history that the first spread of Aryan colonisation from the banks of the Saraswati was to Kurukshetra (Karnal), Panchal (Rohilkhund), Matsya (Jaipur), Surasena (Mathura), Kaśi (Benares), Kośal (Oudh), Magadh (South Behar), Videha (North Behar). Thus it appears probable that the aboriginal Cheros were overturned by the Aryan Kshatriyas, the present Rajputs (some of whom still hold a very high position, as for instance, the Maharajas of Majhowli who draw even a longer chain of ancestors than the Hutwa Rajas), who in their turn were subverted by the Bhuinhars, amongst whom, very probably, was Raja Bir Sen, the founder of the present Hutwa Raj Dynasty. The history of Kośala at the age ascribed to Bir Sen further goes to confirm the aforesaid conclusion. We know that the two greatest kingdoms of the south-eastern half of the Gangetic valley were the lands of Kośala and Magadha which had become the chief scenes of Buddha's teaching and labours. "The Śākyas, the family to which Buddha belonged, were the forerunners of such Rajput families as have in later times, by the aid of armed bands, held their ground against the neighbouring Rajas. Of these greater monarchies there stood in the closest proximity to the Śākyas the powerful kingdom of Kośala adjoining it on the south and west. The kings of Kośala are said to have brought the Śākya land within their power and to have exterminated the ruling family. The Kośala king to whom this act was ascribed was Viḍūḍabha, the son of

1 These villages at Amnour and Cheynpore in the Saran District still exist, inhabited by influential Rajputs and Bhuinhars.

Buddha's contemporary and patron Pasenadi, and that the later legends represent the Śākyas as having been destroyed during Buddha's life-time." It is, therefore, not improbable that Raja Bir Sen had received the Raj and the title from king Viḍūḍabha for his services in subverting the Śākyas.[1] The fact that the ancient seat of the earliest Rajas were at *Bharhichowra*, Perg. Salempore, Majhowli, in the district of Gorakhpur, further goes to establish this conclusion. The Baghochia Bhuinhars[2] to which the Hutwa Rajas belong still exist there.

The patronymic of the earlier Rajas was "Sen," which in the 16th descent was changed to "Siṃha" and in the 83rd to "Mall," and in the 87th to "Shahi." The tradition is that these titles were conferred on them by the Emperor of Delhi. But this cannot at least be correct in the case of the 16th Raja Jagat Sinha, whose date, according to the aforesaid calculation, comes to be about 150 B.C., when the modern Delhi was unknown. Although Yudhiṣṭhira, the hero of the Mahābhārata, founded the city of Indraprastha, the site of which coincides with a part of Delhi, nothing was known of it till the beginning of the Christian era, when king Dilu founded a new city which he named Delhi after himself. Moreover, at this remote period, the Maurya kings of Magadh, descendants of the mighty Asoka, were reigning in the Northern India and there was no "Emperor" or "King of Delhi." But the date thus ascribed to this Raja brings us very approximately to a historical incident. Meander, the Bactrian king of Sakala, in the Panjab, had advanced in 141 B.C., as far as the city of Sāketa in Kośala (Ayodhyā), but had to retrace his steps on account of the stubborn resistance he met with from Puṣyamitra, the general of the last Maurya king, Brihadratha. It seems that Raja Jagat Sinha had assisted the Maurya king in driving out his enemies and thus got the title of "Sinha" which means 'Lion,' an emblem of the Mauryas which is still found on the pillars of Asoka in these parts. But as the name of even the great king Asoka had been forgotten by the people, and has only been unearthed by the researches of scholars, everything of remote antiquity is erroneously ascribed to Delhi, the real fact having been lost in oblivion.

[1] When this paper was read in the meeting, Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri argued that if we only loosen a little the rigidity of assigning the 25 years' rule to each Raja, we could at once identify this Bir Sen, the founder of the Hutwa Raj family, with a historical personage, Bir Sen, who was General of the Sunga king and had conquered Deccan and was ancestor of the Sen kings of Bengal.

[2] The tradition is that the Bagachin Bhuinhars and the Bisen Rajputs, to which the Majhowli Rajas belong, are descended from the one and the same ancestor, Mayur Bhatt, who had four wives of four castes.

By the same method of calculation we arrive at the date of the 83rd Raja, Jay Mall, to be about 1525 A.D. This was an age of unrest and disorder in India. The last of the Lodi kings fell into the hands of Babar in the Battle of Panipat and Babar became master of an extensive territory from the western limits of Bengal to the eastern boundary of Persia. The Pathans had attempted to set up a new kingdom at Jaunpur under the leadership of Darya Khan Lohani. On hearing of this Babar set out for Jaunpur and defeated him. In his expedition he obtained possession of Benares and Patna, and his son Prince Humayun was left to tranquilise and settle Oudh. Behar was in possession of Mahmud Lodi,[1] who made himself master in 1529. Babar defeated Mahmud Lodi and appointed the grandson of Darya Khan to the Government of Behar. Then followed the memorable fights between Humayun and Sher Shah resulting in Humayun's flight. The battles of Buxar (1539) and Kanauj in which Humayun was completely routed by Sher Shah took place at this time, and Sher Shah ascended the throne of Delhi in 1540 A.D. Such times of disorder and troubles gave ample scope for exhibiting one's military genius, and there seems little doubt that Raja Jay Mall had aided one of the parties and received, or more probably assumed, the title of "Malla" (meaning in Sanskrit, 'Wrestler),' for it is not likely that any Mahomedan kings of such remote date would have conferred a title which has purely a Sanskrit origin and signification.[2] To fix accurately the dates of these earlier Rajas is, if not altogether hopeless, a hard task, and in this respect the Sanads, &c., if available, would have been of much use, but all earlier records of the Raj were either destroyed or taken away by the rebel Maharaja Fateh Shahi of whom we will speak later on. In the absence of any such documentary evidence, the materials for the history of the period of these earlier Rajas are necessarily the composition of the hereditary bards (Raj Bhats) retained in the Durbar, the tradition current in the Raj family and in collateral branches and the popular belief in the places alleged to have been connected with any historical incidents.

We have come to the Raja who is the 86th in descent, Kalyan Mall, the first in the line to receive the title of Maharaja. He had made his seat at Kalyanpur, named after him, where the ruins of his fortress and a big well of 50 feet in diameter, said to have been constructed by

1 Copper coins of the Lodis are often found in these parts. The author found some, as also the former D.S.P. of Saran, Mr. Knyvett, near Kataya Police outpost in 1898.

2 The title "Malla" is very old. As for the "Mallas" of Kusiwara and Pava, *vide* Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XI, Buddhist Suttas.

him are still extant. We calculate his date, with a greater historical certainty, to be 1600 A.D., *i.e.*, the latter part of the reign of Akbar, when the great Financier Raja Todar Mall was Viceroy of Bengal and Behar and the division of the country into Parganas after a general survey was taken in hand. Kalyan Mall must have greatly assisted Todar Mall in his undertakings, and in recognition of the services rendered by him the pargana Kalyanpur Kuadi, wherein his seat lay, was named after his capital and he was made a Maharaja by the Great Akbar. (*Vide* Note on page 227.)

The next, 87th Raja, was Maharaja Khemkaran Singh Shahi, Bahadur, who received both the title of "Maharaja Bahadur" and "Shahi" from the Emperor of Delhi. This last patronymic is yet current in the family. His date we calculate to be 1625 A.D., in the latter part of the reign of Jahangir, when Behar enjoyed a degree of internal tranquility which had not fallen to its lot at any time previous to the Mahomedan conquest. In the days of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, we find the Hindu chiefs appointing their agents in the court of Delhi to protect and further their interest, to personally attend in the Emperor's court, and to accept military and civil services under them; and some such meritorious services had enabled Khemkaran Shahi to get the double title of "Maharaja Bahadur" and "Shahi" (a word of pure Persian origin meaning 'of royal rank') and raised him to the highest pitch of honour he could aspire. The fact that the Majhowli chiefs received similar honours and that the Darbhanga and Bettiah Maharajas owe their origin to these Emperors of Delhi goes to corroborate our conclusion.[1]

Maharaja Khemkaran Shahi was equally blessed in the ramification of his issues. We find from the genealogical tree of the Hutwa Raj family, annexed herewith, that he had five sons and a brother and must have found the little fortress of Kalyanpur too small for him and very much unsuited to his present high position. So he must have shifted his capital from Kalyanpur to Husainpur, about 3 miles from Kalyanpur, and built an extensive fort there on a very imposing site and commanding position between the junctions of the two rivers Jharai and Shiahi, the last one now entirely silted up. Husainpur remained the seat of the Hutwa Maharajas till it was destroyed during the reign of Warren Hastings in the rebellion of Maharaja Fateh Shahi, the 99th in descent, who had also enlarged the precinct of the fort by

[1] It is a noteworthy fact that the four *quondam* chiefs of Behar, Dumraon Bettiah, Darbhanga and Hutwa, received similar honour almost simultaneously from the British Government. They were all made Knight Commanders of the Indian Empire one by one.

adding another fort which is still called the "*Naya killah.*" After the fall of Husainpur the family split into two, the elder branch in the direct line of Maharaja Fateh Shahi establishing at Tancohi, where they found the Tancohi Raj in Gorakhpur; and the younger branch, descendants of Babu Basant Shahi, establishing at Hutwa, founded the present Hutwa Raj at about 1802 A.D. The ruins of the fort Husainpur are still extant, and the place abounds in sites[1] of historical interest. The late Maharaja Sir Krishna Pratap Shahi, Bahadur, K.C.I.E., had built a decent bungalow on an elevated place in the "old fort" in front of an ancient archway still supporting a big banyan tree, had laid a very extensive mango garden of about 100 Behar bighas on both sides of the road, excavated a big tank with ghat in front of the temple of Siva constructed by him, and re-excavated one within the fort and edified its bank with a masonry ghât.

A historical tradition is associated with the name of the 95th Maharaja Jubraj Shahi, Bahadur. He is said to have wrested Pargana Seepah, which still forms a portion of the Raj, from Raja Kabul Mahomed, of Barheria, who was killed in the fight. The lineal descendants of Raja Kabul Mahomed who are still living in the destroyed citadel have in their family a like tradition with respect to the ruins of their fortune. There is a nice legend connected with this event. It is said that Maharaja Jubraj Shahi Bahadur was several times defeated in his wars with the Raja Kabul Mahomed of Barheria, who began to extend his estate by encroaching on the Husainpur (Hutwa) Raj. The Mahomedan chief is said to have made a haughty proposal to the Maharaja to give up two villages, *Turkaha* and *Bhurkaha*, and to retain two others, Selari and Bhelari, and demanded that if the Maharaja was not agreeable to that settlement he would claim all the four.[2] After his last defeat the Maharaja was fleeing through the jungles with a handful of followers, when the Goddess Bhavani appeared to him in a dream and complained that she was miserable under the Mahomedan rules. She encouraged the Maharaja to fight again with his handful of men and promised aid. "The moment you commence your journey," she said, "you will see a jackal on the left and a serpent on the right, bow down to the former and kill the latter." The Maharaja acted according

[1] There is a stone image of a Goddess called सैयादेवी under a *Ber* tree on the bank of the Jharai river. The Rajas of Husainpur before going to battle used to worship her and present offerings. Probably सैयादेवी is a phonetic contraction of सहायादेवी meaning Goddess of assistance.

[2] Thus sings the bard "तुरकाहा भुरकाहा मोर। सेलारी भेलारी तोर। मानो तो मानो नहीं वहभी है मोर॥"

to her instructions and gained a complete victory over his adversary at the decisive battle of Ramchandrapore, a mile east of Thaway. The image of Durga was found in the forest of Thaway, which was an old fortress, in accordance with the dream dreamt by the Maharaja, under a singular and peculiar tree which still exists within the temple compound and whose leaves some years ago were sent to the Society for identification. It is reported that one of the feet of the Goddess had sunk to a fathomless depth and the other is out resting on a figure of a lion. The Maharajas of Hutwa have raised a splendid temple for the Goddess and built a palace for their residence as they often resort there for worshipping the Goddess. Food "*Bali*" for jackals is still offered in the jungles. A big fair is held there in the month of *Chait*.

To ascertain more correctly the date of Maharaj Jubraj Shahi, Bahadur, we should make the date of Maharaja Fateh Shahi, which is very well-known and authentic, our *locus standi*, because only three generations intervened between him and Maharaja Fateh Shahi who had raised the standard of rebellion against the British Government in 1767 A.D. By the examination of the genealogical tree of the Hutwa Raj family, it appears that the two Maharajas, the 96th and the 97th, who succeeded Maharaja Jubraj Shahi, Bahadur, had only an ephemeral existence, and Maharaja Chait Shahi, Bahadur, the eldest son of Jubraj Shahi, dying without any issue and the Raj reverting, in accordance with its time-immemorial Kulācāra, to the eldest male member of the family, Maharaja Kurtal Shahi, Bahadur, a brother of Maharaja Jubraj Shahi, and the 4th son of Maharaja Balbhadra Shahi, Bahadur. So allowing a lapse of 50 years instead of 75 from Jubraj Shahi to Fateh Shahi, the former seems to have lived at about 1719 A.D. This was a period of anarchy and unrest in India. The Great Moghul Empire was doomed. About this time (1719) Farrukhsiyar's life was put an end to, and the Saiyid brothers were carrying on the Government in the name of Muhammad Shah, the emperor elected by them. The Nizam of Hyderabad had become independent, the Marhattas were plundering the Deccan, Malwa, and Guzerat, and every chief in India was trying to raise his head inspired with a spirit of self-agrandisement.

We now come to Maharaja Sirdar Shahi, the immediate predecessor of Maharaja Fateh Shahi. He seems to have lived till 1747. He is said to have invaded the principality of Majhowli, in Gorakhpur, and to have demolished their fortress.[1] It is said that one of the conditions on which

[1] The Majhowli Maharajas were of considerable influence during the reign of the Delhi Moghul Emperors. They were called "*tilak dhari* Rajas," *i.e.*, empowered to instal other Rajas. It is said that one of the menial servants (a Kahar by caste) of a Maharaja of Majhowli while shampooing the feet of his master had accidentally

Sirdar Shahi had made peace with the Majhowli Raja, was that the latter was not to go about with Nishans (flags), and drums (Dankas), ensigns of Rajaship, until he had retaken these by force from the Husainpur (Hutwa) Rajas; and that the Majhowli chiefs, though they are still known as Rajas, yet go about conforming to the conditions of this, as they deem it, ignominious treaty. These Nishans and Dankas of Majhowli are said to be still in possession of the Tumcohi Rajas, the elder branch of the Hutwa Raj family, residing in Gorakhpur District. This must have been during the total fall of the Delhi Empire which ensued after the invasion and departure of Nadir Shah. The Marhattas were the masters of the whole Deccan and commenced depredation in Bengal and Behar exacting *Chauth* under the leadership of Raghuji Bhonsli; Malwa and Guzerat had separated from the Empire; the Sikhs were powerful in Punjab and the Rohillas were virtually independent. In short the Emperor was Emperor of India only in name, and the local chiefs fought with each other with impunity.

Next we come to a period of which we have authentic records which well supply an omission of events yet unrecorded by any historian of Warren Hastings' administration. Even Burke with all his mastery of details in his 'Impeachment' was not cognisant of the State of Behar at that time. The 99th of the line was Maharaja Fateh Shahi Bahadur, who, as we have already stated, was a rebel against the British Government in 1767. His lot was cast in troubled and eventful times. The Mahomedan power was fast waning, and the English Government had not yet been firmly established in the land. The last of the Moghuls, Shah Alam II, by repeated invasions, did more to unsettle the affairs of Behar than to gain any advantage for himself. He had been incited to these attempts, by some of the chief zemindars, amongst others, Balvant Singh of Benares, a relation and friend of Fateh Shahi's family. Mir Kasim's attempt at uprooting the British power had signally failed, and

fallen on his feet dozing, and his forehead touched the Maharaja's toe. "Thou art a Raja now and I will give you a Raj," exclaimed the Maharaja, and promised that the distance he would carry him in sleep in a Palki would be his Raj. The Palki-bearers went round a considerable portion of the Maharaja's estate, who was only awakened by the cries of his honest men alarmed to see the Maharaja's doom. The portion thus got by the Palki-bearers now forms the Perdowna Estate in Gorakhpur, and although the Roy Sahebs of Perdowna (the decendants of the recipient of the grant) are bigger Zemindars in the district than the present Maharaja himself, they attend on the Majhowli Maharaja on the Dasehra day with *Hathar chilinchi* to exhibit their loyalty.

The high position then held by the Majhowli chief must have been one of envy to Maharaja Sirdar Sahi, and to humiliate the former must have been the latter's ambition.

the East India Company obtained the Dewani of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The administration of affairs in Behar was vested in a joint council of Europeans and natives, and when at the end of the year 1767, the Revenue Collector of Sircar Saran demanded rents on behalf of the Company, Fateh Shahi not only refused to pay them but gave fight to the Company's troops who were sent against him in consequence, and it was with much difficulty that these troops succeeded in expelling him from Husainpur. The revenue of the district of Husainpur was then farmed out to one Govind Ram; but Fateh Shahi, who had retired into the jungles bordering on the then independent dominions of the Vizier of Oudh and the province of Behar, watched every opportunity of making raids into the district, to plunder the villages and stop the collection of revenue. The unsettled state of the country, his easy access to the territories of an independent prince, where British troops were unable to pursue him and where a part of his zemindari was situated, the impenetrable jungles which surrounded the place, Pargana Jogini, to which he had removed his family residence (the present Tumcohi) from Husainpur, the collusion of the *amils* of the Vizier of Oudh, and above all the attachment of the subjects to their expelled Raja and their dislike of a Government farmer,—all contributed to favour his designs, and he kept the country around in a constant state of terror and the British authorities constantly on the alert. In 1772, the year just preceding Warren Hastings' appointment to the Governor-Generalship of the Indian possessions of the Company, in one of these raids, Govind Ram, the Government farmer, was put to death, and the revenue collection came to a stand-still. The Collector of Sircar Saran, which included the former district of Husainpur, finding that the rents could not be collected so long as Fateh Shahi remained in that situation, recommended that he should be induced to come in on the promise of an allowance being granted him by Government. Govind Ram's murder was forgiven on Fateh Shahi's solemnly denying any knowledge of the transaction, and the Collector's recommendation on his behalf was acceded to. Fateh Shahi then came to Patna, and on an allowance being fixed for his maintenance promised to live quietly with his family at Husainpur, which was then under the charge of one Mir Jumla,[1] who was styled Superintendent of Government Revenue; and the Husainpur Raj Estates, after being kept under direct management for a year, were let out in farm to Babu Basant Shahi, cousin of Maharaja Fateh Shahi, on the security of the unfortunate Raja Chait Singh of Benares. But the turbulent disposition of Fateh Shahi did not long allow him to remain in this condition of quietude. Within two months he withdrew again from the

[1] This is evidently a mistake for Mir Jamāl; *see* page 210.—Ed.

country and commenced anew his career as a border freebooter. Constant complaints now began to be received at the Central Board of Patna, from the officers entrusted with the collections, of the various depredations committed by Fateh Shahi; and in the beginning of May, 1775, the Provincial Council, which then had taken the place of the Central Board, received information that both Babu Basant Shahi and Mir Jumla had been killed by him in a night-attack which he had made on them at a place called Jadopur on the bank of the Gandak. It is said that Fateh Shahi was at the jungle of *Charkhia* on the opposite side of the river *Khauwa*, bordering on the district of Gorakhpur, when he had received information that Babu Basant Shahi was collecting rent at Jadopur which was about 22 miles from his abode. Fateh Shahi started at once with one thousand horsemen and three hundred matchlock men, and marching the whole night reached his enemy's abode early in the morning of the next day and surrounded it. Two legends are current regarding the murder of Babu Basant Shahi. One is that Fateh Shahi had implored Basant Shahi to join his side against the English, which proposal Basant Shahi had stubbornly refused on the ground that he had pledged not to be disloyal to the English. Thereupon Fateh Shahi challenged Basant Shahi to a duel in which the latter was killed. The other is that Fateh Shahi, after overtaking Basant Shahi, was overpowered with a feeling of fraternal affection and was retreating, when he was questioned by one of his menial servants, Gopal Bari, and a kinsman-follower, why he let off Basant Shahi after getting him within his hold with so much trouble. To this the Maharaja is said to have abusively replied, "I let him off because he was my cousin. Was he your son-in-law that you let him off?" Thus incited, these two men at once rushed upon Basant Shahi and beheaded him. The place where he was beheaded, once a garden, is still called *Mudkataya Bag*, and the *peepul* tree under which this atrocious act was committed, is yet worshipped by the Maharajas of Hutwa, who directly owe their origin to Basant Shahi. Maharaja Fateh Shahi then sent the head of the deceased to his wife at Husainpur, who with her husband's head on her lap ascended the funeral pyre followed by 13 of her maid-servants, uttering at the same time an everlasting curse to her progeny who would ever have any connection whatsoever with Fateh Shahi's family—a mandate still strictly adhered to by the Maharajas of Hutwa, who when passing through the *Tamcohi* (Fateh Shahi's) Raj do not even drink water or take any food belonging to the place. Under the shadowy grove of an ancient Banian tree in the fort of Husainpur there exist 14 *Stupas* wherein are enshrined the ashes of these 14 *Satīs* who are worshipped annually and every time the Maharajas and Maharanis of Hutwa visit the place.

The news of the murder of Babu Basant Shahi and Mir Jumla having been reported to the authorities, two companies of Sepoys under Lieutenant Erskine, the 16th Battalion of Bengal Sepoys, who were then at a short distance, immediatly set out in pursuit, but Fateh Shahi conducted his movement with such celerity that he had fled to his retreat of Jogini jungle with his booty before any information of his movements was received. Fateh Shahi had under him now a trained body of horsemen and matchlock men, and his followers had been swollen by the addition of *Fakirs* and banditti. The whole country was brought under contribution by him, and Lieutenant Erskine expressed an opinion to the provincial council at Patna, that unless a body of troops were to follow and drive him out of the Jogini jungles, Fateh Shahi would prove a pest to the inhabitants around, and that there was so many entrances to this jungle that it would take at least a battalion of Sepoys to block them up and pursue the rebel with any prospect of success. The provincial council of Patna recommended in their letter, dated 14th June, 1775, to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Governor-General and Council of Revenue, that as Fateh Shahi had taken possession in the dominions of Nawab Asafuddaula of Oudh, and as it was not practicable to seize his person without the assistance of the Nawab's faujdars in the Gorakhpur District, the Nawab should be written to through Mr. Bristow, the then British resident at the Court of Oudh, to render such assistance. Accordingly the Governor-General and Council wrote to the Nawab of Oudh and Mr. Bristow that the person found to be concerned in the murder might be apprehended. But though there was a seeming compliance with this request, nothing appears to have been definitely done for the arrest of Fateh Shahi. Lieutenant Hardinge then stationed at Baragaon (3 miles from the present Hutwa) was sent in pursuit with a body of Sepoys of the 5th battalion. His instructions were to co-operate with Syed Mahomed, the Faujdar of Gorakhpur, for the arrest of Fateh Shahi, and on no account to act as principal. Lieutenant Hardinge and his detachment remained for seven days in Syed Mahomed's camp in hourly expectation of coming into close quarters with the rebel, and when Hardinge persuaded the Syed to march within a hundred and fifty yards of the rebel entrenchments, thinking that an effort to seize the rebel would then be inevitable, Syed Mahomed's troops stopped short, and would not advance a yard towards the jungle. At this juncture, Hardinge received a message from the Syed telling him that the attack would be deferred till the next morning. It was afterwards found that Syed Mahomed was then engaged in settling his revenue matters with the rebel and Lieutenant Hardinge, thinking that his instructions were to assist in the

arrest of Fateh Shahi and not to collect revenue for the Nawab, at once returned to Baragaon with his detachment in disgust. He, however, found that rebel's position so strong that he wrote to the Provincial Council of Patna that to ensure success, he must have a greater force than that which he then commanded, and also a gun. The season of the year was then too far advanced to despatch a military force for a fresh attempt to seize Fateh Shahi; but Lieutenant Hardinge was instructed to surprise him if possible, and to issue a proclamation offering a reward of Rs. 10,000 to any person who should either apprehend him or point out the place of his residence. In the meantime the Nawab of Oudh was written to, to farm out the portion of Husainpur zemindary comprised in his dominions on a fair and equitable adjustment of rent to the farmer with whom the rest of the zemindary situated in the British Territory had been settled; and Captain Coxe, then commanding a battalion at Bagaha, was instructed to hold himself ready to march with his battalion to Gorakhpur and to use his utmost endeavours in conjunction with the Nawab's force, both to apprehend Fateh Shahi and to put the farmer in possession of the Husainpur zemindary.

Nothing, however, appears to have been done, as the English Government, soon after, was embarassed on all sides by the rebellion of Raja Chait Singh of Benares (16th August, 1781), which spread a regular conflagration in Behar, or more strictly, in the countries between Allahabad to Monghyr. In Behar there was a regular concentration of troops to harass the English. The revolt of Chait Singh burst suddenly on the officials of Behar, and Mr. Ross, the Revenue Chief at the head of the Executive Administration of Patna, wrote to the Council at Calcutta on the 20th August, 1781, that "since the revolt of Raja Chait Singh on the 16th instant, every communication by *Dak* had been cut off from thence to Benares, and so well had he (Chait Singh) concerted measures that Mr. Ross could obtain no intelligence whatever from that quarter." On the 29th August, Mr. Grome, the Collector of Saran, wrote to inform Mr. Ross that Riza Kuli Khan the *amil* of Sasseram was at that time with Raja Chait Singh, and many of the inhabitants of that district, particularly the Ujain Rajputs, were sincerely attached to him, and that one Bunyad Singh, who belonged to Chaitnpore and afterwards became a Mahomedan, was with 150 horses and 500 armed Sepoys on his way to Ramnagar to join Riza Kuli Khan. A letter dated the 6th October, 1781, from Mr. Ross to Major Hardy, Commanding the Patna Militia, shows that Fateh Shahi was still giving trouble in Saran at that period with several zemindars and others in the jurisdiction of the Revenue Chief of Patna, and had armed and clothed his dependants in the military accoutrements of the Company;

and Major Hardy was accordingly directed to seize all people "so dressed in masquerade." The letter of Mr. Ross to the Council at Calcutta above alluded to goes on to say that he had despatched private messengers to Mr. Middleton at Lucknow, Colonel Hannay in the Gorakhpur country, Colonel James Morgan commanding the brigade at Cawnpore, and Captain Williams bordering on the Banga and Sircar Saran districts to apprise them of these events. Along with this letter was an extract from a private letter from Captain Nokes, commanding a battalion in Major Moses Crawford's regiment at Buxar, on its march to Benares dated the 25th August, 1781, addressed to Captain Haukesly Hall at Dinapore which stated that the country between the river Karamnasa and Benares was lined with troops against whom it was madness to proceed with a force less than four battalions and as many guns, and that the companies of Popham's regiment that was left at Mirzapore and had attempted to join the Sikhs that had returned to Chunar with Mr. Hastings, had suffered an astonishing loss. They were intercepted in a narrow passage in some of the streets of that town and were butchered in a most inhuman manner. Captain Mayafee, of the artillery, was beheaded and his head was carried about the town as a trophy. This gentleman had also the company of Frenchmen that Sir Eyre Coote brought from Madras, consisting of 100 men, who were also miserably hacked to pieces, and only 14 of them escaped to Chunar. Five other artillery officers were killed and wounded with Captain Mayafee and to complete their misfortune, Captain Maxwell and his battalion were in great danger as parties of men were lying in wait to intercept his passage at the ghats of Gogra. The letter further stated that "a number of Dandies (rowers) of the Governor's fleet that arrived that day, gave an account of several of their brethren being tied together and chucked in the river and drowned and others cut to pieces." The murder of the English soldiers was retaliated with vengeance; for we find Major Moses Crawford commanding the 28th regiment of Sepoys, writing from Camp Dildarnagar: "The roads on all quarters are stopped, and *harkaras* going between this and Ramnagar can only travel in the night and conceal themselves in the day, and even then they are sometimes obliged to show a light pair of heels for their escape. You will have observed that Popham in a sally among the enemy some nights ago possessed himself of four guns and that many of Raja Chait Singh's followers are relinquishing his cause. This I heard from Popham's *harkara*. It is uncertain whether this will reach you, as it must pass through a very large jungle which is filled with a crowd of rascals who make a point of intercepting our correspondence as much as they can. I have just sent off a party to burn one of their villages in this neigh-

bourhood, *in terrorem* to the rest. We have plenty of provisions of all sorts and commonly get it for the trouble of taking it from deserted villages, or of those who are disaffected to us, which villages we always burn."

At Aurangabad Raja Narain Singh of Siris and Cutumba had collected a large body of matchlock men and joined Chait Singh's faujdar, Bechu Singh, at Marahab, with a force estimated at 15,000 strong, and in order to resist progress of Major James Crawford's regiment which marched from Chetra to effect a junction with Major Moses Crawford at Buxar, who was directed by the Governor-General to take post in the vicinity of Bijugarh to intercept Chait Singh's troops at Ramnagar, Narain Singh posted himself at the foot of the pass of Argoor with 1,500 matchlock men intending to dispute the passage of the troops. Major Crawford hearing of this arrangement quitted Argoor and made for Cowreah pass which he occupied, and pushed his way without molestation over the hills to Bijugarh. Narain Singh was afterwards arrested and prosecuted for rebellion and murder of one Byroo Singh, an inferior zemindar under him, and was sent to Dacca as a State prisoner.

Raja Akbar Ali Khan of Nurhat and Samoy was confined at Patna for owing heavy arrears. On the breaking out of Chait Singh's rebellion he made his escape and raised a body of 5,000 matchlock men and commenced plundering the country. On the 13th October, 1781, Ensign Downes, of Militia, was sent to quell the insurrection and to capture the rebel, but he speedily found his force of one company insufficient for the purpose, as the Raja had taken a strong position in the Gumeah pass to resist the advance of the troops. Accordingly two companies of soldiers under Captain Powell were despatched from Dinapore, who after a hard struggle on the 22nd October, occupied a hill which commanded the enemy's position. The rebel was driven out of the pass with signal loss and chased into the Kharackpur hills in the jurisdiction of Mr. Cleveland who was requested to seize him. Apparently afterwards the rebellion of Akbar Ali was condoned.

Such being the troubled times in Behar, and the North-West, it was impossible for Maharaja Fateh Shahi to keep quiet and not to avail of this opportunity. In forwarding the petition of Maharaja Kalyan Singh, of Patna, and his Naib Raja Kheali Ram—persons with whom the whole of Subah Behar was settled by the Governor-General in April, 1781, under the title of Dewan of the company—to the Governor-General at Chunargarh on the 30th August, Mr. Ross wrote: "Fateh Shahi had been induced from the present aspect of things to enter Husainpur, but Mr. Grome, the Collector of that district, had taken the most effectual measures to prevent him from penetrating any great length in the

district." Fateh Shahi's action at this moment has been well described in the annexed petition of the sons of Babu Dhujju Singh (of whom we shall presently speak) forwarded to Mr. Thomas Graham, Acting President and Member of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, by the Acting Collector, of Saran, with his letter of 11th July, 1805. In it we find that, "in 1189 F.S. (1781 A.D.) when the Governor-General was at Benares to punish the rebel Raja Chait Singh he had ordered the different divisions of the army including the battalion stationed at Baragaon in Pergunah Kalyanpur Kowadi to join him at that place. Raja Fateh Shahi availing himself of the opportunity offerred by their absence, came with Ajeet Mull and other zemindars from Gorakhpur with a body of 20,000 men to Baragaon and attacked and plundered the station. Mr. Grome, the Collector of the district, on receipt of this intelligence wrote a *parwanah* to Dhujju Singh desiring him to join the *tehsildar* and afford his assistance in driving Maharaja Fateh Shahi beyond the boundary of the company's provinces. Dhujju Singh immediately called his adherents amounting to about one thousand men, and after unremitting exertions for eighteen days succeeded in defeating Fateh Shahi in battle, and at length obliged him to retreat to the jungles with the loss of many hundreds of the people who fell in different engagements. Dhujju Singh and his sons were also severely wounded when Major Lucas with a reinforcement of regular troops came to his assistance and uniting his forces with those of Dhujju Singh, whom for their gallant conduct he honoured by giving the lead in action, soon after drove Fateh Shahi out of the District.[1] That gentleman reported to the Government the zeal and meritorious behaviour of Dhujju Singh, and the Governor-General was pleased to send for Dhujju Singh to Benares, bestowed on him a *khelat* of gold cloth and the usual habitments with many other distinguished marks of his favour, and promised that when the Governor-General would return to Patna he would dismiss him with further honorary rewards, and at the same time ordering the Dewan, Canto Babu, to furnish whatever he might require for his expenses. The Governor-General then went to Bijugarh, and when he returned from thence to Calcutta, Dhujju Singh intended to have gone with him, but owing to the wounds he had received in the battles he was unable to do so. When the Governor-General reached Calcutta he issued orders to Mr. Grome directing him to pay a pension of Rs. 200 per month for the maintenance of Dhujju Singh and the widows and orphans of those killed or wounded in the fight."

1 There still exist at Baragaon the tombs of the European officers killed in this fight. There is no tablet on them denoting their names.

The rebellion of Chait Singh was quelled, peace and tranquility restored, and yet we find till 1785 Fateh Shahi at large, the terror of the surrounding countries and the source of troubles to British Government, and the local authorities were afraid to grant the Raj to the next heir, Babu Mahesh Dutt Shahi, the son of Basant Shahi, lest he should obstruct the collections and repeat towards the son the same atrocities which he had perpetrated on the father.

Before ascending the funeral pyre with her husband's head on her lap, the wife of Basant Shahi entrusted her only minor son to the care of Babu Dhujju Singh, of Bhurthoohi, a Rajput feudal lord of great influence under the Husainpur Raj, and he served as guardian of the minor with fidelity proverbial to his race. He saw the best way to secure the interest of his ward was to carry out loyally the wishes of the British Government and set his face against the murderer of his father. With this view he expended all that he was worth and borrowed to the full extent of his credit, in raising a body of troops. With these men and Mahesh Dutt Shahi by his side, he was night and day with Captain Coxe traversing the woods in pursuit of Fateh Shahi, and earned the good-will of the local authorities for himself and his master. The Revenue Council of Patna in their letter to the Governor-General in Council, dated 17th April, 1778, recommended, that "Fateh Shahi should be declared to have forfeited his zemindary, and that it should be bestowed on the young Mahesh Dutt Shahi, and that some villages should be added to the *taluka* of Dhujju Singh who should be declared the Dewan." To this recommendation the Governor-General in Council wrote in reply: "We have attentively considered your recommendations of Mahesh Dutt and Dhujju Singh but do not think it proper at this time to comply with them. You may inform them that, when, with their assistance, we shall have apprehended the person of Fateh Shahi, we shall pay proper attention to their pretentions and services." (*Vide* Appendix).

With the return of a settled state of things in 1785, Fateh Shahi though still at large, and in the enjoyment of that portion of his zemindaries which was situated in the district of Gorakhpur in the dominions of the Nawab of Oudh, left off his predatory life and peacefully settled himself down, perhaps finding in despair all his attempts to gain independence only to prove futile. He became in 1808 a *fakir* after leading the life of a Robin Hood continuously for 18 years and a retired life for 24 years. It was the constant endeavours of his sons to regain the goodwill of the British authorities in order to recover their lost patrimony. In 1790 the youngest son petitioned before Mr. Montgomerie, the Settlement Officer of Saran, to be allowed to settle for the revenue of the

Husainpur Raj on behalf of Fateh Shahi, and the claim was treated inadmissible. Similar applications were also made in 1816 and 1821 with the same result. In June 1829 the great-grandson of Fateh Shahi brought a regular suit for the recovery of the Raj, and it was dismissed as barred by limitation. A similar claim was again set up in 1848 with the like result.

In 1784 when Fateh Shahi had commenced to quietly settle down, Babu Mahesh Dutt again applied for a *Sanad* for the zemindary of Husainpur, and the Government wrote in reply to the Committee of Revenue, in their letter dated 2nd November, 1784, saying, that should they think it advisable to invest the petitioner with the zemindary of Husainpur, it should be done on the expressed conditions of his effectually suppressing the depredations of Fateh Shahi, and if possible delivering up his person to Government within the term of one year. At the same time they inserted a clause in his *Sanad* to the effect that, in the event of his failing in obtaining these ends either from negligence or any other cause, that might be deemed unsatisfactory by Government, upon a report thereof which the Committee was directed to make to Government on the expiration of the current Behar year, he would subject himself to immediate dispossession with the loss of every interest which he might hold in the land in question. (*Vide* Appendix). When the Government accordingly was about to confer upon Babu Mahesh Dutt Shahi the Husainpur Raj he died in 1785 A.D. It is said that the astrologers having predicted that Babu Mahesh Dutt's lease of life was only for 22 years, his guardian Dhujju Singh hastened to marry him at an early age with the daughter of the Chainpur Babu, in order that he might have an issue to continue his line;[1] and requested the Babu to send the bride to the bridegroom's house within the year of the marriage, which was contrary to his family custom. The bride's father sent a haughty answer of refusal, whereupon Dhujju Singh had Mahesh Dutt married again at once for the second time to a poor country girl who gave birth[2] to a posthumus child, afterwards Maharaja Chattradhari

[1] In this marriage of the orphan Mahesh Dutt Shahi, the ceremony called "*Imli Ghotna*," by which the matron of the house, placing the bridegroom on her lap, has to taste a mango leaf chewed by him, was performed by Dhujju Singh's wife. Dhujju Singh's descendants are therefore to some extent looked down by their jealous clansmen who erroneously allege they have lost their caste thereby.

[2] It is said that when the bride was being taken to the bridegroom's house in a Palki, a big cobra with upraised hood interposed at a place, south of the present Hutwa, and would not let the Palki pass. The astrologers were consulted and they declared this to be an auspicious omen, showing that the bride would be the mother of a mighty ruler who would bring the country under one umbrella छत्रधारी-राजा. Hence the Maharaja was so named.

Shahi Bahadur, about two months after Babu Mahesh Dutt's demise On the 21st January, 1791, the Government of Lord Cornwallis on the recommendation of the local authorities conferred on Chattradhari Shahi, the minor son of Mahesh Dutt Shahi, the confiscated estate of Husainpur. But as the grantee was then only five years of age the estate passed under the protection of the Court of Wards, then recently formed, Dhujju Singh continuing to be the guardian of the minor. In 1802 Chattradhari Shahi attained majority and came into actual possession of his zemindaries. He now shifted from Bhurthuhee, where he and his late father lived so long under Dhujju Singh's protection, and founded the present seat of Hutwa[1] where he built his palace and fort surrounded with moats, and granted to Babu Dhujju Singh as jagir the village Hutwa Boojrook (meaning the guardian of Hutwa), which was named after his own capital. But the title of "Maharaja Bahadur" was not conferred on him till 1837, that is, until Fateh Shahi, of whom it may be said—

> "He left a name at which the world grew pale,
> To paint a moral or adorn a tale"

was no more heard of for several years; for it appears to have been thought that there could not be two Maharajas of Husainpur as long as Fateh Shahi was alive. It was on the 27th February, 1837, that the Government of Lord Auckland conferred on him the title of Maharaja Bahadur with the usual *khelat*, and the *peshkas* of Rs. 50,000 paid by him on this occasion was placed at the disposal of the General Committee of Public Instruction to be disposed of in the interest of education. (*Vide* Appendix).

Maharaja Chattradhari Shahi rendered valuable assistance to the British Government during the Santhal rebellion by placing his resources at the disposal of Government and promptly executing the order of the district authorities. But the most conspicuous services rendered by him to British Government were in the stormy days of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58. "Throughout the crisis," wrote the Collector and Magistrate of Saran, Mr. Richardson, "the Raja proved himself a staunch ally of the British Government; his loyalty was never for a moment doubted, and from the very outset of the rebellion the whole of his resources

[1] Evidently Mr. W. Hoey is wrong in identifying Hutwa with Hastigrāma (Journal, A.S.B., Vol. LXIX, Part I, No. 1, Page 80, of 1900). From my personal knowledge I am in a position to say that all that he had heard of the late Raja of Hutwa's enclosing the ground near Sewan Station is a pure myth. The spot was intended for a tenting-ground near the station, as he had to make a drive of 14 miles from and to Sewan station and Hutwa. No Brahmin had ever spoken to him disparagingly of the spot, nor is his death attributed to his enclosing it.

were placed at the disposal of the authorities in the district for the preservation of peace and order." (*Vide* Appendix). When the Mutiny broke out in the district of Shahabad and Gorakhpur in June, 1857, the Maharaja, an old man of seventy, at once put himself in communication with the local authorities, engaged a large contingent of armed men with which he guarded all the ghâts and private houses of Government officials, and sometimes fought with the rebels. "The effect of this active measure," as described by the Collector to the Commissioner in the letter dated the 18th March, 1858, "was that whilst the Gorakhpur district was temporarily abandoned to anarchy and rapine, not a village on the Saran side of the boundary became the scene of disorder." (*Vide* Appendix). When a large body of mutineers appeared at Subhanpur, near Sewan, the Maharaja assisted the sub-divisional Officer, Mr. Lynch, with horses and men, fought the rebels and gained a signal victory.[1] It is indeed a pity that the historians of the Indian Mutiny, while they have indulged in enumerating petty and minor details, have entirely omitted to make any mention of the service rendered by this Maharaja of Hutwa.

An internal rising forms an episode in Maharaja Chattradhari Shahi's time. A brahmin of Bhore, named Bujhawan Misir, became very powerful, having been aided by the ever-turbulent Rajputs of the place who are called "Khans." Bujhawan Misir claimed the whole country on the other side of the Jherai river to be his *brit* (Brahmottar), even the forts of Husainpur. Each time the Maharaja's troops sent to dispossess him were beaten back—in fact Bujhawan Misir held the country in such terror for some time that no one from the Hutwa side could dare cross the Jherai.[2] At last the Maharaja had to seek the help of the Government, and Bujhawan was dispossessed of the country and killed by the troops of Government. There were also constant fights with the Bettiah Raj about demarcation of boundaries between the two Estates, and thousands of both sides were killed.

[1] These mutineers had looted the Government treasury and the public offices in Muzaffarpur District, but being repulsed therefrom had proceeded to Sewan. "On the following morning the troops broke out in open mutiny. Headed by Jarif Khan they robbed the Monghyr Mail and plundered the Collector's house. They then attacked the Treasury and Jail, but the Police and najibs stood to their posts and drove them off, on which they decamped towards Aliganj Sewan."—(Sir J. Kaye's History of the Sepoy War, Vol. III.)

[2] Thus sang the bard "राजा भैले रजवज्ञो सिपाही भैले धुनीया। लड़े ले बुझावन मिश्रि दलकेले दुनीया।" "The Raja was reduced to diminutive, and his soldiers were reduced to the position of a cotton-dresser, while Bujhawan Misir fought making the earth tremble under his feet."

Maharaja Chattradhari Shahi was a great patron of Sanskrit learning. He retained in his Durbar learned pandits from Mithila and Benares, and other places amongst whom, before he became a Sanyasi, was the renowned Ram Niranjan Svami, the greatest *Savant* of India at that age, who survived even Maharaja Rajendra Pratap Shahi, successor of Maharaja Chattradhari Shahi. He had opened a Sanskrit school in charge of the said *Savant*, wherein nearly 1,000 students from all parts of India received education and were fed by the Raj. With such veneration was this *Savant* held by the Hutwa Maharajas, that the late Maharaja Sir Krishna Pratap Shahi Bahadur had specially indented from France a jewelled *Sirpech* (aigrette) containing an enamelled image of this *Savant*, and had named his son and heir, the present Maharaj Kumar, after his monastic nomenclature and had published a beautiful biography.

Maharaja Chattradhari Shahi was an able and excellent administrator. He considerably enlarged his Raj and with it its income. The whole villages on the borders of the Gandak and Gogra now possessed by the Raj he got from the Babus of Pursa on their downfall. He died on the 16th March, 1858, leaving, it is said, behind him about 40 lakhs of Rupees in the treasury, the greater portion of which is said to have been squandered away[1] by his successor in the great Hutwa case, and the rest invested in the purchase of jewellery of the deposed king of Oudh. The fruit of his Mutiny services was enjoyed by his successor, Maharaja Rajendra Pratap Shahi, who obtained a perpetual jagir in Shahabad district out of the confiscated estates of the rebel Kuar Singh, then yielding an annual rental of Rs. 20,000, having continued to tread in the footsteps of his great-grandfather, Maharaja Chattradhari Shahi, in rendering valuable assistance to Government in the suppression of the Mutiny. (*Vide* Appendix).

The two sons of the Maharaja Chattradhari Shahi having died before their father, it was the turn of Maharaj-Kumar Ugra Pratap Shahi, the father of Rajendra Pratap Shahi to succeed; but Maharaja Chattradhari Shahi having left a will and expressed his intention before his death that Rajendra Pratap, the son of Ugra Pratap, was to succeed him, Ugra Pratap Shahi waived his claim in favour of his son who was installed Maharaja in 1858. (*Vide* Appendix). The two sons of the second son of Maharaja Chattradhari Shahi, Babu Tilakdhari Shahi,

1 So extravagant was his successor, Maharaja Rajendra Pratap Shahi, that in his *shikar* in the Terrai Jungles, where he stayed for six months, his camp equipages consisted of 60 elephants, several big Zemindars related to him, and also many dancing girls—nay even his own Bazar to supply *rasads* to retinues and camp-followers and equal number of advancing tents (*Peah-khima*) for the next stage.

and Babu Bir Pratap Shahi, thereupon laid claim for the partition of the Raj on the plea that the estate was an ordinary zemindary. Their suit at first was tried by the District Court of Saran; but Babu Tilak Dhari Shahi withdrew his claim on a compromise, having got by it some villages for his maintenance (*Khorish*); but Babu Bir Pratap Shahi whose claim was dismissed by the District Court carried it on to the High Court of Calcutta and then to the Privy Council, which settled for good that the Hutwa Raj still, as it was before Maharaja Fateh Shahi's defection, is an impartible Raj, descendible under *Kulācā* to the eldest son, to the exclusion of all younger brothers who were only to get a maintenance, and fixed Rs. 1,000 as monthly pension for Babu Bir Protap Shahi's maintenance. (*Vide* the extracts of judgments enclosed.)

Maharaja Rajendra Pratap Shahi died in 1871, leaving an only minor son of 15, the late Maharaja Sir Krishna Pratap Shahi Bahadur, K.C.I.E., and the Court of Wards took up for the second time the administration of the Hutwa Raj. He attained majority in 1874, and was installed as Maharaja Bahadur in August of that year at Chupra at a grand Durbar by the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Richard Temple. He received a medal of distinction struck in commemoration of the visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to India in 1874-75, and another in 1877 at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi on the proclamation of Her Most Gracious Majesty the late Queen Victoria as Empress of India. In 1889 he was created, unsolicited, a Knight Commander of the Exalted Order of the Indian Empire.

When the memorable cow-riot broke out at Basantpur in 1894, the Officiating Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Anthony Macdonald, wired to the Maharaja saying that he depended on him in restoring peace in the district. The Maharaja immediately despatched all his *Sowars*, Sepoys, and Carbineers to help the Commissioner, Mr. Forbes, stationed there in quelling the riot. In such high esteem was he held by that distinguished officer, Sir Anthony Macdonald, that in one of his letters he wrote to him in the following strain: "There is no nobleman in these provinces whose approbation I value more highly than yours, and very few so high, and there is no one from whom I should be so glad to receive, now and then, an expression of opinion on general topics."

He was allowed by the Government of India, on the recommendation of the then Collector, Mr. Bourdillon (now Sir James Austin Bourdillon, late Officiating Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal), who had remarked that he could safely trust the Maharaja's loyalty and fidelity, to indent sixty muskets with bayonets from England for his retainers in lieu of those old and worn out.

He was a great patron of Sanskrit learning, himself being a very

good Sanskrit scholar. Pandits from Bengal and Benares, nay even from the Bombay Presidency, have got munificent donations from him. Rare and important works in Sanskrit he got to be edited or translated by the Pandits at a great cost, simply for distribution. Among these is a monumental work on vedic rituals, Pâraskara Gṛhya Sûtra with several commentaries which issued from the press just when he was on his death-bed, and which he had prefaced with a brief narration of his family history in metrical Sanskrit. He was himself the author of a book of songs called *Soka-Mudgara*, composed on the death of his first son. His Sanskrit Library contains numerous rare and valuable MSS., all collected during his life time, which were examined by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and were eulogised by its President, Sir Charles Elliot, in his Annual Address. Although a Maharaja, he had the heart of an ascetic. So fond was he of a retired life that he had declined several times the offered seats in the Government Legislative Councils. No sooner he ascended the *Gaddi* after the Court of Wards' *regime*, he set out for a pilgrimage and travelled through almost the whole of Northern India. Later on he used to pass the greater part of the year in the associations of the *Pandits* and learned *Sadhus* at Benares, where he had built palatial buildings, temples, and *chetras*, endowing in perpetuity suitable sums for their maintenance. The Lion of the Punjab, Ranjit Singh, had plated the dome of the Bisvanath's temple at Benares with gold, and the late Maharaja of Hutwa had plated the reservoir of the image within with thick silver, costing nearly a lakh of Rupees. With a true maternal veneration he set apart a portion of his Raj in perpetuity, yielding an income of Rs. 20,000 for the maintenance of the beautiful temple of Gopalji constructed by his late mother. Finding the Brahmins in the Raj in a state of moral depravity he revived the Sanskrit School of Chattradhari Shahi which had dwindled away in his predecessor's time.

He was equally charitable in works of public utility. He excavated numerous large tanks, built on them masonry ghâts with slopes for cattle to drink water, opened many new roads, constructed thousands of wells and embankments for tenants, and set apart extensive mango-gardens for the public to enjoy their fruits. Each winter he used to distribute some thousands of blankets only to the old, decrepit, blind, and lame, and to such as were incapacitated for work. It was his express order that old horses and cattle must not be made to work, but be fed as superannuated human pensioners as long as they lived. Himself being very candid and upright, he always loved fair and square dealings in all transactions. It was his strict orders to pay salary of all his servants on the very first of every month, and he never liked to

hear that he owed any debt to anybody. Although an oriental aristocrat to the back-bone he patronised both primary and high educations. He established a free Entrance School in the Raj with a scholarship for the successful student to prosecute the higher standard, and opened numerous primary schools in the interior of the Raj to impart liberally a free education to his tenants. He fully appreciated the meritorious services of his servants and often encouraged them with handsome rewards. The kindly feelings he entertained towards them might well be exhibited from his telegram of condolence on the death of his faithful *Dewan*, Babu Bhubaneswar Dutt, at his residence at Chandernagore, to his nephew Babu Devendra Nath Dutt, the present Dewan of the Maharani: "My heart bleeds to hear of your uncle's death. The loss is irreparable to the Hutwa Raj. You have got your uncle alive in me. It is I whose uncle is lost."

In July, 1890, the Maharaja lost his first son, a child of weak constitution, and the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Stuart Bayley, in his letter of condolence to the Maharaja, wrote: "The loss of the only heir to one of the historical houses of Behar is what I consider a public calamity."

It is during the *regime* of the late Maharaja Sir Krishna Pratap Shahi that the prosperity of the Hutwa Raj has reached a point unknown to any of his predecessors. The architectural aspect of the town of Hutwa was immensely beautified by the erection of numerous magnificent buildings with high towered gates and a long line of barracks on their wings, facing in front an extensive and tastefully laid out park, stud with marble statues and fountains, thus imparting an idea of beauty mingled with sublimity. The new palace named after him, Krishna Bhaban, with its magnificently furnished and decorated Durbar Hall which is daintily painted and guilded, and glittering with tastefully arranged numerous splendid crystal chandeliers, with its painted door-panes bearing Shakespearean characters, and its walls hung with oil-paintings of all the crowned kings of Europe and two big life-size portraits—one of the late Queen Empress and the other of himself attended with his faithful dewan, the late Babu Bhubaneswar Dutt—facing each other, is indeed a work of art and is said to be one of the most picturesque buildings in India. The resources of the Raj had so considerably developed in his time that the rent-roll which was eight lakhs when he was a minor under the Court of Wards had risen to twelve lakhs of Rupees, and this not by any illicit enhancement but after a survey and preparation of a regular and systematic record of rights initiated by the Court of Wards.[1] It is interesting to know that

[1] While at this stage of my writing I was fortunate enough to make a very im-

at his death he left behind him in the two strong-holds of his fort 55 lakhs of rupees in hard cash, notwithstanding the additions made by him in his richly stocked jewellery room, *Howdakhana* and *Toshakhana*, which including the amount spent in buildings and six

portant discovery throwing much light on the dark period of some of the Rajas before Fateh Shahi. It is the Lakhraj Register of the Raj prepared in 1793 A.D. by the Government Deputy Collectors appointed to enquire into the Lakhraj land in the country for the Permanent Settlements, and which formed the *Magna Charta* of the Brahmins during the preparation of the Record of Rights subsequently by the Court of Wards in the minority of the late Maharaja Sir Krishna Pratap Shahi under the then most distinguished Manager, the late Mr. George James Spence Hodgkinson, I.C.S., C.S.I., (afterwards Commissioner of the Arakan Division, and some time Chief Commissioner of Lower Burma), who had not only sown seeds of Hutwa's present prosperity but had implanted in the heart of the minor in his charge noble ideas and principles which had hereafter made him so successful an administrator and an exemplary chief in all respects. This Lakhraj Register records the *Sanads* for *Brt* lands granted or alleged to have been granted by the Maharajas of Hutwa. But on a careful examination of this record I was sadly disappointed to find it to be not of that value as was expected, as only in some instances the period found therein coincided with the dates assigned by me, calculated at the rate of 25 years; and in other cases the said register proved itself to be wholly unreliable. For instance there is one grant of the 89th Maharaja in the line, Maharaja Saugram Shahi Bahadur (the oldest one in that register), dated 1013 F.S. = 1606 A.D., granted to Gossain Madhoram of village Chowchukka, Muth Madho, and another of the same Maharaja, dated so late as 1145 F.S. = 1738 AD., given to Parsram Sukul of village Brindaban, thus giving the Maharaja's lease of life for more than 132 years, although there are many *Sanads* of the period intervening and given by the Maharajas succeeding him. Yet both these *Sanads* have been accepted and registered! There also appears one most glaringly false *Sanad* which the *Amin* preparing the register notes as having been declared to him (*Ṣūrat ḥāl*) to be of 1169 F.S. = 1762 A.D. *i.e.* (five years before Fateh Sahi's rebellion) and given by Maharaja Kalyan Mall to one Harkumar Baus Tewari of Khajooraha Tappa Bagahi, and on the face of its spuriousness this has been accepted and registered! There also appear many *Sanads* in which the heirs-apparent styling themselves Maharajas have been alleged to have granted lands in their fathers' (the real Maharajas) life-time, which could hardly have been the case. On the nature of these *Sanads* Mr. Hodgkinsson had reported to Government thus: "The number of illicit *Brts* claimed is simply astounding." From this it is palpable that the present Maharaja and his ancestors have been deprived of a very large portion of their just rent by the Brahmins. The survey and record of rights were prepared by inexperienced *Amins* under these Deputy Collectors for whom it was not possible to detect those fraudulently manufactured from those genuine *sanads*. An inspection of these *Sanads* might have been very useful for the history of the Raj, but unfortunatly I have not that power and position now in the Raj which I once had to induce the possessors to allow me to have a look.

By the 25 years' rule I have ascribed the date of the 25th Raja, Maharaja Jubraj Shahi, to be 1719 A.D. In the Lakhraj Register I find one of his *Sanad* dated 1112 F.S. = 1703 A.D. given to Bholanath of Khurhurwa, and another of 1140 F.S. = 1733

lakhs of rupees given away on the birth of his first son, and a lakh spent in the marriage of the present Maharaj Kumar of Benares at Salemgarh, district Gorakhpur, in which the bridegroom's party composing of several Rajas were his guests, would equal as much as the hoard left. The Maharaja died in his forty-first year on the 20th October, 1896, leaving a son of 4 years, the present minor Maharaj Kumar, and a daughter of nearly a year; and the Court of Wards again for the third time took up the administration of the Raj, appointing the Dowager Maharani his guardian. The years of the demise of the two successive Maharajas, Rajendra Pratap Shahi and Krishna Pratap Shahi, are marked by the advent of the famines in Behar in which the Raj had to spend, on these two disastrous occasions, more than ten lakhs to relieve the distress of its tenants.

The charity and magnanimity of the present Maharani of Hutwa is proverbial. She had contributed a lakh of Rupees to the Famine Fund raised by His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, for the relief of the distressed people in Central Provinces and Rajputana, another lakh to the Victoria Memorial Fund, Rs. 50,000 to the Lady Dufferin Zenana Hospital, Rs. 30,000 to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association Fund, presided over by Her Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress Alexandra, Rs. 25,000 for the Chupra Charitable Hospital besides numerous minor contributions. In recognition of her catholic charity and kindly feelings towards the tenants of her Raj, Her Majesty the late Queen Empress conferred on her the Kaisar-i-hind gold medal, with which she was invested at a grand Durbar at Hutwa, in January 1902, by His Honour the late Sir John Woodburn.

The Maharajas of Hutwa are entitled to take with them within the limits of Saran district 100 armed retainers, without license and to re-

given to Samhowti Tewary of Husainpur. This proves the correctness of my date. Again I have assigned the date of the 98th Raja, Maharaja Sirdar Shahi, to be 1747. In the Lakhraj Register there is one *Sanad* by him of Aṣadh 1151 F.S. = 1744 A.D., granted to Balkissen Ojha of Karthowli, and another of Aghan Sudi 5th, 1165 F.S. = 1758, granted to Raghunath Soohool of Pankhapali. This also proves the correctness of my date.

The following are the date of grants gathered from the Lakhraj Register which could be relied on to some extent and with certain allowances :—

93rd Maharaja Huldul Shahi Bahadur—1644—78 A.D.
94th Maharaja Hargovind Shahi Bahadur—1695—1714 A.D.
95th Maharaja Jubraj Shahi Bahadur—170 (1 ?) 5—38 A.D.
96th Maharaja Chet Shahi Bahadur—1737—58 (?) A. D.
97th Maharaja Kurtal Shahi Bahadur—(no mention)
98th Maharaja Sirdar Shahi—1744—1758 (Cf. above).

tain in their possession a gun and have the privilege of private entrée to Government House.

The annexed table shows the area and income together with other particulars of the Raj. The main portion consists of a compact block of the most fertile tract in the District of Saran :—

Districts in which the property is situated.	Number of villages in each.	Area.	Population.	Total Rent-roll.	Government Revenue.	Cesses.
		Sq. Miles.		Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
1. Saran	1,350	670	534,905	11,81,469	1,97,685 11 7¾	69,894 5 0
2. Champaran ...	24					
3. Muzafferpore ...	11					
4. Shahabad ...	15					
5. Gorakhpore ...	4					
6. Patna ...	[1]					
7. Benares						
8. Darjeeling						
9. Calcutta ...						
Total	1,404[2]	670	534,905	11,81,469[3]	1,97,685 11 7¾	69,894 5 0

APPENDIX.

To

THOMAS GRAHAM, ESQ.,

Acting President and Member of the Board of Revenue,

Fort William.

SIR,

I beg leave to report to you the death of Dujjoo Singh who received a pension of Rs. 190-8-0 per mensem, and also to transmit

[1] The Raj has got only house properties in these districts.

[2] Besides these 30 new villages in Saran have been recently purchased by the Court of Wards, the area, population and rentroll of which have not been exactly known.

[3] Besides this, the Raj has an annual income of Rs. 1,96,448 as interest in Government Papers and Municipal Debentures, etc., of the portion of the hoarded money of the late Maharaja invested by the present Court of Wards.

herewith a copy and translation of a Petition presented to me by Lall Singh, Shah Singh, and Gauree Singh, sons of the deceased, soliciting a continuance of the allowance, which I beg leave to submit for the consideration and orders of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council.

2.—The particulars of the case are so fully set forth in the Petition, that I do not deem it necessary to trouble the Board with my further observations on it than to mention that the circumstances of the zeal and good conduct of Dujjoo Singh and his adherents in the expulsion of the rebel Fatteh Sahi from the Company's Territories is notorious, as well as his steady attachment to the English interest during the troubles at Benares, and that it was in a great measure owing to the exertions of himself and his followers that this district was saved from devastation and ruinous consequences of the predatory incursion of Fatteh Shahi's Banditti.

3.—As it would appear that the sons and adherents of Dujjoo Singh were, with himself, wholly supported by the pension they received from Government, and as there is every reason to believe that their numerous family will be reduced to the greatest distress from the resumptions, I take the liberty of recommending the prayer of their Petition to the liberality of Government.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) R. GRAHAM,
Acting Collector.

Zillah Saran,
The 11th July, 1805.

Translation of a Petition from Lall Singh, Shah Singh, and Gauree Singh, sons of Dujjoo Singh, deceased.

In 1189 Fussilly, when the Governor General was at Benares to punish the Rebellion of Raja Chitta Singh, ordered the different Divisions of the army, including the Battalion stationed at Burragang in Parganah Cullianpore Koarry to join him at that place, Rajah Futteh Shahi availing himself of the opportunity afforded by their absence, came with Ajeetmall and other zamindars from Gorakhpur with a body of 20,000 men to Burragang, and surrounding Govindram Missir, the Tahsildar of the Parganah, attacked and plundered the station. Mr. Grome, then Collector of the District, on receipt of this intelligence, wrote a purwanah to Dujjoo Singh, desiring him to join the Tahsildar and afford his assistance in driving the said Fatteh Shahi beyond the boundary of the Company's provinces. Dujjoo Singh immediately collected his adherents amounting to about 1,000 men, and after unremitting exertions for

18 days, succeeded in defeating Fatteh Shahi in battle, and at length obliged him to retreat to the jungles with the loss of many hundreds of his people who fell in the different engagements. Dujjoo Singh and his sons were also severely wounded, when Major Lucas with a reinforcement of Regular Troops came to his assistance, and uniting his forces with Dujjoo Singh, who for their gallant conduct he honoured by giving the lead in action, soon after drove Fatteh Shahi out of the district. That gentleman reported to Government the zeal and meritorious behaviour of Dujjoo Singh, and the Governor General was pleased to send for Dujjoo Singh to Benares, bestowed on him a khelat of gold cloth and the usual habitments, with many other distinguished marks of his favour, and promised that when he, the Governor-General, returned to Patna, he would dismiss him with further honorary rewards, at the same time ordering the Dewan, Canto Babu, to furnish whatever he might require for his expenses. The Governor-General then went to Bijughur, and when he returned from thence to Calcutta, Dujjoo Singh intended to have gone with him, but owing to the wounds he had received in battle, he was unable to do so. When the Governor-General reached Calcutta he issued orders to Mr. Grome directing him to pay a pension of Rs. 200 per month for the maintenance of Dujjoo Singh and ourselves, who were wounded with him, and the widows and orphans of those who had lost their lives on the occasion, the amount has been regularly paid to us to the end of Falgoon 1212, from which we and many others, the said widows and orphans of our adherents, obtained support and prayed for the Company's prosperity. At the end of Falgoon Dujjoo Singh died, when the Acting Collector, Mr. Ravenscroft, resumed the pension. Sir, Dujjoo Singh was not the only person who came forward: we were also in the engagement and were severely wounded; and the widows of our many followers who fell on the occasion are still in existence. The pension was granted both for their and our support, and the name of Dujjoo Singh was inserted only because he was our leader. Dujjoo Singh alone has paid the debt of nature. We, and many of the widows of Dujjoo Singh's deceased adherents, are still living, and our sole support is from the pension of Rs. 200 per month granted to us by Government, and by the discontinuance of it we are reduced to extreme distress. We are therefore hopeful from your goodness that the said pension may be continued and confirmed to our family; that we and the widows of our numerous deceased adherents may thereby receive a provision for their maintenance, and offer up our prayers for the prosperity of the English Government.

(A true Translation.)

(Sd.) R. Graham,
Acting Collector.

To

R. GRAHAM, ESQ.,

Acting Collector, Saran.

SIR,

In reply to your letter of the 11th ultimo, I am directed by the Board of Revenue to acquaint you that the Governor-General-in-Council has been pleased to authorize you to continue to the sons of the late Dujjoo Singh the pension of Rs. 190-8 ans. per mensem formerly received by that person, and to discharge any arrears which may be due on that account.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) J. C. BULLER,

Secretary.

Revenue Board,
The 9th August, 1805.

True Copies.

(Sd.) (*Illegible.*)

Collector.

Extracts from the Proceedings of Government in the Revenue Dept.

Read the following letters and enclosure from the Provincial Council of Patna:—

Constituted 14th June, 1775.

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

Governor-General and Council of Revenue, Fort William.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

Enclosed we have the honor to transmit you a copy of a letter received from Lieutenant Erskine, who commands two companies of Sepoys in the Hossepur District, giving an account of an attack made by Futty Shaw on the Renter and the Superintendent of the Collections of that country, in which they were both killed. The other letters we have received from that place, confirm the circumstances mentioned by the officer, and acquaint us further, that the business is thrown into the utmost confusion by this unexpected event. We beg leave to represent to you that Futty Shaw was formerly the Zamindar of Hosseypur. About the end of the year 1767, he refused to pay his rents, fought the Company's Troops who were sent against him in consequence, and was with

much difficulty expelled from the country; he then withdrew into the jungles, bordering on the Vizier's dominions and the Behar Province, watching every opportunity to make incursions into the district, and to plunder the villages, by which means the collections have been constantly interrupted in 1772. He put to death one Govind Ram, the Renter of Hossepur, but as he most solemnly denied having any knowledge of that transaction, the Collector of Sarcar Sarun, finding that the rents could not be properly conducted so long as he remained in that situation, recommended to the Council that he should be induced to come in on the promise of an allowance being made him from Government. This was accordingly done; he came willingly to Patna, and, an allowance being fixed for the maintenance, he promised to remain quietly with his family in Hosseypur. Within two months, however, he withdrew again from the country and has ever since committed depredations on the district, of which we received frequent complaints from the officers of the collections; we understand he is now collecting together a body of Facquiers and other Banditti, with a view of making further disturbance. We have thought it expedient to write to Captain Jones, who is stationed with his Battalion near that place, desiring he will take such measures as may be necessary to protect the country and prevent the desertion of the raiyats. As he takes protection in the dominions of the Nabab Asoph-ud-Dowla, it will not be practicable to seize his person without the assistance of the Nabab's Phousdar in the Gorackpur District. We have, therefore, desired the Chief to represent the circumstances to the Nabab through Mr. Bristow, and to request His Excellency will give the necessary orders to his people. Thus far we have thought fit to proceed for the immediate security of the country, and beg to be favoured with your orders, if you deem it proper, to take any other measures for getting Futty Shaw into our hands.

Bussant Shaw was the farmer of Hossepur, and Rajah Cheyt Singh security for him in the payment of his rents.

We are, with respect,
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient humble servants,

(Sd.) Isaac Sage.
„ Simeon Droz.
„ Ewan Law.
„ Edward Golding.
„ Wm. Young.

Camp at Burrah Gaun, 4th May, 1775; Patna, the 8th May, 1775.

To

MR. ISAAC SAGE,

Chief of the Provincial Council of Revenue.

SIR,

Last night, about sunset, I received a letter from Meer Mogul informing me that Futty Shaw, early in the morning, had surprised Meer Jammaul and Babu Basanta Shaw at Jadapur, a village 6 coss from Burrah Gang, and that he had murdered them with most of their attendants. He requested I would hasten to Burrah Gang that I might prevent his coming there. I immediately marched with the detachment from Sewan and arrived here about 10 o'clock. At night I received certain intelligence that Futty Shaw after putting the poor defenceless people to death and plundering their effects, immediately fled with the booty into the Perg. Jugginee Jungle, where it seems his family is, and which is in Mirza Maun's District. As Meer Mogul writes you the particulars of this affair by the bearer, it would be a needless repetition in me to mention them, as I have only heard them from him. Both Meer Jammaul and Babu Basanta Shaw were lulled into such an opinion of security by Futty Shaw's fair promises, that they did not apprehend the smallest danger from him. Even the night before their death, they received a letter from him, informing them that he was within 3 coss of them and that they need not dread any destruction from him, as he was only going to see his family at Perg. Jugginee. This I am informed of by some of the wounded people who made their escape and are just arrived here. They say that Futty Shaw had about 25 horsemen and 200 or 300 matchlock fellows with him. Had the two companies been stationed at the place, I cannot see how the melancholy accident could have been prevented. As you positively forbid me to pursue either him or the Nourannees into Miza Maun's District, I am almost certain he will always take care to keep out of my reach.

Permit me to give it as my opinion that unless you order a body of troops to follow and drive him out of the Perg. Jugginee Jungle, that after carrying matters to such a length he will prove a constant pest to the inhabitants hereabout. By what I can learn there are so many avenues into the jungle that it will take at least a battalion of sepoys to block them up and pursue him in it with any prospect of advantage. I have sent Hircarrahas to bring me positive intelligence where he is, and if requisite shall remove the detachment for the protection of the raiyats to whereever it may be necessary.

I have not recalled the detachment from Somewell as, if I was to

do so, the Nourannees in all probability would make some disturbance in that part of the country.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) JOHN ERSKINE,
Lieut., 16th Battalion of Sepoys.

The bearer was present when Meer Jammaul and Babu Basanta Shaw were killed, and will give you the particulars.

(A true copy.)
(Sd.) SHEARMAN BIRD,
Secretary.

Petition of Syed Golam. Translation of the representation of Syud Golam Mustofa Khawn.

"My elder brother Syed Jammal Mahomed of Bokhara was empolyed to collect the Revenues in the pargana of Hosseypur in the Sircar of Sarun. Rajah Futteh Shaw, who had been long absent from the country, suddenly made an incursion from the jungles with a body of a thousand horsemen and peons in the night time of the 1st of Rubbee-ul-Awul in the 14th year of the King's reign, and killed my brother with Basant Shaw, the Zamindar, and many others, and carried off whatever horses, camels, ready money, effects he had and part of the Government's Treasure. I pray that the offender may be punished, and that my brother and his people may obtain redress, and then in future I shall know no other protector or person to apply to for justice in this country excepting yourself."

Agreed that the Governor-General and Council be requested to write to the Nabab of Oude and Mr. Bristow that the persons found to be concerned in the murder may be apprehended.

Read the following letters and enclosure from the Provincial Council of Patna.—

To
THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,
Governor-General in Council in the Revenue Department,
Fort William.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

We have been favoured with your letter of the 24th ultimo, and have, agreeable to your orders, summoned such of the parties as are now in Patna to appear before us. We before acquainted you that some of the parties with their sunnuds were still in Calcutta, and have to request you will be pleased to order them to return here to appear in their defence, when we shall enter upon the cause, and transmit you a copy of our pro-

ceedings thereon. The enclosed copy of a letter from Lieutenant Harding, who was ordered to co-operate with Fouzdar of Gorackpur in the Vizier's dominions for seizing Futty Shaw, the rebellious Zamindar of Hosseypur, will evince to you the little regard that has hitherto been paid to the Nabob's orders on that subject; and we cannot avoid observing on this occasion, that it is so much the interest of the officers employed by His Excellency in that part of the country to let this man remain in the state he is, that we can never expect any effectual assistance from them. Futty Shaw holds the zamindary of Perg. Jugginee in Sircar Gorackpur adjoining to the district of Hosseypur, and from the collusion which has always prevailed between him and the different Aumils of the Nabab in that country, we have reason to believe that the Nabab himself is defrauded of his just revenue at the same time that Futty Shaw secures to himself a retreat and keeps himself the whole District of Hosseypur in a continual alarm. The Zamindaries of Perg. Jugginee and Hosseypur were some years ago held under the same Collector, and the Nabab's officers received their revenue from the Aumil of Hosseypur, till the former found it more to their own private advantage to separate them. Should this expedient be again adopted, it would, we apprehend, be more likely than any other to effect the purpose of securing the person of Futty Shaw by destroying his influence in the only place where he now finds protection.

The present farmer of Hosseypur, we understand, would readily engage, and give security for the regular payment of the rents of that part of Futty Shaw's zamindary in the Nabab's dominions, on a fair and reasonable adjustment, taken either from a medium of the last four or five years, or from a new and equitable valuation. As this proposal tends equally to the advantage of the Nobabs collections, as to remove the evil which has so long been experienced in the Company's District of Hosseypur we are induced to recommend it to your consideration. In our correspondence some months ago with the Resident of the Nobab's Court, we proposed this measure, but as it was not then consented to, we apprehend the Fauzdar of Gorakhpur was referred to by His Excellency, and from the motives already mentioned prevailed on the Nobab to decline it. The usual valuation is about twenty-five thousand rupees.

We are,
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient servants,
(Sd.) Ewan Law.
„ Edw. Golding.
„ Wm. Young. (Copy)

To *Patna, the 6th February, 1777.*

SIMEON DROZ, Esq.,

Chief of the Revenue Council at Patna.

SIR,

By this you will perceive I am returned to Baragong with my Detachment. As I was directed by you only to co-operate with Syed Mahomed in the attack of Futty Shaw, I could by no means act as a principal. Seven days my detachment was with his camp every hour in expectations of coming to an action with the rebel; at last I even persuaded him to march within a hundred-and-fifty yards of his entrenchments, thinking a push must then inevitably have been made towards seizing Futty Shaw, but whether his troops were averse to engaging in a jungle, I will nor cannot pretend to say, but certain it is that not a man of them advanced a yard further. At this period a person came to me from Syed Mohammed Khan requesting the attack might be postponed till the morning. As I thought this was the last push I would make to force him to act with me, and at that very time finding he was on the eve of settling his revenue-matters with the rebel, instead of abiding by his promise, I that instant thought proper to march my detachment to Baragong, as I am confident your intentions were for me to assist him in the attack and not to collect the Nabab's revenue. Had Syed Mohammed Khan and his Council ever fully determined to drive the rebel out of the Perg. Jagnee, he would then have exerted himself to the utmost, for in my opinion there was not the smallest probability of our being defeated, but every likelihood in the world of our succeeding ;and I am afraid (unless you consent to our attacking him with the Company's troops only, and allow a greater force than I at present command, with a gun) we shall never meet with so great an opportunity as this time has afforded.

I am, Sir,

Your very obedient, humble servant,

(Sd.) T. HARDING,

Lieut., 5th Battalion Sepoys.

Camp Barragong, 29th January 1777.

(Sd.) SHEARMAN BIRD, *Secretary.*

(A true copy).

Extract from a letter to the Chief and Provincial Council of Revenue at Patna, dated the 1st July, 1777.

Para 5, 6th February.—The season of the year is too far advanced to send a military force on a fresh attempt to seize Futty Shaw, but we

recommend it to you to endeavour by all possible means to surprise him, and if you judge that it may be the means of effecting this, we authorise you to offer, by proclamation, a reward of ten thousand rupees to any person who shall either apprehend him or point out the place of his residence so that he shall be apprehended.

Agreed that Captain Coxe be written as follows:—

Const., 13st January, 1778.

To

CAPTAIN COXE,

Commanding the Battalion at Bagga.

SIR,

We direct that when you shall receive notice from Mr. Middleton, that the Nabab of Oude has complied with our requisition to him to divest Futtay Shaw and his family of the Zemindary of Husseypore, you will march your Battalion to Gorruckpore, and use your utmost endeavours, in conjunction with the force which the Nabab may employ upon this occasion both to apprehend Futtay Shaw and to put the person in possession of the Zemindary to whom the Nabab shall grant it.

Terrl. Depmt:
The 7th December, 1821.

(Sd.) Not legible.
Secretary to the Government.

(True extracts.)

Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor-General in Council in the Revenue Department, dated the 17th April, 1778.

Extract from a letter from the Revenue Council of Patna, dated 2nd April, 1778.

We have received petitions from Mohesh Dutt, the son of Babu Boshunt Shaw, who was a relation of Futtay Shaw and murdered by him when renter of Husseypore, and from Dhujjoo Singh, a Talookdar of that District, who has long acted as partizan against the rebel and been wounded in the service, and is recommended by Captain Coxe for his activity and the assistance which he has afforded him, praying that their title to some recompense for their losses and services may be taken into consideration, which we have to lay before you.

We have before mentioned to you the distressed circumstances of Mohesh Dutt. Instead of any allowance which we before recommended, we would now rather propose that Futtay Shahi should be declared to have forfeited his Zemindary, and that it should be bestowed on this young man, that some villages should be declared to have forfeited his

Zemindary, and that it should be bestowed on this young man, that some villages should be added to the talooka of Dhujjoo Singh, and that he should be declared the Dewan. In justice to Moulvi Meer Gulam Mustapha, the present Collector in Husseypore, we must observe that his brother Meer Jummaul was also assassinated by the rebel, and the family by that means reduced to very necessitous circumstances. A small Jaigir would perhaps be their best method of support, and this might be formed chiefly of waste land at present yielding little revenue to the Company.

(Copy.)

PETITION OF MOHESH DUTT, SON OF BASANT SHAW.

My father, Baboo Basant Shahi, was employed by Government and spent his days in their service, and since his demise, I have not been deficient in my duty to the Company, and am now with my guardian, Dhujjoo Singh, opposing the arms of the rebel Futtay Shahi, who is attended by the ryots and renters of the Pergannahs who accompany him, buoyed up with the hopes of seeing more prosperous days in future.

My grandfather and Futtay Shahi's father were own brothers. I am therefore by this alliance entitled to the Zemindary of these Pergannahs which I request you will grant to me; and the ryots who now wait upon the rebel will then repair to me, and give up all future prospect from that quarter, and after a deduction of the collections made by the rebellious Raja, I am willing to enter into engagements adequate to the produce, and undertake the management of the revenue.

(A true copy.)

(Sd.) Lt. CRUSS-LAPLANT,

Secretary.

Extracts of a letter to the Provincial Council at Patna, dated the 17th April, 1778.

Para 8.—We have attentively considered your recommendations of Mahesh Dutt, Dhujjoo Singh and Moulvi Meer Gulam Mustapha, but do not think it proper at this time to comply with them. You may inform them that when, with their assistance, we shall have apprehended the person of Futtay Shahi, we shall pay proper attention to their pretensions and services.

Terrl. Depmt:
The 18th August, 1829.

(Sd.) W. M. TILGHMAN,
Offg. Deputy Secretary to Government.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor-General in Council in the Revenue Department, dated the 26th May, 1784.

Read the following petitions of Mohesh Dutt Shaw, and paper accompanying Arzee of Babu Mahesh Dutt Shaw, Zemindar of Pergannah Husseypore, etc., and nephew of Futtay Shaw.

"In the Fuslie year 1189, by my good fortune, the Hon'ble the Governor-General honoured the City of Benares with his presence, when having obtained an interview I presented a petition to him, acquainting him with my situation and requesting a sunnud for my Zemindaree and malikana. I afterwards accompanied him to Patna, where he took me by the hand and recommended me to Mr. Charters, desiring him to visit Husseypore, etc., and after examining into the nature of my case to report an account thereof to him. Mr. Charters accordingly took me with him, and proceeded to the said pergannah, and having investigated my title amongst the pergannah officers, said: "The Zemindary is your right, and you shall receive a sunnud for the Zemindary and malikana from the Supreme Council." On this I deputed my Vakeel to wait on the Board, before whom he laid a petition representing my case and requesting a sunnud for the Zemindary and malikana, and agreeable thereto, on the 18th Pous of the Bengal year 1189, or 20th December 1782, a publication of three months' limitation was issued, the term of which has expired, and even a twelve months' more without any claimant appearing. Besides your petitioner, there is no heir or legal pretender to this Zemindary."

(A true translation.)

(Sd.) J. H. Harington.

P. T. Revenue Department.

Agreed that a copy thereof be referred, with the following letter, to the Committee of Revenue.

To

Mr. Samuel Charters,

Acting President and Member of the Committee of Revenue.

Gentlemen,

Enclosed we transmit you the copy of a petition which we have received from Mohesh Dutt Shaw, and we desire you will report to us, whether there is any objection to our granting him a sunnud for the Zemindary and Malikana villages which he lays claim to.

We are, &c.,

Fort William, } (Sd.) R. W. Tilghman,
26th May, 1784. } *Officiating Deputy Secretary to Government.*

Extracts from the Proceedings of the Governor-General in Council in the Revenue Department, dated the 2nd November, 1784.

Read the following letter and enclosure from the Committee of Revenue, dated the 28th October, 1784.

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

Governor-General and in Council, Fort William.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRS,

We have now the honor to reply to your letter of the 26th May last, enclosing a petition from Moheshdutt Shaw, and requesting us to inform you if any objection existed to granting him a sunnud for the Malikana and Zemindary of Hosseypore to which he laid claim.

The enquiries we were under the necessity of making prevented an earlier reply on our part. It appears by an explanation afforded by the Collector of Sircar Saran, that Moheshdutt Shaw is the great-grandson of the original proprietor of Husseypore, Raja Kurtal Shaw. That Futtay Shaw, a grandson of Kurtal Shaw, succeeds the zemindary on the death of his brother, Seebdown Shaw, and in consequence of the exclusion of Futty Shaw and his family for defection, Moheshdutt Shaw is the next heir in succession for the inheritance.

On these grounds his claims are founded, but his succession to the zemindary is rather in our opinion to be considered as a matter of favour than as a right, and the objection to complying with the prayer of his petition arises on motives of policy and are as follows: That it might induce Futty Shaw, who has frequently committed depredations in the Company's Territories, to renew them, obstruct the Collector and probably endanger the life of Moheshdutt. Basant Shaw was actually murdered by Futtay Shaw on suspicion only of his having engaged with Government for rents.

The army grant of Malikana villages will be a deduction from the Revenue of Government, and in the present instance will, according to the usage of the district, amount to about Rs. 16,500 per annum.

If your Hon'ble Board should agree to invest Mohesh Dutt with the Zemindary and Malikana, we are of opinion that this grant should be conferred on the express condition of suppressing the depredations of Futtay Shaw and made revocable, in case he should, from inability or other course, fail in executing his condition.

But if your Hon'ble Board should think Mohesh Dutt entitled to any subsistence from Government, this may be done by granting him

a pecuniary allowance to be received monthly, and the material political objection will by this mode be done away with.

We have the honor to be, with respect, &c.

(Sd.) J. SHORE,

Calcutta, the 28th October 1784. „ J. EVELYN.

Extract from a letter to the Committee of Revenue, dated the 2nd November, 1784.

Para 6, 28th October, 1784.—We leave it to you to determine on Mohesh Dutt's right by adopting, as you may think preferable, either of the alternatives you point out, or by rejecting both, only observing that should you think it advisable to invest him with the Zamindari of Husseypur, it would be done on the express conditions of his effectually suppressing the depredations of Futtay Shaw, and if possible, delivering up his person to Government within the term of one year, inserting a clause in his Sunnud that in the event of his failing in obtaining the ends either from negligence or such other cause, as shall be deemed unsatisfactory by Government upon a report thereof, which we direct you to make to us on the expiration of the present Behar year, he will subject himself to immediate dispossession, together with the loss of every other interest which he may hold in the land in question.

Terrl. Department, the 8th August, 1820.

(Sd.) W. TILGHMAN,

Offg. Deputy Secretary to the Government.

(A true copy).

General.

To

MAHARAJA CHATTERDHAREE SHAHEE,

Maharaja of Hutwa.

MY FRIEND,

I am in receipt of your petition, dated the 20th ultimo, forwarded by the Commissioner of Patna, and, in reply, have to offer you my acknowledgment for the loyalty and good feeling earned by you towards the Government. I have noticed with great satisfaction the willing assistance you have rendered to the local officers in the district

of Saran, and the measures you have taken for the apprehension of any mutineers who may attempt to take shelter in your zemindary.

I am,
Your sincere friend,
(Sd.) FRED. JOS. HALLIDAY.

FORT WILLIAM :
The 15th July, 1857.

Roobkar (Proceedings) held by Mr. Thomas Edwards, the Commissioner of Revenue of the 11th Division, comprising the districts of Patna, Saran, etc., on Friday, the 1st September, 1837, corresponding with 6th Bhado, 1242 F.S.

The family of Maharaja Chatterdharee Shahee Bahadur, proprietors of Raj Hosseypore, Pergs. Kallyanpore, Pachlak, etc., in the district of Saran, has held in succession the zemindaree of Hosseypore in the aforesaid Pegannahs and Zillah with the title of "Maharaja Bahadur" for more than one hundred years since the time of Maharaja Khemkaran Sahee Bahadur. After the death of Maharaja Futteh Sahee Bahadur, and on the reports of the former Commissioner, the Governor-General has conferred the title of Maharaja Bahadur on Maharaja Chatterdharee Sahee with a khillut, which was received in this office with a letter dated 17th July, 1837. The khillut in question has this day been granted by me to Maharaja Chatterdharee Shahee Bahadur. As it is now necessary to notify all, in accordance with the orders of Government, the title of "Maharaja Bahadur" bestowed on Maharaja Chatterdharee Shahee Bahadur, as well as to cause the word "Maharaja" to be written in the papers of all the offices of Government, it is ordered that a copy of this Roobkar be sent respectively to the Collector, Magistrate and others of the districts of Saran, Shahabad, Behar and Patna, with a request that Chatterdharee Shahee be styled "Maharaja Bahadur" in all the papers in the respective offices of the said officers in connection with the said Maharaja Chatterdharee Shahee Bahadur. It is moreover directed that a copy of the Roobkar be forwarded to the Judge of each of the said four districts for information, and a copy also transmitted to Maharaja Chatterdharee Shahee.

Order by Mr. Edward Alexander Samuells, Commissioner of Patna, on the petition of Maharaja Chatterdharee Shahee.

"The good and zealous services which the Maharaja has, from his attachments and devotion to the State, done by promptly obeying and executing the orders issued by Government and its officers, as well as

by me, are known. Especially during the recent mutiny, the Maharaja executed with promptitude and in such a manner as it should be, all orders issued to him, and gave every assistance to the British functionaries. Having had regard to the loyalty which the Maharaja has displayed, I wish that Government should confer a suitable reward on him for his zealous service, submission and obedience. It is therefore ordered that the original petition, after a copy thereof being kept for record in this office, be sent with a letter in English to the Commissioner of the district of Gorackpore, etc., in order that the said officer in consideration of the foregoing facts, may instruct the Collector of the Gorackpore district to pay due attention to the request preferred by the Mooktears of the Maharaja on behalf of the Maharaja for settlement with him of the confiscated Mahals of the rebels.

(Sd.) E. A. SAMUELLS,
Commissioner.

30th January 1858.

FROM

THE COMMISSIONER OF THE PATNA DIVISION.

TO

THE COMMISSIONER OF GORACKPORE.

Dated Patna, the 20th February, 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to forward herewith an original urzee from Maharaja Chutterdharee Shahee Bahadur, Raja of Hutwa, Zillah Saran, praying that he may be allowed to engage for certain confiscated estates in Zillah Gorackpore, the names of which, however, he has omitted to specify.

2. The Raja of Hutwa has particularly distinguished himself during the rebellion by loyalty to the British Government, the readiness with which he has met every requisition made upon him, and the pains which he has taken to keep the Government informed of the movements and intentions of the Gorackpore rebels. No zemindar in this division has exerted himself more strenously in our favour than the Hutwa Raja, and there is no doubt that he has incurred heavy expenses in doing so. I have much pleasure therefore in forwarding the Raja's urzee, and trust that when the claims of different parties to the settlements of the confiscated estates in Gorackpore are taken into consideration, those of the Hutwa Raja may be favourably regarded.

I have, etc.

(Sd.) E. A. SAMUELLS.

To

E. A. SAMUELLS, ESQ.

Commissioner of Revenue, Patna Division.

Chupra, March 18th, 1858.

SIR,

I beg to report for your information the death of Maharaja Chutterdharee Shahee of Hutwa, which took place on the afternoon of the 16th instant at Hutwa.

Throughout the crisis which has lately passed, the deceased Rajah proved himself a staunch ally of the British Government; his loyalty was never for one moment doubted, and from the very outset of the rebellion, the whole of his resources were placed at the disposal of the authorities in this district for the preservation of peace and order.

The pergannah in the vicinity of Hutwa, as you are no doubt aware, adjoins the Gorackpore District, and yet when that District had been temporarily abandoned to anarchy and rapine, not a village on the Saran side of the boundary became the scene of disorder.

By the decease of the Raja of Hutwa Government has lost a truly loyal subject.

I have, etc.

(Sd.) R. J. RICHARDSON,

Offg. Collector of Saran.

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, CALCUTTA.

Dated 22nd January, 1858.

SIR,

I have the honor to forward herewith a translation of an urzee addressed to me by Koomar Rajendro Protap Shahee together with its enclosures; and two Khureetas, one for the Governor-General, the other for the Lieutenant-Governor.

2. Rajendro Protap Shahee represents that he has obtained Certificate of the Civil Court under Act XX of 1841, and that the petition of his uncles has been rejected; he prays therefore that he may be vested with the usual *khilat*, and that the title of Maharaja may be conferred on him.

3. It is no doubt possible, though I think not probable, that the uncles may succeed in obtaining a reversal of the Judge's order and procuring a partition of the property. But the succession to the Raj is a matter quite apart. It rests with the Lieutenant-Governor to bestow the title on whom he pleases. There can be no ground for bestowing it on either of the two uncles who claim a share of the property,

for they are the two youngest and have not distinguished themselves in any way known. Rajendro Protap's father is the eldest grandson and the person to whom the title if hereditary would fall. He waives it in favour of his son. The second brother acquiesces in the propriety of this arrangement. The young man's character is good, and the Raja's dying request to Messrs. Lynch and Macdonell was, that the Government would support him, a request which, considering the late Raja's good services to Government, I do think some attention should be paid. The result of the uncles' claims to a share of the property cannot affect in any way that I see, the claims of the eldest grandson or of his son to the title. I therefore recommend the young Koomar's application to the favorable consideration of the Lieutenant-Governor. It is of considerable importance to Government that, whatever doubt there is about the property, there should be none about the title, and that there should be a Raja of Hutwa bound to us by ties of gratitude, and able to exert his hereditary influence in our behalf.

I have, etc.

(Sd.) E. A. SAMUELLS,

Commissioner.

To

MAHARAJAH RAJENDRO PROTAP SHAHEE BAHADUR,

Calcutta, November 23rd, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,

I promised your Vakeel that I would write and let you know when the Governor-General had been pleased to bestow on you the title of Maharaja Bahadoor in succession to your late grandfather. I now fulfil my promise.

The order has been given by the Governor-General and will sharply be communicated to you officially by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, through the Commissioner of the Patna Division.

I have known your late excellent grandfather since the year 1837, when I was an Assistant at Chupra, and I always entertained a high respect for him, especially for the exemplary way in which he discharged his duties as a landlord, and as a loyal subject of the British Government.

The manner in which he behaved from the first breaking out of these unhappy mutinies until the day of his death, was such as to command the admiration of all his friends, and to entitle him to a high place in the estimation of the Rulers of his country.

The services he rendered have had their weight in inducing the Government to confer his titles and honorus upon you who is his chosen representative.

It is my earnest hope that you may live long to enjoy these honours, and that you may follow the example of your excellent grandfather by discharging faithfully, as he did, the duties of your high position in every relation of life, as a leader of society, as the head of your family as a Zemindar and a loyal subject of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, the sovereign alike of Englishmen and of the natives of Hindoostan.

I remain, my dear Sir, with best wishes,

Yours very faithfully,

(Sd.) CECIL BEADON.

FROM

LORD H. ULICK BROWNE,

Under Secretary to the Government of India.

TO

R. THOMPSON ESQ.,

Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Dated, Fort William, the 17th October, 1860.

Home Department.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 2602 of the 21st ultimo, and in reply to state that the reward proposed to be given to Maharaja Rajendro Protap Shahee, Raja of Hutwa, for eminent services rendered by him and his predecessor during the late disturbances, is considered by the Governor-General in Council to be well deserved.

2. His Excellency in Council authorizes the Honorable Lieutenant-Governor to confer on the Maharaja the proprietory right in confiscated villages in Shahabad, yielding a gross rental of 20,000 Rupees according to recent enquiry, and assessed in perpetuity to Government at Rupees 10,000 a year.

I have, etc.

(Sd.) H. ULICK BROWNE.

Under Secretary to the Government of India.

HIGH COURT.

(Before the Hon'ble Messrs. C. Steer and E. P. Levinge, Justices).

Cases No. 361. 371, 374 of 1860,

Babu Tilukdhoree Shahee and others ... *Plaintiffs, Appellants.*

vs.

Maharaja Rajindro Protap Shahee ... *Defendants, Respondent.*

Regular appeals from the decisions of the Judge of Sarun, dated 24th August, 1860.

(*Extract.*)

We do not find that it is anywhere definitely laid down what a Raj is. There are many decisions in which estates have been found to be Raj or Principalities, but what exactly constitutes a Raj has not, as we are aware, been anywhere set forth. We think, however, that the estate of Husseypore contains all the essential characteristics on account of which other large landed estates have before this been regarded as Raj, and that it is entitled to be so regarded by us.

There is no sunnud, or other patent of nobility, owing probably to all such papers having been carried off by Futteh Shahee at the time of his rebellion. His heirs are not likely, even if they have such a document to give it up to another branch of the family, who has supplanted them in the honours and possessions of their ancestors, who appear to have held that rank. The Husseypore Estate was in Fatteh Shahee's hands a very extensive one, and his means and power were, as the British Government experienced, both very considerable. An estate of this sort, both large and ancient in such hands, is not to be regarded as an ordinary zemindaree. Even where proprietors are not nobles, if their estates are very large they are regarded, according to Colebrooke, by modern Hindoo lawyers as Raj or Principalities. There is evidence of a very high character, namely, the evidence of men who are either Rajahs or descendants or connections of such, that this is a Raj, and has always been so regarded by them and by their families. It has been held in the same family for many generations, and has descended entire to one heir in exclusion of the rest of the family. The authorities in speaking and writing of this property have designated it a Raj, and it is commonly called a Raj to this day, and in recognition of it as such the title of Maharajah was accorded to Chutterdharee by the Government (not immediately but some years subsequent to his accession to the estate) on the representation of the highest local authorities that the preceding proprietors had all been Rajahs. Then as to the family custom we need say but little. Having found that the property is a Raj, as Raj there must of necessity be impartibility, and we find that it is sufficiently established by the evidence, and by the genealogical statement put in by the principal defendant, the accuracy of which has not even been impeached in the written pleadings, that the rule of the family has invariably been that the property descends entire to the eldest son. There is, we say, actual evidence of this, and the very existence of the property up to this day in its present state is proof of it. Had there been any other rule, the Estate could not have come down to the present generation with such a princely inheritance as it is. Had there even been any partition, nothing could have been easier to the plain-

tiff than to have pointed out and cited as witnesses, parties and members of the family who have received part of the Husseypore estate in any previous partition, but this obvious and facile mode of proving their own case and of utterly upsetting that of their opponents has not been attempted.

We have held that there was family custom down to Fatteh Shahee's time, by which the estate devolved to the eldest male heir. Government took the estate subject to the custom, for as there was no extinction of the Raj there was no extinction of the custom which was incident of the Raj. The Government then handed over the same estate as they received to Chutterdharee. He received it subject to the custom. Those who claim through him, as both the parties to this suit do, are bound by the custom by which he was himself bound. The heirs of Fatteh Shahee might no doubt have attacked the title of Chutterdharee on the ground of his not being entitled to the Estate by custom, but it is not competent to Chutterdharee's heirs to raise the same contention.

Whatever defect might have attached to the origin of Chutterdharee's will, it has been subsequently finally established by not having been impeached for half a century, and it is now as good as if it had never been capable of question. Acquiring as he did an estate subject to a particular custom, and having himself not done anything destructive of that custum, his heirs take it subject to the custom.

The Judge thinks that Rs 2,000 a month is proper allowance, but this seems to us out of all proportion. Besides the appellant there are two others as near relatives who are equally entitled to maintenance. If they are to get Rs 2,000 each also, the defendant will have to pay, by way of maintenance, Rs 72,000 yearly. The estate is no doubt a valuable one, but the revenue payable to Goverment, which of course bears some proportion to the yearly gross income, is only Rs 1,73,997. Seventy-two thousand as maintenance out of such an estate, or out of any estate, seems to us decidedly high to pay as maintenance to these junior members of the family, and we think that as Rajah Chutterdharee, during his minority, was only allowed by Goverment, who were his gurdians, Rs 1,000 a month for his maintenance and state, the plaintiff can very well support himself and keep up the position of his rank upon the same sum. We, therefore, halve the allowance which the Judge awarded to him.

Extract of the Judgment of the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, on the the appeal of Baboo Bir Protap Shahee, and cross appeal from the High Court of Judicature at Fort William, in Bengal, delivered March 4th, 1868.

Present.

Lord Cairns.
Sir James W. Colvile.
Sir Edward Vaughan Williams.
Sir Richard T. Kinderslay.

The Judgment of the Zillah Judge, Mr. Wilkins, which was given on 24th of April, 1860 (Appendix Page 158) found that the family custom, according to which the estate was impartible, and descendible to the eldest male heir, subsisted at, and up to, the time of Fatteh Sahee, that this custom was not abrogated by his expulsion, the retention of the property by Government, and the grant of it to Chutterdharee; and that the estate was in his hands an impartible Raj, descendible to his next male heir alone, and therefore on the renunciation of Ugur Partap to the respondent. The Judge made no distinction in this respect between the moveable and immoveable property, and on the above ground decreed in favour of the respondent. He held, however, that the alleged consignment or transfer of the 5th of March, and the will, were not well proven. And he decreed an allowance of Rs. 2, 000, per mensem to each of the plaintiffs, *viz.*, the appellant and his brother.

The Judgment of the High Court on appeal from this decree is at page 17 of the 2nd Record, and is dated 24th April, 1863. That Court also held that the Raj was originally impartible, and descendible by custom to the eldest male heir alone; and that it did not lose this character on its restoration to Chutterdharee. It denied that there had been or could have been any confiscation in the proper sense of the term, and in Mr. Justice Levinge's separate note at page 26, this point is more fully argued. But the High Court differing therein from the Zillah Judge, affirmed the validity of the will. It also reduced the allowance to each of the plaintiffs to Rs 1,000 per mensem.

Upon the whole, then, their Lordships have come to the conclusion that the Courts below were right in holding that the estate granted to Chutterdharee in 1790, was the Raj of Hussaipore, and that the right of succession to it from him was to be governed by law or custom which regulated its descent in the line of his ancestors.

It follows, then, that either by the special law of inheritance, or by the will, the respondent was entitled to the estate of Hussaipore, and to whatever wealth the late Maharaja could dispose of by his will.

With respect to the question raised in either appeal touching the amount of the Babuana allowance, and the costs of the proceedings in Courts below, their Lordships have only to say, that they see no sufficient ground for interfering with the discretion exercised on those

points by the High Court. The result is, that their Lordships will humbly advise Her Majesty to dismiss both the appeal and the cross appeal with costs. The appellant and respondent will each bear the costs of his appeal.

Note.

HUTWA RAJ IN THE "AIN-I-AKBARI."

When I had the honor of reading my paper on the History of the Hutwa Raj in the Society's meeting on the 4th March, 1903, Colonel Hendley, Vice-President in the Chair, very kindly suggested to me to ascertain if any account can be gathered from the *Ain-i-Akbari* regarding the Hutwa Maharajas. I had since the occasion to carefully look through the *Ain*, and the result of my investigation is embodied in the following note.

The *Ain* is singularly wanting in information of any of the Behar Rajas which claim their origin from the Mughal Emperor of Delhi, Akbar, Jehangir, or Shah Jehan. "The Darbhanga family trace their origin to one Mohesh Thakur, who originally came from near Jabalpur, in the Central Provinces, in the beginning of the sixteenth century and took service as a *purohit* or priest under the ancient Rajas of Tirhut, the descendants of Sheo Sing. After Tirhut was conquered and the race of that prince became extinct, Mohesh Thakur is said to have proceeded to Delhi, where his abilities procured him an introduction to the Emperor Akbar and subsequently the grant of the Darbhanga Raj. According to another account, it was one of his pupils, Raghunandan Thakur, who went to Delhi, obtained the Raj, and then out of appreciation for Mohesh made it over to him" (*vide* Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. XIII, p. 208). But neither the names of Mohesh Thakur nor Raghunandan Thakur belonging to Darbhanga, nor any account of Sheo Sing and the overthrow of his descendants and the extinction of his race is available in the *Ain*. Neither do we find the name or any account of Bettiah or its "first Raja, who was Gaj Sing and who obtained the title from Emperor Shah Jehan" (*ibid*, p. 252). Likewise we do not find any mention in the *Ain* of the very ancient Majhowli Raj, which, I am informed, still retains a jewel-handled sword gifted by Akbar. The traditions of these Rajas should not therefore be rejected as pure fabrications, as we find from the *Ain* itself that out of 1,803 names, Abul Fazl gives the names of only 415, the chief ones, and that also of those only who were alive or dead prior to the fortieth year of Akbar's reign, *i.e.*, till 1595 A.D. (*vide* Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pages 526-35). The omission of the names in the *Ain* of Maharaja

Kalyan Mall, of the Hutwa family, may be justly ascribed to the fact that we have fixed the date of his ascension to be 1600 A.D., *i.e.*, at a period posterior to that of which the *Ain* gives the list. But fortunately we can very fairly and safely trace from the *Ain* incidents in which Kalyan Mall must have taken share and which caused his rise. Muzaffar had commenced vigorously to collect the outstanding from Makhsum Kabli and several other grandees that held *jagirs* in Behar, upon which they had rebelled and joined with the rebel jagirdars of Bengal under Babu Khan Qushqal. On Muzaffar's death the rebels occupied the whole of Bengal and Behar, and Akbar sent Todar Mall to Behar to subdue the rebels. Makhsum Khan Hazari, who had received Ghazipur as his *tuyūl*, joined Sadar Mall, but was anxious to go over to the rebels and actually did so, finding the Emperor personally embarrassed in the subjugation of his brother, who had threatened to invade the Punjab. He seized Jaunpur, but was defeated near Oudh by Shahbaz Khan. He then collected his men and surprised and plundered the town of Bahraich. From Bahraich he was driven by the imperialists (amongst whom was Vazir Khan and others from Hajipur) over Kalyanpur to Muhammadabad (in Ghazipur), which he plundered and prepared to attack Jaunpur. Shahan Khan Jalair, from Narhan, and Pahar Khan, from Ghazipur, united their contingents and pursued Makhsum so effectually that he applied to Aziz Kokah to intercede for him with the Emperor. Akbar pardoned him and gave him Pergannah Mehsi, Sircar Champaran, as *tuyūl* (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pages 350, 351, 400, 410, 443, 444).

With these facts in view it seems doubtless that Raja Kalyan Mall was not idle enough to partake a share in subduing the rebellion raging in his own country and in the vicinity. Further, we find his seat, Kalyanpur distinctly mentioned also in Vol. II, Fasc. II, p. 156, of Colonel H. S. Jarrett's *Ain-i-Akbari*, to be in Sircar Saran.

We can, therefore, very well deduce that the services of Raja Kalyan Mall were recognised and he was made a "Maharaja" in the latter part of Akbar's reign.

Numismatic Supplement. (With Plate III).

Note—*The numeration of the articles below is continued from p. 74 of the Journal.*

I. Ancient India.

8. *The Kṣaharāta Dynasty, circâ A.D. 100 (Cf. "Indian Coins" §§ 77-79)*

Of this dynasty which preceded that of the Western Kṣatrapas as governors (probably originally under the Saka princes of Northern India—the line of Manes, Azes, Azilises, &c.) of Surāṣṭra and Mālwa, only one member, Nahapāna, has hitherto been certainly known from coins.

I have recently discovered another, who, I think, may have been the predecessor of Nahapāna.

Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī in his account of "The Western Kṣatrapas," edited by me in J.R.A.S., 1890, p. 643, attributes certain copper coins to Nahapāna. He notes that they bear on the reverse the symbols which appear on Nahapāna's silver coins—an arrow and a thunderbolt. They are found "in the coasting regions of Gujarāt and Kathiāwād, and also sometimes in Mālwa." They bear on the obverse "the Buddhist symbols, a standing deer and a *dharmacakra*, and also show traces of inscriptions which have not hitherto been deciphered." (A specimen is given in his Plate, 1*a*.)

Now, the copper coinage which has been assigned with certainty to Nahapāna is rather different. An undoubted specimen, actually bearing the name of Nahapāna, is given in Cunningham's *Coins of Mediæval India*, p. 6, Pl. I, 5. No. 4 in the same plate belongs to the class described by Pandit Bhagvānlāl. On studying the six specimens of this latter class in the British Museum, I was fortunate enough to succeed in reading one of the inscriptions—the Brāhmī inscription—with certainty. The inscription which is found on the opposite side is certainly in Kharoṣṭhī characters, but these are so fragmentary and so carelessly executed that without the help of this Brāhmī reading I should not have been able to suggest any restoration of the Kharoṣṭhī inscription. We may, however, assume that, as on the coins of Nahapāna, practically the same inscription occurs in the two characters; and the fragments of the Kharoṣṭhī inscription which remain, certainly justify us in taking this view.

The following is a description of the coins. The fragments of the inscriptions are given as they appear on the different specimens.

Obv. Arrow and Thunderbolt: Brāhmī inscription (restored) *Kṣaharātasa Kṣatrapasa Bhūmakasa.*

Rev. A Deer and a *Dharmacakra*, together forming what may be intended for the capital of a pillar. Kharoṣṭhī inscription (restored) *Chatrapa-Chaharata-Bhumakasa* or *Chaharadasa chatrapasa Bhumakasa.*

Brāhmī Inscription (Reverse).

The clue to the inscription is given by a coin in the Bhagvānlāl collection, No. 70. The Brāhmī inscription on its reverse is quite clearly

(1) *Kṣahar*[*ā*] . . . . *pasa Bhūmakasa.*

The name *Bhūmaka* is fairly clear on another specimen from the same collection (No. 4 = Pl. Ia. of the Pandit's article in the J.R.A.S.).

The other specimens do little to confirm this reading, and I cannot explain, either as Brāhmī or as Kharoṣṭhī, the curious inscription on the *reverse* of the coin published by Cunningham, C.M.I., Pl. I. 4.

Kharoṣṭhī Inscription (Obverse).

Cunningham, C.M.I., Pl. I. 4.

(2) *Ch* . . . . . *rata Bhumaka* [*sa*].

E. Conolly (Oct. 1837).

(3) *Chaharadasa cha* . . . . . [*sa*].

On No. 70 of the Bhagvānlāl collection, there is a full obverse inscription in, apparently, Kharoṣṭhī characters, but I am unable to read it. It must, no doubt, have been the same as the reverse Brāhmī inscription.

There can be no doubt that the name is Bhūmaka, and that, like Nahapāna, he takes the titles " Kṣaharāta" and " Kṣatrapa." The readings (1) and (3) show the family title Kṣaharāta in the first place, the military title Kṣatrapa in the second place, the two titles as well as the name being in the genitive case. The reading (2) seems to change this order, and also to denote that only the name was in the genitive case.

I may add that these copper coins, by reason of their fabric and their types, seem to take us one step farther back in the direction of the Śaka princes of Northern India, whose governors the Kṣaharātas have been supposed, on other evidence, to have been. They somewhat resemble the copper coins of Spalirises with Azes, which have for their

reverse type a bow and arrow and a discus (*v.* Gardener, *B.M. Col. p.* 102, Pl. XXII, 4.[1])

E. J. Rapson.

Brit : Mus :

III. Sultans of Dehli.

9. *Shamsu-d-dīn Kayūmurṣ.*

Æ. Weight, 169 grains. Size, 1″·0.

Mint, Dehli.

This extremely rare coin was obtained in October, 1903, nearly 40 years after the first specimen was discovered by the late Pandit Ratan Narain of Dehli, with whose collection it passed into the possession of Mr. J. H. Durkee of New York (U.S.A.) many years ago. That coin was edited by Mr. J. G. Delmerick in the Journal of this Society for 1881, and again by Mr. J. Gibbs in the Numismatic Chronicle in 1885. The coin recently acquired is similar in type to other rupees of this period and bears the following legends :—

السلطان الاعظم	الامام
شمس الدنيا والدين	المستعصم امير
ابوالمظفر كيومرث	المومنين
السلطان	

Margin . . . . . بحضرت دهلي .

Shamsu-d-dīn, the son of Muizzu-d-dīn Kaikubād, was only 3 years old when he was placed on the throne of Dehli as the ostensible Sultān by Jalālu-d-dīn Fīroz Shāh after the murder of the Sultān Kaikubād. Three months later when Jalālu-d-dīn had succeeded in consolidating his own power, the infant Sultān was also put to death. This was in the year 689 A.H.

G. B. Bleazby.

10. *Shihābu-d-dīn Umar Shāh.*

Æ. Weight, 172 grains. Size, 1″·0

Date, 715 A.H.

Mint, Dehli.

Pl. III. 2.

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1 The discus is regarded by Prof. Gardener as a mere symbol on the coin ; but I think the actual weapon is intended. I think it is represented also on the silver coins of Nahapāna by the round dot which always occurs in conjunction with the Arrow and Thunderbolt. (*see* Cunningham, C.M.I., Pl. I. 3 ; Bhagvānlāl, J.R.A.S., 1890, Pl. I : Rapson, J.R.A.S., 1899, Pl. I.)

This coin which is in perfect condition has the following legends enclosed in circles :—

السلطان الاعظم
شهاب الدنيا والدين
ابوالمظفر عمر شاه
السلطان

سكندر الثاني
يمين الخلافته ناصر
اميرالمومنين

Margin :—

ضرب هذه السكه بحضرت دهلي
في سنه خمس و عشر و سبعمائة

The brief history of this puppet king is told by Thomas in his Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli, pp. 176 and 177.

The first rupee of this Sultān turned up at Jaunpūr a few years ago. It was acquired by the Government of the United Provinces and is now in the Lucknow Museum. That coin, however, is in comparatively poor condition. The coin now being described was acquired subsequently at Nāhan (Sirmur State), and judging by its appearance cannot have been in circulation for any length of time, every letter on both sides being perfect. These two specimens in silver and a few copper coins are all the coins known of this unfortunate young Sultān.

G. B. Bleazby.

11. *Muhammad bin Tughlak. A coin struck in memory of his father.* Pl. III. 1.

The striking of coins in the name of his father is a well-known incident in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak. Two such coins—one gold, the other silver—are noticed by Thomas on p. 212 of the Chronicles. Though the name of the Mint is indistinct on the gold coin and is not recorded on the silver piece, it is probable from their appearance that the coins were issued in the Dekhan. Another coin bearing the name of Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlak but struck after his death is described on p. 190 of the Chronicles, and the crude rendering of the word السلطان on the reverse area, together with the absence of any distinct margin, led the author to catalogue the coin as one struck by the first Tughlak in A.H. 721. Subsequent finds have however fixed the dates of issue of this class of coin as 726 and 727, and their origin was the Dekhan, specimens being known struck at both Daulatābād and Telingāna.

The object of the present note is to draw attention to a similar gold coin struck at the capital Dehli. This coin I believe has only once been noticed—by Major F. W. Stubbs in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1870, p. 302. On that occasion it was

pronounced counterfeit for reasons which appear to be inconclusive The coin has as far as I know never been figured.

The legends are as follows :—

Obverse.

In a square with traces of an outer circle.

السلطان الغازي
غياث الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر

Reverse.

In a circle.

تغلق شاه
السلطان ناصر
امير المومنين
۷۲۱

Margin.

هذا السكه بحضرة دهلي في سنه سبع و عشرين و سبعمايه

The weight is 173 grs., and size ·9″

Major Stubbs gave the following six reasons for believing the coin to be not genuine :—

1. ناصر is written ناصين. This criticism is obviously due to a mistaken assignment of the dots on the coin. The two dots which have been taken to represent the letter "ye" really belong to the two "nuns" in the word just below it *viz.* : مومنين. It is noticeable that on this coin as in several other specimens of Muhammad bin Tughlak's coinage the dots distinguishing various letters are scrupulously recorded. Cf. Chronicles No. 182. It is true the curve of the ص is not very full. It is, however, not unlike the form of the same letter on some other coins of the period.

(2) Date in figures impossible.

(3) Difference of date in words and figures.

These remarks refer to the figures ۷۲۱ in the reverse area. Major Stubbs assumes that they represent a blundered date, a different date being given in words in the margin. It is difficult to conceive that anyone who was able to imitate with such precision and intelligence the entire inscription of a coin, and must have been aware of the meaning of that inscription, should stumble through ignorance over a date in figures and for ۷۲۷ should substitute the figures ۷۲۱ Some other explanation of these figures must, I think, be sought for. This I am unable to supply, but it is worth remembering that equally unexplained figures appear on coins of Islām Shāh Sūrī, *vide* Chronicles No. 359, Pl. V, 190.

From the above considerations it may, I think, be assumed that the figures ۷۲۱ were not a blundered representation of ۷۲۷. They possibly have no connection with the date of the coin.

(4) The word ضرب is omitted.

This does not appear to me a serious objection to the authenticity

of the coin. Instances of a similar omission are to be found on other coins of the period, cf. Chronicles Nos. 173 and 174 and J.R.A.S. 1900, p. 775, where the margins commence هذا الدينار or هذا السكه

(5) M of "Miat" is omitted.

This "m" is clear enough on the coin now figured.

(6) The usual forms of the letters *alif*, *lām*, *ṭoe*, had thick clavate shapes; in this coin they have the more elegant form first introduced on his coins by Sher Shāh.

It is possible that Major Stubbs had not seen any of Muhammad bin Tughlak's more finely engraved coins. Anyone who had handled many of these could not fail to be struck by the similarity between them and the reverse of the coin now figured. In fact it would not be too much to say that the form of the letters on the reverse is characteristic of the coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak. Compare especially nos. 173, 174, 179, 180 and 182 in Thomas's Chronicles. It is probable that for the obverse either the actual die of one of Ghiyāsu-d-din Tughlak's coins was employed, or that one was used as a pattern.

It will thus be seen that the conclusions at which Major Stubbs has arrived will not bear close examination, and it is a little surprising that they have been allowed to lie for 34 years unchallenged. The rarity of the coin may be the reason. During the past ten years I have heard of only two. One of these is the present coin which I obtained by exchange from Mr. Bleazby who has the second specimen. Both were obtained at Lahore. Mr. Bleazby and Mr. Burn, C.S., who have devoted much time to the study of "Pathān" coins, have authorised me to say that they share in my opinion that the coin now figured is a genuine one struck in memory of his father by Muhammad bin Tughlak.

H. N. Wright.

12. *Muḥammad IV. bin Farīd.*

In the British Museum Catalogue Muḥammad bin Farīd is said to have reigned from 837 to 847 A.H., but a coin—No. 458—therein, and another in the catalogue of the Lahore Museum, give a later year, 848 A.H. His reign was almost certainly from 837 to 849 A.H. Compare Elliot's History of India, Vol. IV, p. 86, note 1, where the years 844, 847 and 849 A.H. are mentioned as the last years of the reign. The reference to Budāoni is to the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh (Ranking) p. 399, which gives 847 A.H. The date (849) given by Ferishta for Muhammad IV's concluding year may safely be accepted as the most correct. A coin of that year struck in the name of Muḥammad bin Farīd is, however, required to settle the matter definitely.

W. Vost.

13. *Report on* 110 *silver coins forwarded by the Collector of Malda to the Asiatic Society of Bengal as treasure trove.*

The Collector states that the coins were found in a field in *Mauza* Belbari, *thāna* English Bāzār, in the vicinity of the old city of Gaur. The field had been ploughed two or three days previously, and on the night preceding the find of the coins there had been a heavy shower which washed away the covering clods. The coins were found in the furrows made by the plough.

They are with two exceptions of the Sūri dynasty of Dehli Sultāns.

Of the 110 coins	A.H.
2 are of Nasrat Shāh, independent king of Bengal ...	925-939
63 are of Sher Shāh	946-952
42 are of Islām Shāh	952-960
3 are of Muhammad Adil	960-964

The following is a detailed description :—

I. Nasrat Shāh, A.H. 925-939 = A.D. 1518-1532.

Mint Husenābād, circular areas, date 925, cf. B.M.C. No. 134 1

Mint illegible, circular areas, date 932, cf. B.M.C. 137, ... 1

II. Sher Shāh, A.H. 946-952 A.D. 1540-1545.

Agra, 949 square areas, two varieties—(1) date at top; (2) date on left side of reverse area 2

Bhānpura (?) 949, square areas, cf. Chron : 353. R. ... 1

Gwālior, 951,[2] 952,[3] square areas, date on left side of reverse area. Common. I.M.C. 9270 5

Jahānpanāh, 946,[1] 947,[2] 948,[2] square areas, السلطان العادل below Kalima in obverse area, date in reverse area. In the specimen of 946 و سلطانه is omitted. This latter coin is rare 5

Kālpi, 950, areas in double lined square. Chron. 354 ... 1

Satgaon, 950,[3] circular areas, cf. Ind. Ant: March 1888, No. 11 ... 3

Sharīfābād (*a*), 948,[1] square areas. Mint and date in reverse area. R.R. 1

(*b*) 949, circular areas, date in reverse area. R. ... 2

Shergarh (*a*), 947,[1] date in area and mint in left margin of reverse, cf. B.M.C. 532. R. 1

(*b*) 948,[1] 949,[2] areas in double lined squares, cf. I.M. Cat. 8170. Chron. 346 3

Shergarh (*Dehli*). 949,[1] 951,[1] square areas. The legends in

the margins of the two coins are differently arranged. Chron. 344 and J.R.A.S. July 1900. R. 2

Shergarh (*Shakk Bakar*) 950,[1] 951,[3] square areas: date and mint in reverse margin 4

No Mint, (*a*) 946,[3] 948,[2] 949,[1] square areas, date in reverse area السلطان العادل below Kalima on obverse. Name of king arranged in three lines. B.M. Cat. No. 524 6

(*b*) 946[2] as (*a*) but date written ٩٤٦ 2

(*c*) 946,[2] 947,[1] 948,[1] as (*a*) but name of king in two lines ... 4

(*d*) 946,[2] 948[1] variants of (*c*), and to judge by the characters probably struck at Satgāon. R. 3

(*e*) 948, square areas, like the coins of Jahānpanāh in type. Last line of reverse area reads ٨٤٩ وسلطا R.R.R , Pl. III. 3. 1

(*f*) 949,[4] 950,[2] 951[4]. Circular areas. Chron : 348. Common ... 10

(*g*) 949. Circular areas. Chron. 348 (*a*) 1

? *Mint*. Square areas, 950[1] (probably of Gwālior) 951[2] (probably of Agra), 947[1] (probably of Jahānpanāh) ... 4

Circular areas, 951,[2] double lined circles الرسول in Kalima instead of رسول Published in J.R.A.S., October 1900. R. ... 2

III. Islām Shāh, A.H. 952-960.

Agra, 955, square areas, date on left side of reverse. ... 1

Chunār, 953,[2] 955,[1] square areas, mint in right reverse margin, date in obverse area; has not been published. R.R. Pl. III. 4. 3

Gwālior, 952,[2] 955,[2] 956,[2] 957,[4] 958,[1] 960,[2] square areas, date on left of reverse area. Common 13

Kā'pī. 953,[1] 954,[1] square areas, mint in margin and date on left of area of reverse. R. 2

Nārnol. 960,[2] square areas. Mint in reverse margin. cf. Ind. Ant. 1888 (29). 2

Satgāon, (*a*) 957, square areas. Mint in reverse margin; date in obverse area, Chron. 360 R. 1

(*b*) 952, circular areas. Mint and date in reverse margin R. 1

Shergarh (*Dehli*). 952.[2] Square areas. Mint in margin, date on left of area of reverse. This coin has not been published hitherto. R.R. ... ... Pl. III. 5. 2

Shergarh (*Shakk Bakar*) 959.[3] Date at top of area and mint in margin of reverse. Published in J.R.A.S. October 1900. R. 3

No mint legible, (*a*) 952, 954, 956, 960 (probably of Agra), square areas 4

(*b*) 956,[2] 957, 958, 960, square areas (probably of Gwālior) ... 5

(*c*) 952, 956, areas in double lined squares, date in obverse area, mint in reverse margin, but indistinct. (Probably of Shergarh) R. 2

(*d*) 954. Circular areas, date in reverse margin. No mint recorded B.M.C. 620. R. 1

Date and Mint illegible 2

42

IV. Muhammad Adil. 960-964 A.H.

Nārnol, 961, square areas, date on left of area and mint in margin of reverse 3

Note. In the above report

R. = Rare.

R.R. = Very rare.

R.R.R. = Unique.

J.R.A.S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Ind. Ant. = Indian Antiquary.

Chron. = Thomas's Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli.

B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue.

I.M.C. = Indian Museum Catalogue (Calcutta).

H. N. Wright.

IV. Mughal Emperors.

14. *On the Coins of "Gujarāt fabric."*

But little is known regarding the interesting series of coins designated in the British Museum Catalogue ('Mughal Emperors' Volume) Coins of "Gujarāt fabric." They are unrepresented in the cabinets of the Museums in Calcutta and Lāhor, and thus though one occasionally comes across specimens of them in the province of Gujarāt, they probably never had a really wide circulation. In the British Museum Catalogue eight are registered (Nos. 252*a*—252*h*). Five of the eight are dated, one being of the Hijrī year 992, one of 997, and three of 1215. During a residence of now several years in the capital of Gujarāt, it has been my good fortune to obtain 29 dated and 14 undated specimens of this series, and from the study of these I have gathered the information embodied in this article.

Metal. The Gujarāt fabric coins would seem to have been struck in silver alone. Not a single specimen is known in either gold or copper. Two, however, in my cabinet, remarkable for their unusual weight, one of 66 and the other of 71 grains, prove to be copper silver-coated.

Form. All the coins of this series are round, and fairly thick for their diameter. They look somewhat dumpy, are roughly fashioned

and of a generally insignificant appearance. The lettering, though as a rule legible enough, is never deeply engraven.

Weight. Two denominations of these coins are known. The larger ones, of diameter ·6 inch, turn the scale at about 85 grains [Maximum 87; minimum, a poor specimen, 78]. Six smaller ones, measuring half an inch in diameter, have an average weight of 40·5 grains [Maximum 44; minimum 39]. Evidently these denominations represent the half and the quarter rupee.

Date. The earliest dated coin known of this series is of the year 989 Hijrī. Except the years 993 and 999, each succeeding year up to and including 1000 H. is represented in my collection. Then come the years 1006, 1009, 1012, 1014, 1016, 1019, 1020, 1025, 1026, and 1027. Hence it seems probable that coins of this Gujarāt fabric were struck each year from at least 989 till 1027. Then comes a blank for nearly two centuries, after which, strange to say, precisely the same type of coin re-appears, but now with the dates 1215 and 1217 H. (A. D. 1800 and 1802). The figures indicating the year are entered on all the coins near the right-hand lower corner of the square area of the obverse—over the *jīm* of جلال الدين The figures appear as though lying on their face, having suffered rotation from the upright position through one quadrant to the left. One extraordinary specimen has the year 1026 in the normal place, but the reverse gives the year 1025 in the diametrically opposite corner—the left hand upper—of the corresponding square area.

Legends. On all the coins the legends, or at least the portions within the areas are the same. Within a square area formed by double lines with dots between, the obverse legend reads

اکبر پاد شاه غازي

جلال الدين

The reverse, within a similar area, contains the Kalima arranged in the usual three lines

لااله الاالله

رسول الله

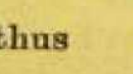
All the coins I have yet seen were evidently much smaller in surface than the die, and they show accordingly only mere fragments of the marginal readings. One undated coin in my possession does, however, read distinctly عثمان, ʻOthmān, in the upper margin of the reverse, and with this slender clue we may perhaps venture the

guess—it is only a guess—that the other three margins bore the names of the other three Khalīfas, Abū Bakr, 'Omar, and 'Alī. Until better specimens come to hand, it is impossible to say whether—as on the coins of Shāh Jahān I.—the distinctive virtues of the Khalīfas were associated with their names.

Features. The following five features merit special attention since serving to divide the coins of this series into three more or less definitely marked classes.

1. On the obverse the *ghain* of غازي is written either with a fairly small curve containing no dots, or with a large curve bearing in its bosom a varying number of dots.
2. On the obverse over the *he* of the word محمد a cross of slightly differing forms may, or may not, be present.
3. On the obverse the *re* of اكبر takes an unusual upward flourish,
4. On the obverse over this strange *re* of اكبر stands a leaf-like or arrow-like ornament, thus ϕ.
5. On both the obverse and the reverse over the *dāl* of محمد is a St. Andrew's Cross, also of varying forms.

Having regard to these five features we find that—

A. Early Coins, dated between the years 989 and 1000 H.,
- (*a*) have no dots in the curve of the *ghain* :
- (*b*) have (until 997 H.) no cross over محمد on obverse :
- (*c*) have only a moderate upward flourish of the *re* :
- (*d*) have the arrow-ornament slanting to the right :
- (*e*) have the St. Andrew's Cross tipped with dots or (later) small circles, thus  Pl. III. 6. 7. 8. 9.

B. Intermediate Coins, dated between the years 1000 and 1027 H.,
- (*a*) have from 4 to 7 dots in the curve of *ghain* :
- (*b*) have a cross, often like over محمد on obverse :
- (*c*) have a more elongated upward flourish of the *re* :
- (*d*) have until 1020 H. the arrow slanting to the right, but after that year perpendicular :
- (*e*) have a St. Andrew's Cross composed of closed curves thus Pl. III. 10. 11.

C. Late Coins, dated between the years 1215 and 1217 H.
- (*a*) have an enlarged curve for *ghain*, and in its bosom 8 or 9 dots :
- (*b*) have a cross resembling an inverted tripod over محمد on obverse :

(*c*) have a still more elongated upward, flourish of the *re* :
(*d*) have the arrow upright. Pl. III. 12.

From the poor specimens to hand of the coins of the latest period it is impossible to say whether the St. Andrew's Cross was present on either the obverse or the reverse.

Mint. The coins themselves supply no clue as to their place of mintage. Mr. Lane-Poole's suggestion that they are of "Gujarāt fabric" is doubtless correct, if the sole implication be that these coins were struck somewhere in Gujarāt. We have already seen that their distribution was practically confined within the limits of that province. But when Mr. Lane-Poole further states that "they have all the appearance of the later Kachh coins,"[1] we should be on our guard against the inference that their original home was Kachh. It is true that the coins of Kachh, and indeed of the neighbouring States of Navānagar and Porbandar in Kāṭhiāwāḍ as well, continued to bear for three centuries the name of Muẓaffar (III), the last Sulṭān of Gujarāt, and they are in this respect analogous to the coins of Gujarāt fabric, which invariably present the name of Akbar Bādshāh, whether struck in his reign or in Jahāngīr's, or even two centuries later. Also in shape and size and workmanship the coins of Kachh and Kāṭhiāwāḍ do bear some resemblance to those of Gujarāt fabric. But their weight—and this is perhaps the crucial test—tells decidedly against the supposition that the Gujarāt fabric coins hail from some mint in Kachh or Kāṭhiāwāḍ. From the year 978 H. right on till recent times the standard coin of Kachh was the silver kori of 73 grains, bearing unchanged throughout that period the date 978. Now it is extremely improbable that any mint would be issuing at one and the same time this kori and also the Gujarāt fabric half-rupees of 85 grains, bearing as their date the varying years of issue. The kori and the rupee being incommensurable, we may safely assume that no mint would have produced both types of coin together. To have done so would have involved intolerable confusion.

This same objection applies with equal force to the assumption that the Gujarāt fabric coins issued from either Navānagar or Porbandar, for at these mints too koris were struck, all dated 978 H.

According to the Bombay Gazetteer (Vol. VIII, page 465) "a mint was established in Jūnāgaḍh subsequent to the conquest of the province by the Moghal Government." But that conquest did not take place till the year 1000 H., and hence we may safely affirm that coins, such as

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[1] Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum : the Mughal Emperors, page LXVIII.

those of the Gujarāt fabric, struck in the name of Akbar as early as 989 H. did not issue from that Mint.

If, however, in our quest for the home of these coins we may turn to the mainland of Gujarāt rather than to the peninsular portion of that province, Sūrat may well claim our attention. This city, when conquered by Akbar in 981 H., was a port of the first rank, having subordinate to it the ports of Rānder, Gandevi, and Valsāḍ. Rejecting, as we safely may, the strange rupee No. 137 of the Lāhor Museum Coin Catalogue, provisionally assigned by the late Mr. Rodgers to Sūrat, it was not till 1032 H. that the first of the ordinary Mughal coins issued from this mint. The latest I can trace (excluding, of course, the East India Company's Sūrat rupees) is of the year 1197 H. Thus between 1032 and 1197 H. this mint was more or less active in producing coins of the well-known Mughal type. May it not be that prior to 1032 H.—and thus from 989 till 1027 H.—the coins of Gujārāt fabric issued from this mint? In that case they were about 1030 H. merely superseded by the larger and finer Mughal coins, which latter continued in favour till the end of the 12th century. Why the former type of coin—the Gujarāt fabric—was revived in 1215 and continued till 1217, I am at a loss to explain. It is, however, noteworthy that in 1215 H. the English, on assuming the undivided Government of Sūrat, assigned one-fifth of the revenues of the city to the brother of the late Nawāb. May it have been he who re-issued the Gujarāt fabric coins? Also in 1217 H. by the treaty of Bassein the Peshwa ceded his share of Sūrat to the English, who henceforward held sole control over the district. Was it on this account that the issue of these coins from the Sūrat mint now ceased?

Evidently from the description here given of the coins of this series the main questions that still await an answer are three—What do the margins read? What was the place of mintage? And why the re-issue of 1215-1217 H.?

GEO. P. TAYLOR.

15. Mr. Framjee Jāmasjee Thānawālā of Bombay has sent for publication the following rare coins of the Mughal Emperors.

1. *Jahāngir.* Æ. One-eighth of a rupee. Weight, 20 grs.
Mint. Ahmadnagar. Size ·4″
Obverse. Portions of Kalima.
Below الله the word نگر
Reverse. .....
جہانگیر
محمد
نورالدین

Pl. III. 13.

There can be no hesitation in ascribing this coin to the mint Ahmadnagar, one of the principal towns in the province of Aurangābād. It follows in type the rupees of that Mint published in the Lahore Museum Catalogue No. 35, p. 134.

2. *Aurangzeb.* Æ. One-sixteenth of a rupee. Weight 10·5 grs.
Mint. Probably Aurangābād. Size ·4″
Date. 1083 A.H.
Obverse. Portions of the usual legend.
Date in گ of اورنگ‌زیب
Reverse. Portions of the usual legend ; with the name of the mint at the top of the coin. Cf. No. 702 figured in the British Museum Catalogue.

3. *Aurangzeb.* Æ. A quarter of a rupee. Weight 44 grs. Size ·6′
Mint. Bījāpūr dāru-ẓ-ẓafar.
Date. 1112 in the گ of اورنگ زیب
Portions of usual legends.
Cf. British Museum Cat. No. 717.

4. *Kāmbakhsh.* Æ. Weight 175 grs. Size .9″
Mint. Nūrgal or Nūrkal.
Date. 1119 aḥad.
Obverse. .....
کام‌بخش
خور شید و ماه ۱۱۱۹
سکه
در دکن زد
Reverse. .....
میمنت
سنه احد جلوس
ضرب
نور کل Pl. III. 14.

This mint has been known for some years, but has not been published. Its issues are so far confined to the reigns of Aurangzeb and his son Kāmbakhsh and Farrukhsiyar. Of Aurangzeb three coins are known—one in the cabinet of Dr. Taylor, two in my own. The present coin is the only one found of Kāmbakhsh of this mintage, and Dr. Taylor has an unique specimen of the reign of Farrukhsiyar. To Dr. Taylor is due the identification of the mint with "Nūrgal," apparently also

called "Nūrkal," the chief town of a sarkār of that name in the province of Bījāpūr, *vide* "India of Aurangzeb," by B. Jādunāth Sirkār, pp. lxxxix, xci and 154. Kāmbakhsh was made governor of the *ṣūbahs* of Bījāpūr and Ḥaidarābād by his brother Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, and his coins struck at those places have been published. It is therefore not surprising to find him striking coins at the headquarters of one of his sarkārs, and this makes the reading more probable than that of Toragal, a suggestion made to me some years ago by Dr. Codrington.

5. *Jahāndār.* Æ. Weight 173 grains. ·9″

Mint. Karārābād.

Date. 1124 aḥad.

Obverse. Portions of the usual legend

در افاق زد سکه چون مهر و ماه

والفتح غازي جهاندار شاه

in three lines—the Hijri year to the right of the centre line.

Reverse .....

سنه احد جلوس

ضرب

کرارآباد Pl. III. 15.

This is quite a new Mughal mint name and its locality is still unsettled. It must probably be sought for in the Dakhan.

6. *Farrukhsiyar.* Æ. Weight 176 grains. Size ·85″

Mint. Fatḥābād Dhārūr.

Date 1127—4th regnal year.

Obverse .....

بحر و بر فرخ سیر شاه

حق بر سیم و زر باد که

زد از فضل ۱۱۲۷

Reverse .....

مانوس

میمنت

جلوس سنه ۴ فتح اباد

ضرب

دهارور Pl. III. 16.

Note. This is also a new Mughal mint. If the reading is right and it appears to be not open to question, the mint must, I think, be identified with Dhārūr in the province of Aurangābād, a fort which, we read, was celebrated throughout the Dakhan for its strength and munitions of war (Elliot's History of India Vol. VII, p. 20). It also seems to have been a large centre of trade; and was made the object of attack and plunder by 'Aẓam Khān general of Shāh Jahān in 1040 A.H. It is further mentioned in the Muntakhab-ul-lubāb as a place where supplies of fodder and corn sufficient for a large army were available (Elliot Vol. VII, p. 278). Fatḥābād was a Sarkār of Aurangābād and in the list of the forts of that Province given on p. lxxxvii of "India of Aurangzeb," by B. Jādu Nāth Sirkār, is mentioned one called "Fatḥābād or Dhāri." It seems likely that this is the same place as the "Dhārūr" of the historians. If so, there seems no need to look further to identify the mint from which the coin now figured issued. Dhārūr, I find from a note on p. 12 of Elliot's History, Vol. VII, is situated on the road east of Ahmadnagar.

7. *Farrukhsiyar.* Æ. Weight 179 grains. Size, 1."

Mint. Machlipatan.

Date 1131—7th regnal year.

Obverse. ۶ (حق فرخ سیر

از فضل باد بحروبر

۱۱۳۱ ـــ ۷۶

زد بر سیم و زر

Reverse. جلوس

میمنت

مانوس سنه ۷ مچھلی

ضرب

پٹن

Pl. III. 17.

This is a fine coin and adds another to the list of this Emperor's mints in silver. Mr. Bleazby has a second specimen and the mint is also known in copper.

8. *Shāhjahān* II. Æ. weight 177 grs. Size. 1"

Mint Gwālior

Date 1131—aḥad.

Obverse. شاه جهان
بادشاه غازي
سكه ۱۱۳۱
مبارک
Reverse. مانوس
ميمنت
سنه احد جلوس
ضرب
گواليار

A hitherto unpublished mint of this Emperor. Specimens of this coin are contained in my own cabinet and that of Mr. Bleazby.

It will be noticed that with the exception of the last and possibly the fifth, the identification of which is uncertain, all of the above coins issued from South Indian mints. With the disturbed state of affairs in South India between 1650 and 1750 A. D., it is not surprising to find numerous towns of little importance, except as the temporary headquarters of the wandering royal forces, issuing their own coins. There seems to be still a wide field for work on the Mughal coinage of South India.

H. N. Wright.

16. *Bahādur Shāh* II (A. H. 1253 to 1275).

Obverse. In double circle with dots between.

محمد شاه بهادر
۱۲۵۹
بادشاه غازي
سكه مبارک — 1259 A.H.

Reverse. مانوس
ميمنت

سنه ٦ جلوس — 6th year.
ضرب
جهالاوار — Jhālāwār.

Æ. 1-15″ Weight 162 grs.

The above coin was recently acquired by me. It is in perfect condition. It is not given by Webb in "Currencies of Rajputānā," p 97.

At p. 100 he figures the mint mark on the reverse above سنة and speaks of it as the *pānch pakhrī kā jhār.*

W. Vost.

V. Miscellaneous.

17. *A coin of Ghazni*

Æ (impure) or brass. Wt. 50 grs. ·7″

Obverse. In circle of dots, Śiva and bull. Mint mark 𐨨

On right 𐨪𐨫𐨪𐨪 (to be read from outside).

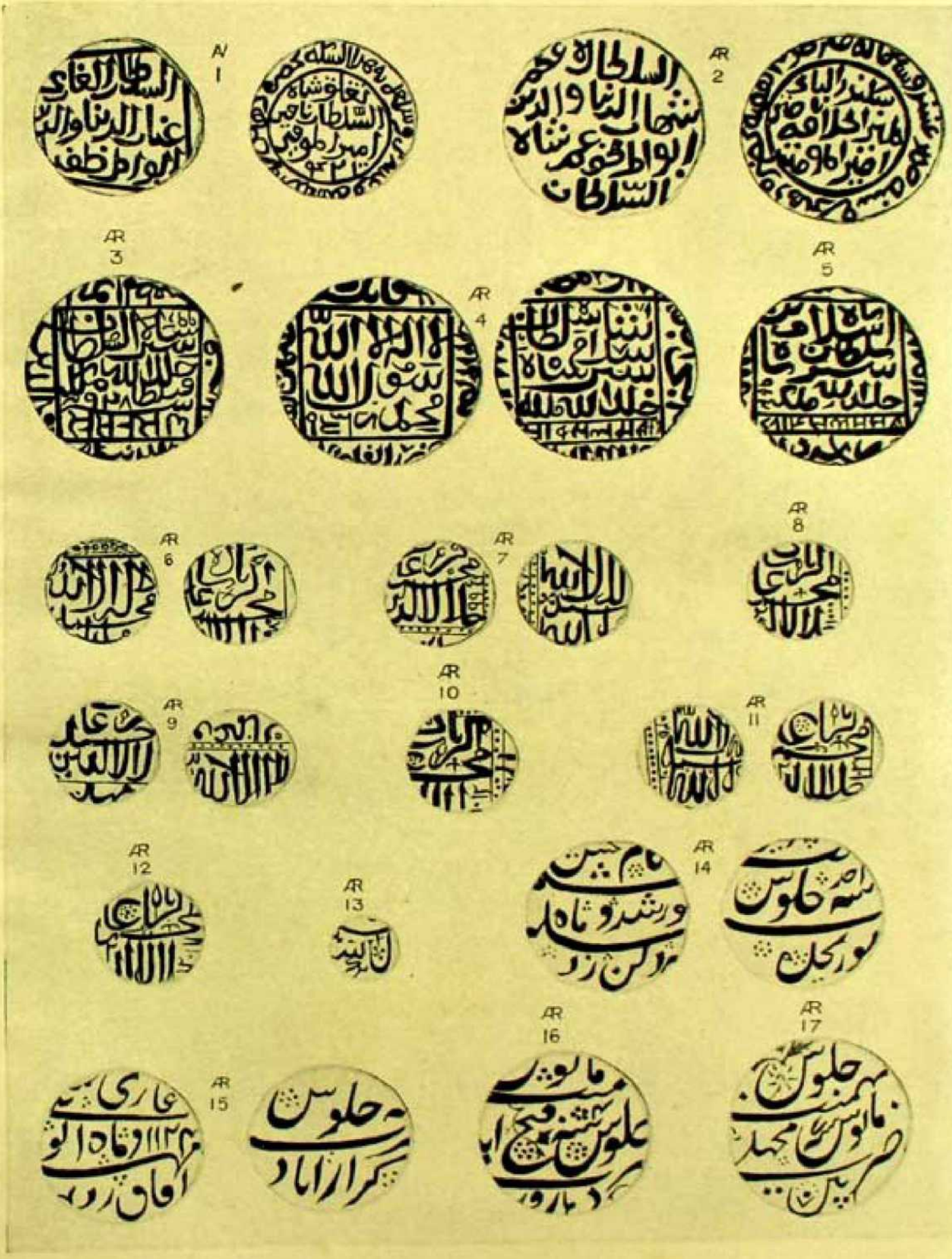
Reverse. In circle with dots outside.

عدل
لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
القادر بالله
يمينى

Apparently no margin.

This coin of Mr. G. B. Bleazby's is a most curious combination. The obverse shows a not uncommon Kuṣana type, while the reverse exactly resembles the inscriptions on some of Maḥmūd of Ghazni's silver coins (Cf. No. 25, p. 314, J.R.A.S., 1847).

R. Burn.


AR 1
AR 2
AR 3
AR 4
AR 5
AR 6
AR 7
AR 8
AR 9
AR 10
AR 11
AR 12
AR 13
AR 14
AR 15
AR 16
AR 17

II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ب . . . . b	س . . . . s	ک . . . . k	ا . . . . ā
ت . . . . t	ش . . s or sh	ل l	ی i
ث . . t or th	ص . . ṣ or z	م . . . . m	و . . . . ū
ج . . j or dj	ض . ḍ, dz, or z	ن . . . . n	
ح . . . . ḥ	ط . . . . ṭ	و . . w or v	Diphthongs.
خ . . ẖ or kh	ظ . . . . ẓ	ه . . . . h	ی . . . ai
د . . . . d	ع . . . ʿ	ی . . . y	و . . . . au
ذ . . ḏ or dh	غ . . ġ or gh	Vowels.	*wasla* . . ٱ
ر . . . . r	ف . . . . f	ـَ . . . a	*hamza* ـٔ or ـء
ز . . . . z	ق . . . . q	ـِ . . . i	*silent t* . . ة
		ـُ . . . u	*letter not pronounced* . ـّ

Additional Letters.

Persian Hindi and Pakshtū.	Turkish only.	Hindi and Pakshtū.	Pakshtū only.
پ . . . . p	ک when pronounced as g . . . k	ټ or ټ . . ṭ	څ . . . . ts
چ . . c or ch	ڭ . . . ñ	ډ or ډ . . ḍ	ډ . . . . ʒ
ژ . . ž or zh		ړ or ړ . . ṛ	ڼ . . . ṇ
گ . . . . g			ښ . . . kṣh

Under orders of the Council the following system of transliteration will be adopted for the future in all publications of the Society. Authors of contributions for the *Journal*, Pt. I, and the *Bibliotheca Indica*, are particularly requested to adhere to it.

Transliteration of the Sanskrit, Arabic and allied alphabets.

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ . . . . a	ओ . . . o	ट . . . . ṭ	ब . . . . b
आ . . . . ā	औ . . . au	ठ . . . . ṭh	भ . . . . bh
इ i	क . . . k	ड . . . . ḍ	म . . . . m
ई . . . . ī	ख . . . . kh	ढ . . . . ḍh	य . . . . y
उ . . . . u	ग . . . . g	ण . . . . ṇ	र . . . . r
ऊ . . . . ū	घ . . . . gh	त . . . . t	ल l
ऋ . . . . ṛ	ङ . . . ṅ	थ . . . . th	व v
ॠ . . . . ṝ	च c	द . . . . d	श . . . . ś
ऌ . . . . ḷ	छ . . . . ch	ध . . . . dh	ष . . . . ṣ
ॡ . . . . ḹ	ज . . . . j	न . . . . n	स . . . . s
ए . . . e	झ . . . . jh	प . . . . p	ह . . . . h
ऐ . . . . ai	ञ . . . . ñ	फ . . . . ph	ळ . . . . ḷ

ं (*Anusvāra*)	ṁ	ऽ (*Avagraha*)	'
ँ (*Anunāsika*)	m̐	*Udātta*	´
: (*Visārga*)	ḥ	*Svarita*	̂
× (*Jihvāmūlīya*) . .	ḫ	*Anudātta*	̱
ᕐ (*Upadhmānīya*) . .	ḫ		

Further Notes on the Bhojpuri dialects spoken in Saran. (Vide *Journal A. S. B. Part I, No. 3, Pages 192—212 of 1897*).—*By* GIRINDRANATH DUTT.

[Read January, 1904.]

When my notes on the Saran dialects appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I, No. 3 of 1897, I was called upon by Dr. Grierson, in charge of the Linguistic Survey of India, through the Collector of Saran, to furnish him with further information regarding the Bhojpuri dialect spoken in Saran. Vicissitude of fortune had so long prevented me from forwarding to the Society a copy of the Notes I had submitted to him, and this I now do in a revised form, with a hope that they will be as interesting as my former notes.

The Bhojpuri dialect spoken in Saran is not the strict Bhojpuri *boli* prevalent in Arrah, as I have shewn in my previous report. It bears close affinity to the dialect spoken on the Northern part of District Shahabad bordering the Saraju and the Ganges. The whole population of Saran may be said to speak this dialect with slight changes in different Pergannas which border another district. Thus the Bhojpuri dialect forms the principal dialect of the district, and the various dialects which have been influenced by the dialects prevailing in the conterminous districts have been rightly classified by Dr. Grierson in his Linguistic Survey Report as sub-dialects under it. Natural barriers such as seas, rivers, mountains and deserts prove a very strong impediment on the way of languages or dialects travelling from one country to another. "Language," says Mr. Sayce, "is the test of social contact, not of race," and these barriers prove an almost unsurmountable obstacle to social contact. People of one district will gladly prefer to undertake a matrimonial expedition 30 miles off in the same district but will not hazard a match just on the other bank of the river and nearer home in another District except in the rare instance that it is a *marriage de convenance* fetching a large dower or same prospective hopes. But yet there is much of social contact to coat their tongue. They cultivate land, carry on trade on the other

bank of the river in another district, and in their import cargo bring home a contraband dialect which is only detected when they come in contact with the people of other Pergannas. Hence the origin of these sub-dialects.

Now for the origin of the Bhojpuri dialect. According to the universal rule that all languages have their nomenclatures from some distinct place or person they owe their origin to, the term Bhojpuri has come from Bhojpur, the town or Capital of Raja Bhoja. This Bhojpur Yule conjectures to be 'Stagabaza' of Ptolemy which he says was a site of extreme antiquity on the upper stream of Betwa, where are remains of vast hydraulic works ascribed to a king Bhoja (M'Crindle's Ancient India by Ptolemy p. 163). But who is this king Bhoja? We have got in ancient Indian History "more than a dozen princes known to us who have at different times borne that illustrious name" from the days of Ṛg. Veda Saṃhitā to the 11th Century A.D. (*Vide* Raja Rajendra Lal's Indo-Aryans Vol. II, p. 385).

Mr. Cosserat found in Saran a copper-plate inscription wherein the names of the rulers of Kanauj are mentioned, and two names of Bhoja[1] occur in it in the same dynasty. Of this General Cunningham observed: "Now at this very time we know that a Raja Bhoja Deva was paramount sovereign at Gwalior, as his inscription, carved on the rock itself, is dated in Samvat 933 or A.D. 876. From the Rājataraṅginī also we learn that a Raja Bhoja contended with Śaṅkaravarman of Kaśmīr, who reigned between the years 883-901 A.D. I am quite satisfied that all these records refer to the same prince Bhoja Deva, who was Raja of Kanauj during the last quarter of the 9th century or from about A.D. 875 to 900." Raja Rajendra Lal Mittra comments thereon thus:—

"The identification makes the prince named in the Pehewa, the Gwalior, the Saran and the Benares records to be the same with that of Kanauj noticed in the Rājataraṅginī, and I accept it as obviously correct" (Indo-Aryans, p. 394). The dynasty to which these two Bhojas belonged reigned in Kanauj for a long time, and it was not known when it began. So much is known that it was overthrown in the reign of the last Bhoja by the invasion of Kalacuri or Cedi dynasty from the South and the Pālas from the East. The Cedis conquered Kanauj and the Pālas Benares. It is just probable that the Kingdom of Kanauj then extended as far as Benares, and that the last King Bhoja, ousted from Kanauj, founded a kingdom in Shahabad, with Bhojpur as its Capital, by conquering the aboriginal tribes of the Kharwar race.

[1] The Deogarh inscription of King Bhoja Deva of Kanauj is dated Saka Samvat 784-862 A.D. (*Vide* Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions Introduction, p. 107).

There are scattered over throughout the length and breadth of Saran District ruins which the villagers point out as belonging to the time of the Chero Rajas. These Cheros I have noticed were aboriginal tribes whom perhaps the Rajputs of Kanauj had overthrown. Kanauj was a seat of civilisation in days of yore, and its Brahmins colonised and civilised an extensive tract of Upper India, *viz.*—Guzrat, Bundelkhand, Rohilkhand, Gwalior, North Bihar and Bengal. The Sarajupari Brahmins so abundant in Gorakhpur, Saran and Champaran belong to the Kanaujia Branch, and seem to have come with their king and colonised these parts.

Now the present Bhojpuri dialect which is spoken in Gorakhpur (and, may be, further up to Rai-Bareilly), Saran, Shahabad and a portion of Champaran, is no doubt a mixture of the Kanaujia and the Magadhi dialects. These small bodies of invaders found after settling at Bhojpur a very ancient and powerful dialect, the Magadhi, predominant in the conterminous district, and they gradually adopted its vocabulary. "This is a general rule," says Mr. Sayce, "that whenever two nations equally advanced in civilisation are brought into close contact, the language of the most numerous will prevail." Such is the origin of the Bhojpuri dialect. A glance at the translation of the Parable of the Prodigal son into the Kanaujia dialect, given in Dr. Grierson's Book of Specimens, will show how the vocabulary and idioms of this dialect are yet intact in the Bhojpuri dialect. I would invite special attention to the words पनहि ओनार and लउरे which are found in no other dialects of Bihar except Bhojpuri.

I now invite special attention to the peculiar dialect spoken in the Ceranel and Kacmar Pergannas in the Saran District, which is an admixture of the Magadhi dialect (मगाह का बोलि).

The southern and the eastern parts of District Saran, *i.e.*, the Gogra-Gangetic Valley and the Gandak Valley, present such an admirably striking contrast that it seems as if nature has equipoised her gifts of good and evil to this district. The Southern Valley bears an excellent healthy climate; its soil is far more fertile than that of any part of the district, its banks are stud with places of bustling trade and commerce, and it is inhabited by whatever classes of sturdy cultivators, traders and men of intelligence and education the district can boast of. The B. and N.-W. Railway line which intersects this tract, and may verily be said to have thereby classified, as it were, the intelligent and indolent portion of the population, has added an impetus to civilisation which "the fair Saraju's fertile sides" have been enjoying since the days of Valmiki and Kalidasa. The Gandak Valley exhibits quite a diametrically opposite picture. The sandy sediments, which

the annual inundation of the river carries with it, add little to the fertility of the soil; the banks of the river contain dens of thieves, dacoits, pirates or temporary straw-huts of cultivators forming straggling villages which are abandoned as soon as the flood arrives. The climate is very unhealthy, and the well-water has a peculiar property of producing goitre; whilst the river-water is from time immemorial notorious for generating this disease. In the famine of 1896-97, when I had to make a regular reconnoitre of this part, I was shocked at the horrible picture of human calamity, much like Ezekiel's denouncement against the ancient Egyptians, with which Providence has cursed the people of the part marked in the census map as circle 6 to 10, where more than 75 per cent. of the villagers have large protruding goitres and hardly a single family which has not at least one of its members, a consummate idiot, deaf and dumb both, whom they call *Bauk* in their vernacular. Not much trade is carried on by the river, and there is scarcely a single Bazar worth the name on its bank. This deplorably backward state of the tract is, it seems, as ancient as civilisation is in the other tract. Mr. F. E. Pargiter in his identification of the Kingdom of Videha places this tract as forming the Western portion of its territory, and quoting the story of Māthava in the Śatapātha Brāhmaṇa in support describes it thus: "The Gandak flows through the middle of the country; it has always been liable to shift its course greatly; its numerous channels intersect the country, and its floods would have rendered the soil extremely marshy." "A further consideration of these facts, will, I think, throw some light on this passage from Śatapātha Br. Videha in ancient times, like most other parts of India, has been more or less covered by forest, the remains of which survive at the present day along the foot of the Himalayas in the tract called Tarai, and was no doubt inhabited by aboriginal tribes such as inhabit the Tarai now. The deadly malaria of such a forest is well-known, and only aboriginal tribes have been able to live in its climate. To this must be added the effect, which the periodic floods from the Gandak during the rainy season must have produced in the rank vegetation of such a region. Very swampy and uncultivable would be the moderate expressions to apply to it. No *Ārya* could have ventured within it, and the only way in which Āryas could have colonised it was by filling and burning the forest down wholesale, and opening out the soil to the purifying rays of the sun. That is what (it seems to be implied) Māthava must have done" (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXVI, Part I, No. 2, 1897).

Such being the case, the glotological principles of Phonetic decay and emphasis are prolific in this busy southern part of Gogra-Gangetic

Valley, and as we gently glide down from the south-west corner of the district to the south-east, touching the different places of trade and commerce till we reach Patna, the centre and fountain-head of all trade, we observe how, as a natural sequence, words are gradually clipped and shortened to suit "rapid speaking and the common desire to save time and trouble" which characterises the trading class.

To illustrate this I would refer to my previous paper, Diagram C, p. 204, of Journal No. 3 of 1897. The people of Andor, Caubar, Narhan, Manjhi, and Bāl will say हम गांवे जातानि or जातवानि, which the people of Ballia District will change into हम गांवे जातवाटिं; the people of Cirand and Kaemar will shorten it into हमगांवे जातवंईं, which again the people of Patna will further slice into हम गांव जातांईं. The dialect too looks as if it is an article of trade, each trading-place husking the chaff, and making it more refined.

But these principles of Phonetic decay and emphasis have little sphere of action in the dull and stagnant population of the Gandak Valley and the great bulk lying north of the Railway line. Excepting Mirganj Bazar, situated 12 miles north of the Railway line, there is hardly any considerable mart in this extensive region of Doldrum (which forms about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the district) notwithstanding the fact that Saran is an importing district and its over-population maintained chiefly on imports even in the very best season. Education here is at a discount that I am tempted to quote here a passage from my official report on the Famine operation of 1896-97:—

"My grain officers experience considerable difficulties in getting a single scribe out of a dozen villages containing several hundred inhabitants who could endorse a signature in the documents on behalf of the illiterate mass gathered round the camp for the *takkavi* grain; if, perchance, one was caught hold of, every letter had to be dictated to him over and over before he could scribble in his unintelligible alphabets of an Egyptian obelisk or one of those Runic inscriptions which are said to exist in the deserts of Tartary."

We therefore observe in this tract (excepting the small transkhanna tract) an uniform monotony in the dialect, slightly broken only at the verge of other conterminous districts, the vocabulary of which has been imported to some extent. There is hardly any observable dialetical difference in the main portion of the Perganahs of Kuadi, Sipah, Paclak, Dangsi, Bara, Barai, Madhal, etc. Nothing is in their dialect to distinguish a man of one Perganah from the other, if he does not live on the border of any other district.

Mahals in Sarkar Lakhnau.—*By* H. R. Nevill.

[Read March, 1904].

In the Journal for 1884, p. 215, there appeared an article by Mr. J. Beames entitled—"On the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar," in which he dealt with the mahals and sarkars of the Subah of Avadh, as recorded in the Ain-i-Akbari. In this he identified the great majority of the mahals with the parganas of the present day, and thereby provided the student of fiscal geography with a mass of valuable information. His list was admittedly imperfect, and he invited others to complete the work he had begun. Moreover, it was not correct in all points. By referring to the original authorities and by consulting others, I think that many of the gaps can be filled up and one or two discrepancies removed. At present, I am merely able to deal with the Sarkar of Lakhnau; but it will be something accomplished if we can be fairly sure of the identification of the mahals of this sub-division which in Akbar's day numbered 54.

The district of Unao is the most difficult. It now contains twenty-one parganas, and four of these have double names, which imply a later reduction of a former larger number. On page 230 of Vol. liii of the Journal, Mr. Beames states that Unchganw with Tara Singhaur and Siḍhupur is now the pargana of Ḍaunḍia Kheṛa, the cradle of the Bais clan. This assertion is apparently taken from Mr. A. F. Millett's Settlement Report of Sultanpur, p. 119, where it says that Rao Mardan Singh, an ancestor of Ram Bakhsh Singh, of mutiny notoriety, united these three mahals into one. Mr. Millett refers to Mr. Benett's "Clans of the Roy Bareilly District," but in that work I can find no reference to Tara Singhaur whatever. The same statement occurs in Major MacAndrew's Settlement Report of Rai Bareli, an earlier work than either the Sultanpur report, or the Oudh Gazetteer. When Sir C. A. Elliott wrote his "Chronicles of Oonao," Ḍaunḍia Kheṛa was still in Rai Bareli; but I am not satisfied that the report on the latter district was the ultimate authority, for the article on Ḍaunḍia Kheṛa in the old

Oudh Gazetteer states that the pargana was made out of Unchganw, Siḍhupur, and Targaon, not Tara Singhaur. I cannot discover who was the author of this article: it certainly was not Mr. Maconochie, who was practically responsible for the whole of the article on the Unao district. There must be an earlier source, for Targaon is obviously incorrect, as no such mahal is recorded in the Ain-i-Akbari. Be that as it may, I believe Tara Singhaur to be a mistake. On the banks of the Ganges, some seventeen miles south-east in a direct line from Ḍaunḍia Kheṛa, lying in latitude 26°3′ north and longitude 80°53′ east, is a village called Singhaur Tara, which must represent the headquarters of the old mahal. It is too far from Ḍaunḍia Kheṛa for the amalgamation, not only because it was a very small mahal, containing only 9,357 *bighas* of cultivation, but also for other reasons which will appear later. We know the position of Unchganw, and that mahal was fairly large, and with the addition of a portion of Siḍhupur, which is also known, is quite sufficient for Ḍaunḍia Kheṛa.[1]

Adjoining Ḍaunḍia Kheṛa on the south-east, and occupying the corner of the Rai Bareli district, is the large pargana of Sareni, with a present area of 72,880 acres. This was never identified by Mr. Beames with any of the Akbari mahals. One of these, described as "not traceable," was known as Kahanjara: it was held by Bais, who contributed 100 horse and 2,000 foot. Its cultivated area was 22,300 bighas or, say, 14,000 acres. Now the village of Khanjar or Kahenjar still exists, and it is a matter of common local knowledge that this place gave its name formerly to the pargana of Sareni, or at least to a part of it. It is a fairly large village in the north of the pargana, situated in latitude 26°11′ north and longitude 80°49′ east; and contains several *kheṛas*, evidence of older sites and vanished importance. This settles one mahal untraced by Mr. Beames: it marched with Siḍhupur and Satanpur on the north-west and north-east respectively. It is no new discovery, for the fact is clearly stated in the Rai Bareli Report.

In Mr. Beames' list I find a mahal called Lashkar, on which he remarks: "Said to be Nisgarh, which is said to be a well-known village; the position, however, is not stated." The 'said' refers to Mr. Millett, who writes that Nisgarh is in Rai Bareli and is still a well-known village. No other remarks are made. But Nisgarh is perfectly well-known in pargana Sareni: it lies on the banks of the Ganges in latitude 26°6′ north and longitude 80°46′ east, and is quite a large village. Its position is about half-way between Tara Singhaur and

[1] Siḍhupur, often spelt Seṛhupur, is a small village in Ḍaunḍia Kheṛa, on the north side of the old fort.

Ḍaunḍia Kheṛa, and this renders it impossible to suppose that the former and Unchganw could have been united to form the Ḍaunḍia Kheṛa pargana. It was a small mahal, with 16,794 *bighas* of cultivation; it was held, of course, by Bais, who contributed no less than 2,000 infantry.

Another untraced mahal is Deorakh. This was obviously in Baiswara, from the fact that it was in the possession of Bais. The military contingent was 100 horse and 1,500 foot, and the area 13,340 *bighas* of cultivation. Now, Mr. Millett says Deorakh was in Lucknow: wherefore, I know not. In the Rai Bareli Report I find "Sareni...was formed by the amalgamation...of Daoruk and Khanjur,...the former was the name of a hamlet now called Daorahhar." This ought to be good enough.[1] We may safely take it as the central portion of the pargana, south of Kahanjara, north-east of Nisgarh and north-west of Tara Singhaur. These four mahals had a total cultivated area in Akbar's day of 61,791 *bīghas*, or roughly 38,600 acres, which is none too much, as in 1,902 there were nearly 42,000 acres under the plough in the whole of Sareni. Moreover, it is probable that Tara Singhaur, which is in the extreme south-east of Sareni, probably extended into the adjoining present pargana of Ḍalmau.

Another untraced Bais mahal of Mr. Beames' list is Haihar, with its 13,109 of *bighas* cultivation. He writes merely "not traceable." Now Mr. Millett says clearly that it is in Rai Bareli and that Haihar, or Aihar, still gives its name to a small estate. He might have gone even further and referred to the Rai Bareli Report, in which there is the detailed *jamabandi* of this identical village given as a specimen. It was still held by Bais *pattidars*. The village is a very large one: it lies in the north-west of pargana Ḍalmau, four miles east of Lalganj on the road to Rai Bareli.

Kumbhi was a mahal of sarkar Lakhnau. Sir Charles Elliott in his "Chronicles of Oonao," p. 67, gives it as one of the 22 Bais parganas, and yet Mr. Millett places it in Bara Banki. For what reason, I cannot imagine. There is a village of this name in pargana Kumhrawan of Rai Bareli, but this must be discarded, as that part of the district was in the sarkar of Manikpur. I cannot find any village of Kumbhi in Unao, but I feel sure that this small mahal with its 5,940 *bighas* of cultivation may easily be fitted into the Purwa tahsil of that district; and there is room for it in pargana Mauranwan.

There is only one other 'untraceable' mahal of the Sarkar in Mr. Beames' list, and this is Pingwan. He writes: "Pingwān or *Bangwān*

[1] Deorahar is a hamlet of Raipur, a village two miles south of Sareni.

I cannot find anywhere." The italics are my own. Mr. Millett says 'Bangawan' and places it in Sitapur. There is a village of this name in the Sadarpur pargana, of Sitapur, and this may do very well. The proprietors were Bais, but this clan has many colonies in Sitapur. Sadarpur was in the Khairabad Sarkar, but the boundaries have changed since, and we can find room for Bangwāu in the north of pargana Fatehpur of Bara Banki. I am afraid I can offer no more convincing solution.

Turning from construction to correction, I may first tarry in Bara Banki to point out that Dadrah, which, according to Mr. Beames, "appears to account for a portion of the blank space in the Bara Banki district not covered by any name in the Ain," is a village in the Nawabganj pargana, a recent creation of the Nawabi Government. The blank space in question consists of Nawabganj and Partabganj, and these may well be divided between Dewa, a very large mahal, and Dadrah. The remaining notes concern Unao again. Mr. Beames states that Saron was the old name for Sikandarpur. This is a mistake arising from a somewhat natural confusion. It should be Sarosi, but this, however, was not the old name of any village, but a place which still is well-known and stands about a mile east of Sikandarpur, giving its name to a Parihar taluqa. Saron, on the other hand, is obviously the modern Sarwan, a village of great antiquity in the north of pargana Mauranwau. I see that Mr. Beames gives it its proper position in the map that accompanied his paper.

This clears up the whole of the sarkar, which can now be reconstituted with a close approach to certainty. The parganas have for the most part retained their old names, and the exceptions are due either to the self-glorification of the later Oudh officials or else to the division of one mahal into two, as, for example, pargana Pariar in Unao formed out of Sarosi, or the amalgamation of small units into a single large area, as in the case of Sareni. Historically, the matter is of much importance; for in Oudh above all other parts of the United Provinces the mahals and parganas correspond with the areas under the sway of particular chieftains and clans.

An ancient Assamese Fortification and the Legends relating thereto.—*By* Walter N. Edwards and Harold H. Mann.

(With Plates IV and V.)

[Read April, 1903.]

The North Bank of the Brahmaputra in Assam has been explored for the remains of the older kingdoms and civilisations in many places by Colonel Hannay, who worked in the district lying East and North of Dibrugarh, and in 1848 described the forts ascribed to Raja Bishmukh, near Sadiya, and by Captain Dalton, whose explorations along the base of the Himalayas led to the discovery of a considerable number of remains of archæological interest. In particular was this the case with the fortifications which he found in the jungle on the banks of the Buroi river some miles before it emerges into the plains of Assam from the Himalayas.

His description [1] of these fortifications runs as follows :—

"The mud forts are of considerable size, with lofty ramparts and deep ditches, and having tanks of good water within the defences. That nearest the village of Gomiri has, raised above its ramparts, high mounds of earth which may have been constructed over the graves of deceased kings and used also as watch towers. The broad roads are well thrown up, and as they lead from the Berhampooter to the gorge of the Burhoi, they show that the settlement in the low hills on the banks of that river, of which a high stone wall is all that remains, must have been of considerable importance. The massiveness of the wall, and the labour and trouble that seem to have been bestowed upon it point to it as having been the appendage of no mean work. It is about a hundred yards in length, of great breadth, and built of solid blocks of stone squared and piled with great nicety. A gateway in the centre opens towards the river. In some places, the interior is faced with brick, and seems as if buildings of that material had been built against it. The hill has been levelled to some extent, but no further traces of buildings are now discernible.

[1] Taken from the *Calcutta Review*.

"About a mile higher up, there is a cave on the left bank of the river, which is said to have been constructed by the king for devotional purposes. The river having forced its way into this cave, has carried away a considerable portion of it, and its appearance is doubtless very much altered from what it was; but in its present condition, there is no reason for supposing it to be a work of art.

"Above this again, at a considerable elevation on the side of the mountain, there is a natural niche in the bare rock, and above it a mass which from the river appears to the naked eye to be a group of figures with as much resemblance to humanity as idols generally possess. The only people now frequenting this region—the gold-washers—believe them to be gods, and worship them as such; and being in view of the cave, if the latter ever was used as a place of worship, it may have been for the adoration of these gigantic figures. A telescope dissolves the illusion of their bearing any resemblance to gods or mortals, and of course a closer inspection would do the same. But no one has ever ventured to approach the phenomenon, and if they did, they would consider the reality as the illusion, and report with some truth that the mysterious figure blended into the mass of rock as they approached, and consequently that a closer inspection of their awful forms than that obtained from the view at the cave, was not given to mortal eyes."

After their discovery by Captain Dalton, the knowledge of the existence of these forts had wholly disappeared among the local planters, and even among the Assamese, and it was not until one of the authors, while shooting in the forest near the Buroi river, was fortunate enough to stumble across them, that any knowledge of them existed in the district. As we have been able to bring a considerable amount of new information to light, both as regards the fortifications themselves, and as to the legends relating to them, it has seemed worth while to bring the whole information on the matter together.

The River Buroi is a short river draining a portion of the lower Himalayas in the district of Darrang in Assam, and while still in the hills passes through country inhabited by the Mongolian tribe of Daphlas. It finally enters the Brahmaputra, a little to the east of Behāli Mukh. For the greater part of the year the upper river is only approachable by a road which runs right back from the river at Gomiri Ghat to the hills, and then by a path along their base through the Singli Tea Estate. This path is shown as the "Singli Path" in the rough sketch in Fig. 1. During the greater part of the early months of the year it is however also possible to approach this part of the river by elephant along the banks of the river, and also with some difficulty on horseback.

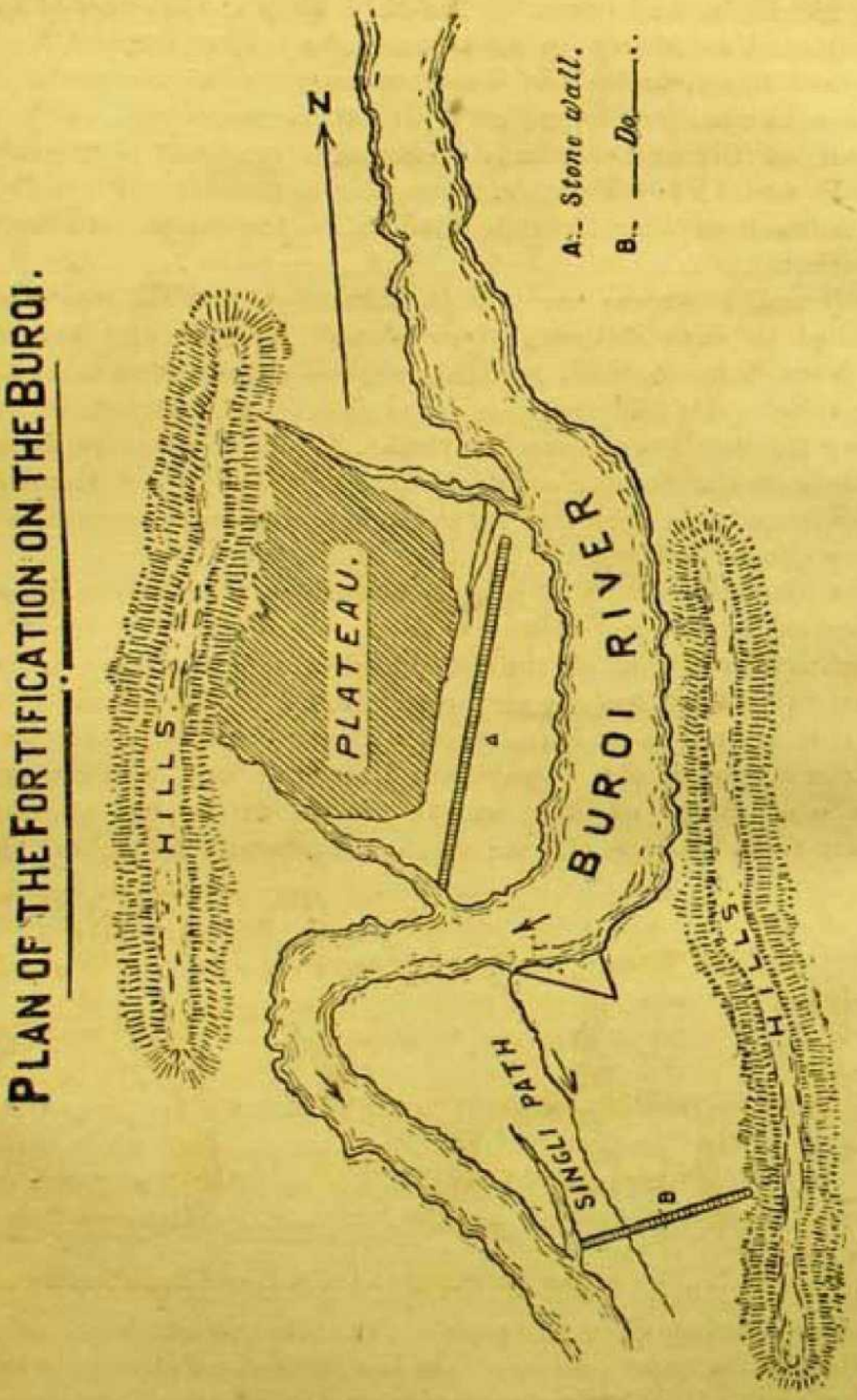


Fig. 1.

The fortifications of which we speak are situated just over the boundary line of British territory in the independent Daphla country.

in Lat. 26° 57′N. and Long. 93° 28′ E.[1] They consist now of two long walls situated as shown in the sketch map. That marked A which is by far the longest, consists of a long continuous barrier made of faced sandstone blocks, put together with great precision. The general character of this wall is shown in the accompanying photographs (see Plates V and IV) which we were able to procure. Plate IV, No. 1 shows most clearly the accuracy with which the stones are keyed into one another.

This wall was some ten feet in thickness, and the inside appeared to be filled in with ordinary river stones, without any arrangement. It ran from N.E. to S.W. or nearly so, and commanded the right bank of the river. It was from its arrangement and structure evidently used as a fortification against the plains, as while it was protected most completely on the South side, it lay almost entirely open from the hills. The North end was protected by the sheer cliff on the opposite bank of the river shown in Plate IV, No. 2.

The place is difficult of access, and in part buried in cane jungle. On a second visit, when there was more leisure to examine the whole situation and material of the fortification, it was found to be three hundred yards long, and a very large number of the blocks of stone of which it is composed, on being cleared showed marks, which we take to be builder's marks, cut deeply into the sandstone, and always on the outside face. Some of these marks are shown in the accompanying diagram, (which does not of course represent an actual group of

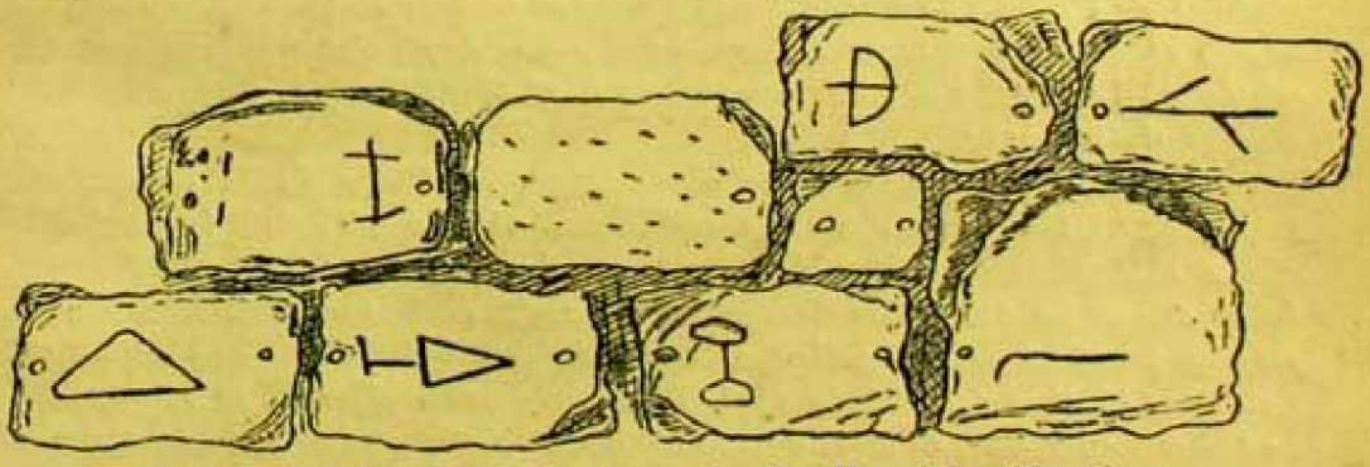


Fig. 2. Marks found on stones in the Buroi fortifications.

marks but is purely diagrammatic). That to the left hand on the top row is by far the most common. It is a curious point to note that some of these same marks were found on the worked stones at Rājā Bhīṣmaka's temple near Sadiya by Colonel Hannay, in 1848, indicating

[1] On the same basis for Madras as is used in the Survey Maps of Assam.

that the same race of people was concerned with the building of both.

At two separate places this wall has been built up on the inside with a flat tile like brick, and there is, as described by Captain Dalton, a gateway in the face of the wall, (though not, as he says, in the centre), where bricks also occur. The bricks here found are of similar shape and size to those occurring at Pertabgarh on the Bishnath plain, as well as in the tanks and buildings which abound on that plain. The bricks have, however, evidently been made in the vicinity, as on being broken they showed a very sandy texture, and were much softer than is usual with this class of bricks made in the plains.

The stones of which this wall were made ranged from 12 to 14 inches in length and 8 to 10 inches in breadth and depth, to small pieces four inches square, but all were equally dressed.

Behind the wall, and to the north of it, there is a ditch, and then a high plateau stretching right back to the steep hill side. All this is now covered with dense jungle, some of it being composed of large old hardwood forest trees presumed to be at least sixty to eighty years old, and these were in certain cases growing out of the wall itself. (See Plate IV, Fig. 1.)

The second part of the fortification, the stone wall B (Fig. 1) is the complement and completion of that already described, but it is in a much worse state of repair, and in places can hardly be traced. At the end where it overhangs the river, it appears to have been partly washed away. At the other extremity it encloses a natural spring, or at any rate what seems to have been such from the remains, and the whole wall being on a bluff at the foot of the hills, it commands the course of the river.

It will be noticed from the photograph in Plate V, No. 2, that the left bank of the stream at the north end of the wall A is formed of a sheer inaccessible cliff, which itself rendered the continuation of the fortification in this direction unnecessary, and made an extremely strong position. Two miles above this point is the cave to which the defender of this position is stated to have retired, now locally known as the "Badli Karang," the cave of bats.

The folklore attached to these fortifications, is not very great, and their existence does not now seem to be known to the Assamese. The Daphlas know of them, but few are acquainted with any tradition concerning them. One old Daphla, however, said a story was formerly current among his tribe that these walls were built by a Rājā of Pratābpur—(Pertābgarh) who, having killed his father, had taken to the hills with his followers, and there entrenched himself against his

father's subjects. This old Daphla could give us no idea of how long ago this was reputed to be, or for what length of time they were supposed to have remained there, but it at once connects them with Assamese tradition, and with the unexplained ending of the life of Ārimuri or Ārimatta, a former traditional ruler of Nowgong and Darrang.

The local tradition attached to this ruler is as follows; it differs somewhat from that which has been published elsewhere, though in essentials the two stories are the same.

About the year 1238 A.D. (1160 Sak.) Ārimatta (*i.e.*, Ārimuri) the reputed son of Pratāpa Rājā was reigning in Assam, holding sway in what are now the districts of Nowgong and Darraug. The tradition of his birth is as follows: Pratāpa Rājā was the king of the country lying between Viśvanātha (Mod. Bishnāth) and the Subansiri River, and had his capital at Ratnapura. He married Hārmāti the daughter of Hirabinda, King of Saumāra, and on taking her to his kingdom, built a town for her which he called by her name, the name and ruins of which still are to be found at Hārmāti (on the Dikrang river) in North Lakhimpur. In crossing the Brahmaputra the god of the river (the son of Brahma) became enamoured of this girl, and in order to force her husband to give her up, did much damage to the country. Pratāpa, eventually, launched her in a small boat filled with food and drink on the Brahmaputra, when she was embraced by the river god, and some days after landed at Viśvanātha, where the villagers at once acknowledged her as their sovereign, and built the town of Pratābpur for her, the outworks of which are still to be seen at Pertābgarh. The more usual form of this story represents Pratāpa as having removed his Court to the hills to avoid the requests of the son of Brahma, and commanded his wife in future only to bathe in the Buroi river. Against his wish she went to bathe in the Brahmaputra, and was at once carried off by the current and only emerged at Viśvanāth. To continue, however, the local story, for nine months she remained there and then gave birth to a son, who had a man's body, but the head of a fish, an *āri* fish, hence he was called Ārimatta. His mother, to hide her shame, sent him to Nowgong, across the Brahmaputra, where he grew up, and became a powerful prince conquering most of his neighbours. His mother forbade him to visit the north bank of the river, but his curiosity to ascertain who his father was, was too much for him, and he disregarded her injunctions. Meeting with Pratāpa, he fought with him and killed him.[1] He subsequently learnt that Pratāpa was

[1] This is said to have occurred in crossing a stream the "Balam nadi," the river of the Javelin, as it is still called.

his mother's husband, and overcome with remorse he endeavoured to do penance, but no Brahman would accept his gifts, and he was abandoned by his people. One traditional account says he was shot by his own son with an arrow. Another story is that he burnt himself to death. A third account is that of the Daphlas to which we have previously referred.

Still a fourth story is a circumstantial one which appeared in and which we quote from the Calcutta Review.[1] At this time Assam was invaded by the King of Kashmir and he met Ārimuri (Ārimatta), as follows:

"The Cashmerian prince advancing into the country, found Arimuri posted with his forces on the bank of a river. Excited with the hope of a speedy triumph, he plunged into the stream, but found when it was too late, that he could not stem the current. Many of his soldiers followed him into the water and were drowned, and he, powerless to defend himself, was captured by a party of Ārimuri's men who launched out into the torrent on inflated skins. He was confined in a strong castle on the banks of the "Gondhica," the same river, in all probability, as the Gandak which, at that time, formed the Western boundary of Kamrup; whilst the remnant of his army returned in dismay to Cashmere. The tidings of this discomfiture and of the captivity of the king spread consternation throughout Cashmere. The ministers immediately met for deliberation, when one Deva Sarma undertook to effect the liberation of the monarch. Proceeding with a considerable force into Assam and encamping his men on the banks of the river opposite to where the fort stood which held his master captive, he himself repaired to the Court of Ārimuri. At a private conference with the king, he intimated his readiness to give up to him the treasures of Joypira, which he represented to be with the invading army; but he at the same time intimated that as the amount and distribution of the money were known to the prince only, it would be necessary for him, the minister, to have an interview with Joypira, and on some pretence or other elicit from him the required information. The artifice succeeded, and Deva Sarma was admitted into his master's presence. In the interview that followed, the minister urged Joypira to let himself down from the window of his prison and swim across the river to his troops, but the latter declined to make an attempt that must fail on account of the impetuosity of the torrent below. After some further discussion, the minister withdrew to an adjoining chamber, promising soon to return; but as a considerable interval elapsed and he

1 1867.

did not re-appear, the king went to seek him. He found him lying dead on the floor, straugled by means of his own turban. Beside him lay a leaf on which he had scratched some words with his finger-nail In these words the devoted minister iustructed Joypira to inflate the dead body and using it as a float to escape with all expedition to the opposite shore. Penetrated with admiration, at this proof of attachment, Joypira hastened to obey his friend's counsel, and reached his troops in safety. Eager to wipe off his disgrace, he made a sudden attack upon Ārimuri, slew him, and left his country a depopulated waste."

This last story thus contains no reference to the tradition that Arimatta was abandoned by his people after killing his father. Whatever story be accepted, the close connection of Ārimatta, with the fortifications we have described is clearly indicated by the numerous different traditions in connection with them.

On the Antiquity and Traditions of Shāhzādpūr.—*By* Maulavi Abdul Wali.

[Read January, 1904.]

Among the various methods, which the Society has adopted, for the study of the land and people of Asia, the decipherment and reading of ancient inscriptions, on old temples, tombs and other monuments, is one. Unfortunately, when some of these inscriptions are not accompanied by oral traditions or elucidatory notes, they give very little useful information. In the same way, mere traditions, unaccompanied by written inscriptions, are full of inaccurate hypotheses. In my opinion, tradition always has a substratum of facts which antiquarians can seldom disregard, and anthropologists never. It is to be regretted that since the death of the late Prof. Blochmann, our Society has not had the advantage of such an indefatigable researcher regarding Muhammadan Bengal. Thanks to the labours of a few workers, our knowledge of the early annals of the Europeans in Bengal is far more accurate now than it was before.

The traditions of Shāhzādpūr—which I have collected—are of passing interest; inasmuch as they give us a glimpse into the troubles, privations, and hostilities, which the early colonists and comers had to contend against. History tells with what ease Bakhtyār Khilji became the master of a part of Bengal, but passes over the hardship which subsequently terminated his career.[1] Our Society cannot, therefore, lose sight of monuments with no inscriptions, as also much of the legends and traditions of the past, for the fulfilment of its great objects.

Shāhzādpūr, the headquarters of a thana and till lately of a Munṣifi, is situated on the south centre of the great jute-producing sub-division of Sirājganj, which forms the northern half of the District of Pabna, which, again, occupies the south-east corner of the Rājshāhi

[1] The popular notion that India fell an easy prey to the Musalmans is opposed to the historical facts. Hunter's "Indian Empire," 3rd edition, 1893, page 323.

Commissionership of Bengāl.[1] Shāhzādpūr lies on the Harasāgar river in N.L. 24′ 0″ and E. Long 89° 39′20,″ is famous for a superb Masjid, the *mazārs* of Makhdūm Shāh Daūla "Shahīd," and other Muḥammadans, and an annual fair. There is no written account of the early colonists. The deeds and papers are said to have suffered loss on account of the climate, fire, or carelessness. They are not, however, forthcoming.

1.—*The Traditions.*

Haẓrat Mu'āẓẓ-'ibn-Jabal, the King of Yaman in Arabia, and a companion of the Prophet, had two sons and a daughter. One of these two shāhzādas (princes) Makhdūm Shāh Daula, with the permission of his father, left his native land, on a religious expedition, for the spread of Islām, consisting of three of his nephews (sister's sons)—Khwāja Kalān Dānishmand, Khwāja Nūr, and Khwāja Anwar, his sister, twelve renowned Darvishes, and a large number of followers. They sailed in ships 7 or 40 in number, on their expedition. Arriving at Bokhārā, Shāh Jalālu-d-Dīn Bokhārī—a saint of the place—welcomed the pilgrims, and presented a few ash-coloured (*khākī*) pigeons to the Makhdum Ṣāḥib. After a long and circuitous voyage, the missionaries arrived at a place, now called Potājia, two miles south of Shāhzādpūr. The whole country at that time was under water and appeared as a vast ocean. The ships struck on a sandy bed, and consequently the expedition could not proceed up. The Bokhārā pigeons used, as usual, to leave the ships, in the morning, and return to them by the evening-tide. After a few days' halt, the people on board noticed in the feet of the birds fresh clay and sand. On the following day a *dinghi* (boat) was sent towards the flight of the birds, and a newly forming *car*, subsequently named Shāhzādpūr, was discovered. The ships being disentangled and removed, the party landed upon the *car*-land. Little by little when the water subsided, the little *car* was transformed into an extensive one. On this spot—to commemorate the landing—a mosque was built by order of the Makhdum Ṣāḥib.

At that time, the country was under the Hindu Raja of Ṣūba-i-Bihār, who would not allow a foreign colony to be established in his dominion, and sent a large army to drive the colonists away. Then ensued a life-and-death struggle between the little band of foreign Muslims on one side, and the vast army of the native king on the other. Three bloody battles were fought, in two of which, the devoted followers of the Makhdūm Ṣāḥib were victorious. In the third, the saintly prince was killed. Two of his nephews, the Darvishes, as well as a large

[1] There is another Shāhzādpūr in the Barisal District of Bengal.

number of his followers, too, were killed by stratagem, in one or other of these battles. The lady, who was the sister of the Makhdūm Ṣāḥib, preferred death to dishonour, and is believed to have thrown herself into a water-pool and perished.

A soldier of the enemy, who was concealed, cut off the head of the saint, while the latter was deeply engaged in saying his afternoon (*'aṣr*) namāz. The man left at once, with the head, for the rājā of the Ṣūba-i-Bihār. The head being placed before the king, the latter perceiving in it celestial radiance and supernatural calm became very much astonished, and intensely sorry and ashamed at the conduct of the soldier. Having summoned the leading Musalmans of Bihār, the head was buried with due solemnity and a masjid constructed over the brick-tomb. A fair is held every year near the place, ever since.

At Shāhzādpūr, on the other hand, the head-less body was deposited into a stone-coffin, and buried by the surviving nephew, Khwāja Shāh Nūr, and his other followers, about *ten rasīs* to the south of the mosque.[1]

2.—*The Tombs.*

As stated above, there fell in the struggle a large number of the Muslims. The shrine of the Makhdūm Ṣāḥib "Shahīd" (the Martyr) being in a low-lying tract, at some distance from the mosque, those who used to go there to perform *ziyārat* had to suffer discomfort or were exposed to danger, in wading their way through marshes in the rains, and on account of the snakes. The saint appeared to one of the faithful, and directed the coffin to be removed. Accordingly it was buried by the side of the mosque. The tombs or graveyards are all on the south of the masjid. Besides the shrine of the Makhdūm Ṣāḥib and his nephews, there exist 18 other tombs, *viz.*, the tombs of the 12 Darvishes, named—(1) Shamsud-d-Dīn Tabrīzī; (2) Shāh Yūsuf; (3) Shāh Khēng-sawār; (4) Shāh A'ẓmat; (5) Hasila-*pīr*; (6) Shāh Bodlā; (7) Shāh Aḥmad; (8) Shāh Maḥmūd. The names of the other four are not remembered. The names of 6 other *aulyā*—who settled and died subsequently—are (13) Shāh Mastān,[2] (14) Shāh Ḥabībullāh, (15)

[1] I am not informed who the Ṣūba-i-Bihār Rāja was. "The lower Gangetic Valley, from Bihār downwards, was still [during the early Muḥammadan invasion] in parts governed by Pal or Buddhist dynasties, whose names are found from Benares to jungle-buried hamlets deep in the Bengal Delta."—*Indian Empire*, p. 322. Was he a real Rāja or a chief of the banditti, who ravaged the country in armed bands, like the Maghs and Bargīs of the later times?

[2] Sometimes, in the dark night, it is said, a column of light, brighter far than the electricity, is seen ascending up from the *āstāna* of "Shāh Mastān" towards the sky, which phenomenon lasts a few minutes.

Shāh Madār, (16) Hādi Ṣāḥib. The names of the other two are not known.

The shrine of Khwāja Kalān Dānishmand is to the right side of that of the Makhdūm Ṣāḥib the "Martyr," and the shrines of his other nephews and of the Darvishes are hard-by. The shrines of Makhdum Ṣāḥib, Khwāja Kalān Dānishmand, and Darvīsh Shāh Yūsuf are enclosed with walls; and lately a corrugated iron roof of octagonal shape has been put over them. Shamsu-d-Dīn Tabrīzī was Makhdūm Ṣāḥib's teacher. His tomb is enclosed with walls (4′ 6″ high). Shāh Yūsuf was a companion (*aṣḥāb*). Out of the waqf estate, a few acres are set apart for the expenses of lighting the *āstāna* of Shāh Khōng-Sawār and for looking after it. This is done by a paid servant. Hindus and Musalmans make offerings to Darvīsh Shāh Ḥabībullāh's shrine.

There are two ganj-i-shahīdān (literally "mart of martyrs," *i.e.*, two large pits, where a large number of martyrs were buried), besides the above tombs :— (1) by the side of the mosque—where respectable persons were interred, and (2) some ten rasis to the south of the mosque—where soldiers were buried, and where Makhdūm Ṣāhib himself was buried at first. The tombs have no inscriptions.

The little water-pool, where the Makhdūm Ṣāhib's sister perished is called *Satī bībīr khāl* (or the watery grave of the virgin lady). It lay close to the mosque. Pilgrims used to throw sugar and *batasa*, etc. into it to have their desires fulfilled. Owing to the encroachment of the river, the identical spot—where the virgin was drowned—cannot be ascertained. Consequently the practice of throwing sweetmeats has, of late, ceased.

3.—*The Place and the Population.*

The place is called Shāhzādpūr, after the title of Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Ṣāhīb, who was the Shāhzāda of Yaman. The Pargana Yūsuf-Shāhī, in which is situated Shāhzādpūr, is called so, after the name of the Makhdūm Ṣāhib's companion "Yūsuf Shāh"[1]

The population of the place is about ten thousand souls. The Muḥammadans are half as much again as the Hindus. Of the three

[1] Most of the mahals (revenue free estates) situated in Sirajganj, are small and many of them are reported to be connected with the history of the Makhdūm Ṣāhib, whose cubit was the unit of measurement in Pargana Yūsufshāhī, until the zamīndārs introduced short measures there.—Hunter's Statistical Account of the Pabna District, Vol. IX, pages, 315-316.

The cause of the agrarian disturbance of 1873 was owing to the zamīndārs of the Pargana Yūsufshāhī "raising their rent rolls by decreasing the standard of measurement."—Statistical Account, Pabna.

nephews of the Makhdūm Ṣāḥib, Khwāja Kalān Dānishmand was not married, and Khwāja Anwar died childless. Khwāja Nūr, the only surviving nephew of the Makhdūm Ṣāḥib, married a Muḥammadan Princess of Sonārgāon. Their descendants are the present Mutawallīs. With the Sonārgāon Princess came a large number of persons, both Hindus and Muslims, who with the old survivals re-established the colony. The present inhabitants of Shāhzādpūr, are supposed to be their descendants. Shāhzādpūr is divided into fourteen *maḥallas* or sections, according to the origin, profession, or rank, etc., of the emigrants from Sonārgāon. The following are the maḥallas:—(1) Ḥaidarābād, (2) Qandahārī-pāṛa, (3) Pathān-pāṛa, (4) Mihtar-pāṛa, (5) Mughalhāṭṭa, (6) Kāghazī-tōla, (7) Qāẓī-pāṛa, (8) Mullā-pāṛa, (9) Cuniakhālipāṛa, (10) Katgaṛ-pāṛa, (11) Mutia-pāṛa, (12) Dhari-pāṛa, (13) Car-pāṛa, (14) Āndhār-koṭha.

The place whence earth was dug, and into which lime was deposited, for the construction of the buildings, is called Cunia-khālī, and the pāṛa, Cunia-khālī-pāṛa (or lime-tank-quarter). There was a jail or house of correction, where criminals used to be imprisoned and so called Āndhār-koṭhā or "Black-Hole." Its traces can still be seen. From it the quarter takes its name.

4.—*The Mosque.*

Area of the interior:—Length 51 ft. 9 in., breadth 31 ft. 5 in., height 16 ft. 2 in.

Area of the exterior:—Length 62 ft. 9 in., breadth 41 ft. 3½ in., height 19 ft. 10 in.

The wall is 5 ft. 7 in. thick. There are five door-ways, each measuring 7 ft. 5 in. in height by 6 ft. ½ in. in breadth. The utmost height of the domes—15 in number—from the floor of the temple is 20 ft. 9 in. The mosque is built of bricks and lime of cowries. The edifice is supported by 28 pillars of black basalt, one of which is a little dissimilar from others in colour. It is pressed, contrary to the Islamic Law, by women to their bosom, praying for the birth of children. Their vows, it is supposed, are fulfilled.

Attached to the western inner wall of the masjid—on a platform, measuring 6 ft. 10 in. in length, 5 ft. 6 in. in breadth and 6 ft. 8 in. in height—is constructed the *mimbar* or pulpit, 5 ft. 2 in. high, having the same length and breadth as the platform beneath. An arched staircase, with seven steps, is so constructed as to touch the pulpit.

There is a brick *āngna* or platform in front of the temple. The floor of the latter is higher than that of the former by one inch. On both sides of the platform—north and south—walls have been built,

having an underground base of 4 ft. 6 in. The jambs of the doors are constructed of black basalt. Over the pulpit, and on the outer walls of the temple, are sculptured beautiful arabesques, consisting of foliage, fruits and other parts of the plant. Lengthwise on both sides of the walls there are half a dozen small false panellings made in plaster.

5.—*The Waqf Estate.*

The Shāhzādpūr mosque is endowed with 722 bīghas of rent-free lands held direct from Government by trustees or *mutawallīs*—who are descended, as stated above, from Khwāja Shāh Nūr and the Sonārgāon Princess. Of these lands only 15 *khadas* are set apart for the service of the temple. The remaining lands were given away to the original settlers, many of whose descendants still enjoy lākhirāj, madad-i-ma'āsh and other kinds of tenures[1].

There is a piece of stone upon which are inscribed certain figures (Plate No.) which I could not decipher.

6.—*The Fair.*

A mēlā or fair is held every year, close to the masjid—from the end of Cait to the beginning of Baisakh (April—May) which lasts for about a month. It is visited by Hindus and Muhammadans from far and near. The offerings consist of rice, fowls, sugar, and sweets, also pices for the *cirāghī*, for the fulfilment of their desires. The mēlā is visited by about seven thousand people.

The species of the Bokhārā pigeons—given by Shāh Jalālu-d-Dīn Bokhārī and called after him Jalālī kabūtar—still survive, and can be seen in the precincts of the Shāhzādpūr mosque as well as in the neighbouring villages.

7.—*Notes.*

The above is a complete review of the past traditions and the present state of the mosque and tombs of Shāhzādpūr. The former raises the following issues: (1) Was Bengal colonized as long ago as the first century of the Hijrī Era by the Arabs? (2) Who was the Makhdūm Ṣāḥib and his followers?

Shāhzādpūr of the present is not in many respects the Shāhzādpūr of the past. Yet it tells the tales of a distant and dismal past—by its mosque and tombs. The site of a bloody battle-field is indicated by the

[1] Makhdūm Ṣāḥib was a Muḥammadan prince, who came to Bengal ... and was allowed to colonize Yūsufshāhī, then an uninhabited jungle ... Four sharers now hold the land, each of whom is honoured with the affix of 'Ṣāḥib,' while the Senior sharer ... is well-known as an influential zamīndār.—Hunter's Statistical Account of Pabna, pp. 315-16.

promiscuously buried remains of the martyrs. Despite its reclaimed marshes and dried-up swamps, we can reasonably picture a time, when the place was of an alluvial formation, fit for a petty trading colony. The Tsań-pu or Brahmaputra, the Indus and the Satlej, may be said to start from the same water-parting in the highlands of Central Asia. After receiving several tributaries from the confines of the Chinese Empire, and twisting round the lofty eastern Himalayan range, the Brahmaputra rolls down the Assam Valley. As the Indus with its feeder, the Satlej, and the Brahmaputra, convey to India the drainage from the northern slopes of the Himalayas, so the Ganges, with its tributary, the Jamuna, collects the rainfall from the southern or Indian slopes of the mountain-wall and pours it down upon the plains of Bengal.[1]

It is a well-known fact that this part of Bengal is annually, during the rainy season, inundated, and the wide stretches of country around look like a vast ocean as the name of the river *Harasāgar* indicates.[2]

In a remote period, we find that the whole ancient geography of India is obscured by changes in the courses of the rivers. Within historic times, many decayed or ruined cities attest the alteration in river beds. It is not, therefore, improbable that Arab coasting vessels came as far as the Gangetic Delta, and that Bengal was colonized in the first or second century of the Hijrī Era by the Arabs. They, as also their predecessors, might have "followed the courses of the river."[3] In 647 A.D only fifteen years or so after the death of the Prophet, Khalīf 'Othmān sent a sea-expedition to Thana and Broach on the Bombay coast. Other raids towards Sindh occurred in 662 and 664. An Arab ship being seized, Muḥammad b. Qāsim in 711 A.D. advanced into Sindh to claim damages, and settled himself in the Indus Valley.[4]

1 *Vide* Hunter's "Indian Empire," Ch. I.

2 The Padma as well as the other rivers, in this part of Bengal, have undergone, during the life time of man, great changes. The Padma that flows in the Pabna District is subject to constant alluvian and deluvian.

Dr. Hunter in the Statistical Account of Rangpur District, p. 162 says:—Dr. Buchanan Hamilton wrote in 1809 that "since the survey was made by Major Rennel (about 30 years ago) the rivers of the District (Rangpur) have undergone such changes that, I find the utmost difficulty in tracing them."

3 Indian Empire, p. 42.

4 Indian Empire, p. 311.

The general information with respect to the trade of the Arabians with India is confirmed and illustrated by the Relation of a Voyage from the Persian Gulf towards the East, written by the Arabian merchant in 851 A.D., and explained by the Commentary of another Arabian, who had likewise visited the Eastern part of Asia. This voyage together with the observations of *Abu-zaid-al-Hasan* of Siraf, was

According to Dr. Buchanan, "it is probable, indeed, that there were Muhammadans in this part (eastern) of Bengal, at a period long anterior to the conquest of the country by Bakhtyār Khiljī in 1203." Baṣra merchants, it is a fact, carried on an extensive maritime commerce with India and China, as early as the 8th century, and many of them settled in the countries they visited. Dr. William Robertson (Ancient India, p. 95) states that they were so numerous in Canton, that the Chinese Emperor (according to the Arab authors) permitted them to have a Qāzī of their own sect, who decided controversies among his country-men by their own laws, and presided in all the functions of religion. In other sea-ports proselytes were gained, and the Arabic language was spoken and understood.[1] There is reason to believe, from this circumstance, that Bengal was the seat of a colony of Muhammadan merchants at this early period. This may be inferred from the extensive commerce it enjoyed with the countries of the West from early times. See J.A.S. Vol. XVI (1847) pp. 76-77.

Was Shāhzādpūr—or rather Yūsufshāhī—such a colony? Was Makhdūm Shāh Daula "Shahīd" at once the Vasco de Gama and the Clive of the expedition? The tradition is told without regard for chronology. Native credulity has of course woven together exaggerated accounts.

The following biographical sketch of Mu'āẓẓ-ibn Jabal whose son,

published by M. Renoudat in 1718. The Relation of the two Arab travellers is confirmed by Mas'ūdī, who himself visited India.

The progress of the Arabians extended far beyond the Gulf of Siam, the boundary of European navigation. They became acquainted with Sumatra and the other islands of the Indian Archipelago and advanced as far as Canton. Nor are these discoveries to be considered as the effect of the enterprising curiosity of individuals; they were owing to a regular commerce carried on from the Persian Gulf with China and all the intermediate countries. In a short time they advanced far beyond the boundaries of ancient navigation and brought many of the most precious commodities of the East directly from the countries which produced them. They noticed the general use of silk among the Chinese. They are the first who mention the celebrated manufacture of porcelain. They describe the tea-tree, and the mode of using its leaves, and the great revenue which was levied from the consumption of tea—*Extracted from Dr. William Robertson's "An Historical Disquisition Concerning Ancient India," Section III, pp. 93–96, and Note XXXVI, p. 224.*

1 As with the Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish, and English, so with the Arabs of old, commerce was the first consideration that impelled them to seek adventures. Commerce was followed by colonizing zeal and missionary enterprise. Their long domiciliation in India led them to contract undesirable marriages with low-caste native females, thus giving birth to a new race of Indo-Arabs, which produced slowly but surely, degeneration, deterioration and downfall.

it is said, came to Bengal, is taken from the *Iṣābah* (Biblio-theca Indica edition), Vol. III, page 872:—

"He was Abū 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān-al-Anṣārī-al-Khizrajī, an Imām of the Science of the Lawful and the Unlawful (Islāmic Law), and was present at the battle of Badr, at the age of 21. The Prophet (may God's blessing be upon him) deputed him to Yaman, gave him his blessings, permitted him to accept gifts and wrote thus to the people of Yaman: 'I send to you the best of us.' Mu'azz returned, during the Khilāfat of Abū Bakr, from Yaman. In his *Ḥuliya*, Abū Noēm states that Mu'azz-ibn-Jabal was a leader of the lawyers, and a store-house for the scholars. He fought at Badr, Aqaba, and other battles. By his meekness, modesty, and liberality, he was the best of the young Anṣārs. His body was symmetrical and he was handsome. Of him Ka'b-ibn-Malik says that he was handsome, brave, and the best specimen of his tribe. So says Al-Wāqidī—that he was one of the handsomest men, took part in many battles. He recited several *Ḥadīthes* from the Prophet, which have been quoted by Ibn-i-'Abbās, Ibn-i-'Omar, Ibn-i-Abī Aufī-al-ash'arī, 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān-b-Samara, Jābir-b-Ānas, and other tābi'īn.

Mu'azz died in Syria (Shām) in 17 H. or according to many in 18 H., of Plague, at the age of 34."

I am not aware of what became of his children and grand-children. It is probable that they emigrated to Mesopotamia or Transoxiana, as so many others had done.[1]

Saiyid Jalālu-d-dīn Bokhārī,[2] during whose life-time the sea-expedition, it is said, was undertaken, was born at Bokhārā, came to India, and became a disciple of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā of Multān. The latter read Ḥadīth with Shaikh Kamālu-d-Dīn Muḥammad of Yaman, at Medina. It is a fact that Khwāja Quṭbu-d-Dīn Bakhtyār Kāki, Khwāja Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, Khwāja Bahaū-d-Dīn Zakariyā of Multān (cousin of the former), Saiyid Jalāluddīn Bokhārī, Lāl Shāh-

1 One of his sons died in his life-time, when the Prophet wrote to him a very celebrated letter, which has been translated and paraphrased in Persian by Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Ḥaq Dihlavī (958-1052 H.) and is to be found among his collected epistles and miscellaneous treatises, printed at the Majtabāī Press, Delhi.

2 Saiyid Jalālu-d-Dīn Bokhārī came and settled at Uchh in the Multān District, where he died. One of his grandsons was the famous Saiyid Jalālu-d-Dīn Ḥusain Bokhārī, better known as Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyā. The latter was born at Uchh and died there in 785 H. He visited Bokhārā, the birthplace of his grandfather.

The names of the Makhdūm Ṣāḥib and of his nephews show that they must have been born in Iran, or Tūrān. They were rather known by their *soubriquets* than by their proper names.

bāz, and Khwāja Niẓāmu-d- Dīn Auliyā were contemporaries. Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā lived between 578 and 666 H. It is, therefore, likely that the Shāhzādpūr Makhdūm Ṣāhib, too, was one of their contemporaries—if the tradition is to be believed—and came to, and settled in, Bengal in the *sixth* century of the Hijrī—about the time of Muḥammad Bakhtyār Khiljī's conquest of Lakhnautī in 600 H.=1203 A.D. He might have come in the 8th century Hijrī, when Shāh Jalāluddīn's grandson was living at Multan.

It is a significant fact that most of the saints of the time, who came to India, were from the Empire of Bokhārā, that is, Turkistan or Central Asia, and were originally Arabs and entitled "Khwāja." It is more striking that, because one of the forefathers of Khwāja Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar was a Prince of Kābul, all his descendants, for many generations, used to be called either Shāhzāda or Shāh.

I am, therefore, led to suppose that the Makhdūm Ṣahib too was from Central Asia, closely related to some of the Khwājas of the time, and that he too was by descent an Arab of the family of Mu'aẓẓ-ibn-Jabal. His settling at Yūsufshāhī may be said to synchronise with the conquest of Bengal by the Khiljī General, Muḥammad Bakhtyār.

Proposed identification of the name of an Andhra King in the Periplus.—By C. R. Wilson, Esq., M.A.

[Read June, 1904.]

In an article by M. Boyer in the *Journal Asiatique*, for Juillet-Août, 1897, the arguments are well set forth which show that the anonymous author of the Periplus wrote his work about 90 A.D. M. Boyer also argues well that the name of the king mentioned in section 41, which is usually read as Mambanos, should be corrected to Nambanos, and identifies Nambanos with Nahapāna, the great Kṣaharāta satrap. In this note I venture to suggest a further identification. In section 52 of the *Periplus* it is stated that Kalliena, or Kalyan, was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the times of the elder Saraganes, but that after Sandanes became its master its trade was put under the severest restrictions. I think it can hardly be doubted that the reference is here to the Andhra dynasty, and that the name Saraganes must be identified with the well-known title Śri Sātakarṇi, or Svātikarṇa. Which of the earlier kings bearing the title Śri Sātakarṇi is referred to as the elder Saraganes must be a matter of doubt, but I think there should be no doubt about Sandanes, who by implication is the younger Saraganes. Sandanes is obviously meant for Sundara Sātakarṇi, or Svātikarṇa, and the name Sandanes may be unhesitatingly corrected to Sandares. The Brahmāṇḍa and the Matsya Purāṇas agree in stating that Sundara Sātakarṇi reigned one year; the Vāyu Purāṇa gives him three years The Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives the names of the kings but not the years of their reigns. After Sundara Sātakarṇi the Viṣṇu Purāṇa places Cakora Sātakarṇi. The other Purāṇas seem to agree, and this Sātakarṇi is given a reign of six months. After Cakora Sātakarṇi comes Śivasvāti who reigned twenty-eight years. After Śivasvāti comes Gautamīputra whose initial date has been determined as 113 A.D. approximately. As the Purāṇas practically agree in placing Sundara Sātakarṇi 29 years and 6 months before Gautamīputra, the year of his reign falls in the years 83-84 AD. The Periplus makes no mention of

Cakora Sātakarṇi. Hence it may be argued that he had not come to the throne when the information given in section 52 was collected, and as Sundara Sātakarṇi only reigned one year, the date of the state of things described in this section is about the beginning of 84 A.D. or the end of 83 A.D. This date is in complete and striking harmony with the views of C. Müller and Boyer, who have independently placed the Periplus between 80 and 89 A.D. I may also add that since I first made this identification I have had the advantage of reading Mar. Vincent Smith's views on the subject of the *Andhra History and Coinage* in the Z.D.M.G. for September, 1903. He agrees completely as to chronology. He identifies Cakora Sātakarṇi with Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura, whose initial year he reckons to be 84 A.D. Consequently Sundara Sātakarṇi must have reigned in the last half of 83 A.D. and the first half of 84 A.D.

On the names hitherto unidentified in four Dutch monumental inscriptions. —*By* C. R. Wilson, Esq., M.A.

[Read June, 1904.]

In the *Proceedings* of the Society for the year 1888 there is a short note by Beames on the *Old Dutch hatchments in Chinsurah Church.* He points out that in many cases they give only the initials and not the name of the deceased. As, however, the hatchments show the arms and crests, Beames suggests that anyone acquainted with Dutch heraldry can identify the name. The task is by no means so easy as is suggested; but while I was in England last year, I took advantage of a visit to Holland to attempt it.

I herewith give the results :—

1. Obijit W.A. den 13th Augustus an° 1668.[1] Crest: a Moor's head couped sable filletted or. Arms: two fleurs-de-lys gules.

The letters W.A. most probably represent Willem Andries. The state records at the Hague preserve a letter from Director Mattheus van den Broucke of Chinsurah to the Governor-General at Batavia, in which mention is made of an assistant named Willem Andries. A Moor's head is part of the crest of the modern families Beucker Andreae and Bothnia Andreae who descend from Andries Gadzeszoon, 1620-78.

2. Obijt R.V.H. den 9 Juni anno 1665. Crest: a lion decouped gules. Arms: or, in chief a lion decouped gules, in base three pellets. This is obviously Rogier van Heyningen. The date agrees with the dates of his death as stated by Valentyn, and the armorial bearings are those of the family.

3. R. B. Obijt 28th Nov. a. 1733. Crest: a bear sejant sable. Arms: gules two bears sejant sable. Knight's helmet. The letters R.B. appear to stand for Rogier Berenaart. Originally from Amsterdam: it appears from the state records at the Hague, that he left Holland for

[1] So Beames reads the date. In my list of *Indian Monumental Inscriptions (Bengal)* I made the year 1662.

India in 1725. He became Director of the Dutch factory at Chinsurah, His name is found on the rolls of the factory for June, 1732, and June 1734, but not afterwards. This agrees with the date of death. The armorial bearings obviously pun upon the name.

Besides these three monumental inscriptions at Chinsurah there is a large tomb at Chapra with the inscription J.V.H. 26 Junij, A.D. 1712.

The letters J.V.H. stand for Jacob van Hoorn. In the Bengal Consultations Book for 1712 we find that on July 7th the Council received news from Patna of the death of Mr. Van Lorne and the seizure of the Dutch goods. This agrees with the date on the tomb, which places the death in June. But Mr. Irvine writing on the *Later Mughals* in the J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 183, says that Jacob van Hoorn died at Patna in July. If this were so the identification of the letters as standing for Jacob van Hoorn, which I have already suggested in my *English in Bengal*, II, 1, 64, could not hold. To settle the point I referred to the records in the Hague. After a good deal of search Dr. de Huller, the assistant archivist, has found a letter from the Chief and Council of Hughli to the Directors-General at Amsterdam, from which he has kindly furnished me with the following extract:—

"The Hon'ble Company will again have to suffer a deplorable loss. Two days after the death of the merchant in-chief, van Hoorn, that is to say, the 28th June, Prince Farochsier has seized by force without the least reason the Company's goods and servants at Pattena; the value of the goods amounting to more then 220,000 rupees." From this letter it is clear that Jacob van Hoorn did die on June 26, 1712, and I think there can now be no further doubt as to the identification of the letters J.V.H.

A Forgotten City.—*By* J. F. Fanthome.

[Read May, 1904.]

History makes mention of many cities, only the names of which have survived through the lapse of ages, but their sites are unknown. Madāin, the capital of the celebrated Nūshērwān, is one. By some it is identified with the modern Hamadān in Persia, by others as the present Qandahār in Afghanistan; others again trace it to a town of a similar name which Sale, the translator of the Qurān, places in the south of Arabia, and calls it Madiān. The exact geography or location of the city is therefore unknown.

That these cities which flourished for indefinite periods, should have perished leaving scarcely any memorial of themselves upon the records of time, is hardly to be credited than that a city founded by a powerful monarch for his pleasure should have come into existence, flourished, decayed, and swept off the earth as it were, within the short space of three decades, is a phenomenon in history which cannot fail to strike the imagination or to point the moral in regard to the transitory nature of things human. Such a city, however, sprung up during the early days of the great Akbar's reign, and ended its brief duration even before that monarch had closed his by-no-means short reign of fifty-one years. I refer to the town of NAGARCAIN, a name not to be found, as far as I am aware, in contemporary annals except two, nor in any of the chronicles of the subsequent period of Mughal domination.

After Akbar had been seated on the throne nine years, his historian informs us, he caused a city to be built within easy distance of his capital, Agra, upon a plain which lies due south of the present city of that name. This city which he named Nagarcain, he intended for a resting-place, as the name imports, or a "camping-ground" for the Imperial cavalcade. To it he retired frequently for "rest"—for recreation from the cares of Government—and spent the time in hunting and hawking, in playing *caugān* or polo, and in witnessing races and

other games, to relieve and divert his mind. It was, in short, if we may so term it, a hunting-seat, or, what in Europe would perhaps be called, a villa or country-seat; but something more pretentious than the villas at Rupbās or Bārī still extant. It seems nevertheless to have been a place of greater magnitude than a villa, for it rose in a very short time to be a city, which derived its importance and its magnificence from the occasional residence in its midst of the Court of one of the greatest potentates the world has seen.

The Royal wish having been expressed, palaces and baths and temples and mansions, and other handsome edifices soon came out of the builders' hands. The courtiers, encouraged thereto, followed suit, and within a very short time a city rose, excelling in the number of its inhabitants, and in the gorgeousness of its public and private edifices most of the Indian capitals of the present day; for though the extent or the dimensions of the inhabited site are not given, it is safe to assume that it was in every respect equal to the requirements of a magnificent Court, the pomp and pageantry of its appointments, and the vast multitudes of followers that usually formed the camps of the Mughal Emperors, as we find recorded in other places; not to mention the calls, public business, manufactures, commerce, and curiosity, and travel make upon space and surroundings.

Akbar ascended the throne in the year 1556 A.D. Nagarcain was therefore founded in the year 1565; but when Badāyūnī wrote his "History," to which a date may be assigned prior to the conclusion of the reign in 1605, Nagarcain had already ceased to be a city: *not a trace of it was left.* The fact is almost incredible, but I take it as I find it recorded in the pages of one whose comments upon the events of this reign were not always favourable.

I shall now proceed to quote from Abul Faẓl's Akbarnāma in support of my description; the translation is mine.

"To relate the event of the founding of Nagarcain is to gain the prize (*caugān*) of pleasure with the aid of good fortune. The Constructor of the great wonders of creation and the Wise Designer of the grand edifices of the variegated world has determined with His perfect foreknowledge and infinite power that the being of His Majesty shall every moment prove the means of demonstrating the celestial arts, and that in every place His Majesty's ideas of beauty may be adopted as a correct examplar for the decoration of cities. Hence His Majesty turned his attention—the beautifier of the world—to adorn and embellish the village of Kalakrālī. The whole area of this village, from the purity of its climate and the luxuriance of the soil, and its plains, is by contrast much to be preferred to any other land of pleasantness;

and it lies at the distance of one *farsang* from the capital of Agra. During these days it so happened, whenever the exalted retinue proceeded from the city to the open country for the purpose of recreation or sport, His Majesty's mind, spotless in its conceptions, was frequently attracted to that alluring region; and there among the inspiriting green swards, freed from care, the carpet of sport being spread, he indulged in hunting the wild animals or snaring the feathered tribes. At this period, while the banners of good fortune were returned from their excursion through the tracts of Mandū and were established at the seat of empire, the artificer of lofty resolutions expressed his will that soul-stirring edifices and life-nourishing gardens shall be built upon that wealth-promoting plain. Accordingly, at the auspicious moment and under lucky influences, harmonising with the aspirations of pleasure and delight, the designers with the magical compasses and the builders with enchanting ideals laid the foundations of charming mansions and beautiful structures such as might serve to encase therein the spirits of desire; and within a short space of time the builders with nimble hands and the artificers possessing active ability finished the construction in accordance with the ideas inscribed deeply in the picture gallery of His Majesty's enlightened mind. Likewise, the Ministers of the State and the Pillars of the Empire, as well as the whole body of officials of the sublime threshold, made mansions and gardens to the extent of their means and in accordance with the respective positions they occupied, and indulged in the enjoyment of them. And so, within the time appointed, that inhabited spot spread its luxuriance to such a degree that it might have been considered as a (black) mole upon the cheek of all the cities of the Universe. And the great Emperor gave to that flourishing settlement, to that freshly-produced fruit of Paradise, the name of Nagarcain; that is, the place of ease and comfort. And before that time His Majesty used (in the same place) to carry off (victoriously) the prize of pleasure from Fortune, and to pay the dues of sensibility, delight and gratification in the indulgence of sport and recreation."

The next quotation which I shall give is from 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī's *Muntakhaib-ut-tawārīkh*, the perusal of which indeed has led me to make these remarks:—

"In this year the building of the city of Nagarcain took place. On this subject one of the nobles, at the time of the composition of the Akbār-nāma, ordered me to compose some lines which I here insert without alteration. 'When the Architect of the workshop of invention through the promptings of original genius, suggested to the lofty thoughts of the absolute monarch who is the builder of the metropolis of the

world, and especially the artificer of the shrine of Hind, that, in accordance with (the verse):

"The world-upholder, the world to hold, doth know, one place to uproot, and then another sow": he should make resting-places for the glorious Imperial cavalcade, by graciously building at every stage, and on every clod of soil, where the air of the place was temperate, its fields extensive, its water sweet, and its plains were level—and what choice was there! for cool spots, and pleasant dwellings, and fragrant resting-places, and sweet waters, with a view to preservation of the gift of bodily health, and with a view to the possibility of an evenly-balanced condition of the soul, all of which may possibly be conducive to the knowledge and service of God, are of the number of the six necessaries of existence, and especially at a time when some of the royal occupations, such as exercise and hunting, were therein involved—for these reasons, in the year of happy augury, after his return from his journey to Mālwa, when the friends of the empire were victorious, and the enemies of the kingdom had been disappointed, before the eyes of a genius lofty in its aims, and the decision of a mind world-adorning it befell, that, when he had made a place called Ghrāwalī (which is one *farsang* distant from Agra, and in respect of the excellence of its water, and the pleasantness of its air, has over a host of places a superiority and a perfect excellence) the camping-place of his Imperial host, and the encampment of his ever-enduring prosperity, and when he had gained repose for his heaven-inspired mind from the annoyances incidental to city-life, he spent his felicity-marked moments, sometimes in *caugān*-playing, sometimes in racing Arabian dogs, and sometimes in flying birds of various kinds; and accepting the building of that city of deep foundations as an omen of the duration of the edifice of the palace of his undecaying Sultanate, and as a presage of the increase of his pomp and state, his all-penetrating firmān was so gloriously executed that all who obtained the favour of being near to his resting-place, and were deemed worthy of the sight of his benvolence, one and all built for themselves in that happy place lofty dwellings and spacious habitations, and in a short time the plain of that pleasant valley under the ray of the favour of His Highness, the adumbration of the Divinity, became the mole in the cheek of the new bride of the world, and received the name of Nagarchīn which is the Hindustani for the Persian Amnābād, security-abode:—Praise be to God, that picture, which the heart desired issued from the invisible behind the curtain of felicity.

It is one of the traditional wonders of the world that of that city and edifice not a trace now is left, so that its site is become a level

plain." Well may the writer philosophize at the conclusion. "Profit then by this example ye who are men of insight!" as the author of the Qārūns has said: "Of seven or eight cities, called Mancūrah or Mancūrīyyāh, built by a mighty king, or monarch of pomp in their time, at this time not one is inhabited. Will they not journey through the land, and observe what has been the end of those who were before them?" "(From Mr. W. H. Lowe's translation vol. II, p. 68, edition of 1884.)

I have known Persian scholars besides Mr. Lowe to read the name as Nagarcain, that is, the town of the Cīnī or Chinese; but the more correct reading is Nagarcain, that is, the town or abode of rest. Another name by which as we see it was called was Amnābād, which means also the same thing, namely, a place of relaxation or the city of rest; but Akbar was no pedant, he did not affect high Persian and so the more *Hindianized* name was adopted. The ruins of the city lie in an extensive plain seven miles due south from Agra in the vicinity of the village of Kakrālī, within the boundaries of the village of Qabūlpur, which is conterminous with Kakrālī. They consist of a place locally known as the Mahal Mandū; a plot measuring 2 biswās (9 p.) called Masjid, but there is no *masjid* there now; another plot of 2 biswās also called Masjid, the ruins of a *masjid* being extant; a hammām or bath covering 2 biswās; and a large well. All these edifices are in a state of perfect dilapidation. The whole tract is *nazul* or Government property; 6 bighas (a: 3. 1. 17.) of it is cultivated and is let for Rs. 23 a year, but nobody knows it as the site of an ancient city; the village records speak of it merely as Mahal Mandū.

The distance of Kakrālī from Agra Fort is seven miles, while both Abul Faẓl and Badāyūnī describe Nagarcain as situated at a distance of only one *farsang* from the metropolis. And therefore it might perhaps be objected that the village which I identify as the site of my 'forgotten city' cannot be the Kalakrāḷī of Abul Fazl or the Ghrāwalī of Badāyūnī. The explanation which I have to offer is not a far-fetched one. Now a *farsang* is equal to three geographical miles. The suburbs of Agra at that period extended as far as Kakūbā, which is a town situated some four or five miles from the Agra Fort, and so Nagarcain would be no farther than one *farsang* or three miles from the uttermost border of the capital.

The name is another difficulty but only an apparent one. Kakrālī is the present name of the village, and very probably it was so then also. But in the editions which I have seen, namely, Nawal-Kishor's, the name is written as Kalakrālī or Kalkarālī, in the Akbar-nāma, and as Kakraulī or Ghrāwalī, in Badāyūnī.

All these wrong spellings are presumably due to clerical errors. Accepting that both these authors are speaking of the one identical town as Kalakarālī or Kalkarālī or as Kakraulī or Ghrāwalī, it is by no means an unfair inference to draw that the present Kakrālī is really the place meant; for it is quite possible in the Persian character, if written loosely, to mistake the one for the other.

The Khurda Copper-Plate Grant of Mādhava, King of Kalinga.—By Ganga Mohan Laskar, M.A.

(With Plate VI)

[Read January, 1904.]

This set of three copper-plates comes from Khurda in Orissa and forms the second record ever discovered of King Mādhava and of the Śailodbhava dynasty from which he sprang; the only other known record of this dynasty is a copper-plate charter of the same king, Mādhava, found in the Buguḍa village of the Goomsur *tāluk* in the Ganjam District. Dr. Kielhorn has given an account of the Buguḍa plates in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III., pp. 41–46.

The new record consists of three plates strung together by a circular ring, the ends of which are secured in a seal. Each plate is $5\frac{1}{2}$" long, $2\frac{5}{8}$" broad and $\frac{1}{10}$" thick. The ring is 3 inches in diameter and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in thickness. The seal is parabolic and contains, in relief, the figure of a bull and the words "Śrīh-Sainyabhītasya" (of the glorious Sainyabhīta). All the plates are inscribed, the middle one on both sides. The engraving is deep and legible.

I have completely deciphered this inscription. A small strip of metal has broken off from the right-hand margin of the middle plate; but the loss of a few letters caused thereby can almost entirely be supplied from the context. By this charter Mādhava grants lands in the village of Ārahaṇṇa or (Arahaṇṇa) in the Thoraṇa district or *viṣaya* to a Brahman named Prajāpatisvāmin.

This grant like the previously published one is without date. The names of kings mentioned in these charters are not met with in any other record. So palæography is our only guide in fixing the date. The characters of the Khurda plates belong to the Kuṭila variety of Nāgarī, and are similar to those used in the Apshaḍ inscription of Ādityasena. But the former show several more archaic forms, and have the vowel-marks and mātrās (horizontal top-strokes) less developed. Hence the new inscription seems to be a little older than the Apshaḍ inscription. The Apshaḍ inscription has been

assigned to the latter half of the 7th century. So king Mādhava of our plates cannot be later than this period.

The characters employed in the Buguḍa plates are stated by Kielhorn to belong to the same variety. But as neither photographs nor facsimiles of the plates are published with his paper, I cannot say whether the characters used in the two records are exactly alike.

King Mādhava is stated in the new plates to have sprung from Śailodbhava's lineage, to have exercised sovereignty over the whole of Kaliṅga, and to have been a worshipper of the god Maheśvara. He is distinctly described as the son of Yaśobhīta and grandson of Sainyabhīta. Dr. Kielhorn considers Mādhava to be the son of Sainyabhīta. He was perhaps led to this conclusion by the fact that after having described some of his predecessors in succession, the Buguḍa plates introduce Mādhavavarman's name just after Sainyabhīta. But they do not state the relationship between the two. So this circumstance simply means that Mādhava was a descendant of Sainyabhīta, but not necessarily his son. The new plates, although they give the names of three generations only, are clear on this point and distinctly state that Mādhava was the son of Yaśobhīta and grandson of Sainyabhīta. The revised genealogy accordingly stands thus :—

Through Pulindasena's prayer was created—

Śailodbhava, the founder of the dynasty

|

Raṇabhīta, (the descendant कुलज of Śailodbhava)

|

Sainyabhīta I, Raṇabhīta's son सूनः

|

Yaśobhīta I, Sainyabhīta's descendant तस्य वंशे जातः

|

Sainyabhīta II, Yaśobhīta's son तनयः

|

Yaśobhīta II, Sainyabhīta's son

|

Mādhavarāja, Mādhavendra or Mādhavavarman, Yaśobhīta's son.

We need not doubt the identity of Mādhava of the new charter with Mādhavendra or Mādhavavarman of the Buguḍa plates. Both charters issue from the same place Koṅgoḍa, or Kaiṅgoḍa. In both Mādhava is described as a descendant of Śailobdhava and a ruler of Kaliṅga. The village granted by the Buguḍa plates was situated in the Guḍḍa *viṣaya* or district. I have not been able to identify the localities mentioned in the two charters. Many villages in Ganjam and the neighbouring districts have names either beginning or ending in the

form "guḍa" or "guda." One of the two charters was found at *Buguḍa*; another village very near Buguḍa is named Kariguda; another is "Majaguda." Bariguda, Galiguda and Naruguda are in Despalla. A village near Narsingpur is called Kanagud. This last name is very near to the name Koṅgoda or Kaiṅgoda. However, in the absence of other proofs, we cannot be sure that they represent the same place. But although the identification of the particular localities is difficult, yet from the frequent occurrence of the form "guḍa" in the modern names of the villages of this part of the country, as well as from the fact that the two sets of plates have been found, one in Ganjam and the other in Khurda, we may conclude with much probability that both these districts formed parts of the possessions of King Mādhava.

The seal contains the name of Sainyabhīta; this shows that Mādhava was still using his grandfather's seal or, more probably, that he had a second name, Sainyabhīta. The figure of a bull in the seal is significant, as Śiva was the god specially worshipped by this dynasty.

SUBSTANCE.

Hail! From the victorious camp at the residence of Koṅgoda King Mādhava,—who is the grandson of Sainyabhīta and son of Yaśobhīta, who is a devote worshipper of Maheśvara's feet, who belonged to the Śailodbhava dynasty, who has got sovereiguty over the whole of Kaliṅga,—being in good health and having duly honoured all the present and future recipients of the royal favour [such as Sāmantas, Mahāsāmantas, Mahārājas, Rājaputras, Daṇḍanāyakas, Kumārāmātyas, Uparikas, Viṣayapatis, and their employés], informs them thus:—

"Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of our parents and ourselves, we give "*Kumbhāracche*[1]" in the Arahaṇṇa or (Ārahaṇṇa) village attached to the district of Thoraṇa, by means of a copper-plate charter to Prajāpatisvāmin, of the family of Vatsa and a student of the Kāṇva branch of the Vājasaneyi texts. So out of respect for religion, no one should obstruct him in its lawful enjoyment as long as the sun and the moon endure."

Next follow three benedictory and imprecatory verses.

TRANSCRIPT.

First Plate.

1. स्वस्ति जयस्कन्धावारात्कोङ्कोदवासकात्सकलक्षमा(ष्मा)तलो-

[1] Some three letters are lost after *cch*. I suppose the word *kumbhārachhe* . . . signifies a part of the village, and that it was the part where kumbhāras or potters lived. It was this portion only that was granted by this charter.

2. पलक्षितक्षमानयविनयविक्रमस्य प्रतापवारितारिसैन्य[1]-
3. स्य श्रीसैन्यभीतस्य पैत्त[2]प्रहृतविपुलामलयशसः
4. सततमयशोभीतस्य श्रीमतो यशोभीतस्यात्मजो
5. भगवंमहेश्वरचरणयुगलैकशरण्यः[3] शैशव एव विद्याचतुष्-
6. याभ्यासोन्मीलितसहजप्रज्ञातिशयावगतसमस्ता-
7. र्थतत्वः स्वमतविरचितात्यद्भुतकाव्यार्थबोधनैककार्य्यसद्बुद्धि[4]-

Second Plate (1*st side*).

8. तविद्वद्विदग्धजनसमूहो निजभुजबलावलेपावमि[•••••][5]
9. स्तपर्य्यन्तसामन्तशिरोमणिमरीचिसंमूर्च्छितच[र(ण)••••]
10. च्छिन्नान्तरेतरारातिवर्गो यथाक्रमप्रवृत्तसमनुरञ्जित[•••••••]
11. महानिपानमिव सर्व्वसत्वैर्यथेष्टमुपभुज्यमा[(न)••]
12. वभोगसारसत्वसारप्रकर्षप्रकाशितशैलोद्भवान्ववाय[(उ)•]
13. नतसकलकलिङ्गाधिपत्यः सकलकलावान्नकौमूर्त्त[6]
14. व जगता प्रमदः प्रवृत्तचक्रश्चक्रधर इव भगवान्माधवः

Second Plate (2*nd side*).

15. श्रीमाधवराजः कुशली घोरणविषये श्रीसामन्तमहासाम-
16. न्तमहाराजराजपुत्रदण्ड[7]दण्डनायककुमारामात्योपरिकवि[ष]
17. यपतितदायुक्तकादीन्राजप्रसादोपजीविनः सकर[णं•][8]
18. र्त्तमानभविष्यतो यथार्हं सत्कृत्योपदर्शयति भवतु••[9]
19. तां विदितमेतद्विषयसंवद्धारहण्यग्रामे कुम्भारच्छे[•••]
20. दयं वत्सगोत्रवाजसनेयिकाग्वप्रजापतिस्वामिने [•••][10]
21. चोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये ताम्रपट्टस्थित्य [•••][11]

1 Read सैन्य. 2 Read पौत्र. 3 Read भगवन्महेश्वरचरणयुगलैकशरणः
4 Read ī instead of i. 5 The reading might have been वनमितसमस्त
6 Probably कौमुद इव 7 Cancel the first दण्ड 8 The letter was probably व
9 The last two letters were probably भव
10 The last three letters were मातापि 11 Read ताम्र•

Third Plate.

22. तदस्याचन्द्रार्क्ककालं यथास्थितिमुज्ञानस्य धर्म्मगौरवानकेन[1]
23. चिविद्विघातकार्य्य[2] उक्तञ्च ऋषिभिः वसुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता वज्रभिश्चा-
24. नूपालिता यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य[3] तस्य तदा फलः[4] ।
25. मा भूदफलशङ्का व[5] परदत्तेति पार्थिवा[ः*] स्वदानात्फलमान-
26. न्त्यं परदानानुपालनं । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां स
27. विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा[6] पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ।

[1] The last letter but two should be doubled ज्ञ
[2] Read धर्म्मगौरवाच्च केन चिद्विघातः कार्य्यः
[3] For भूनि तस्य read भूमिस्तस्य
[4] For फलः read फलम्
[5] For व read वः
[6] For क्रि read कृ

CENTRAL LIBRARY

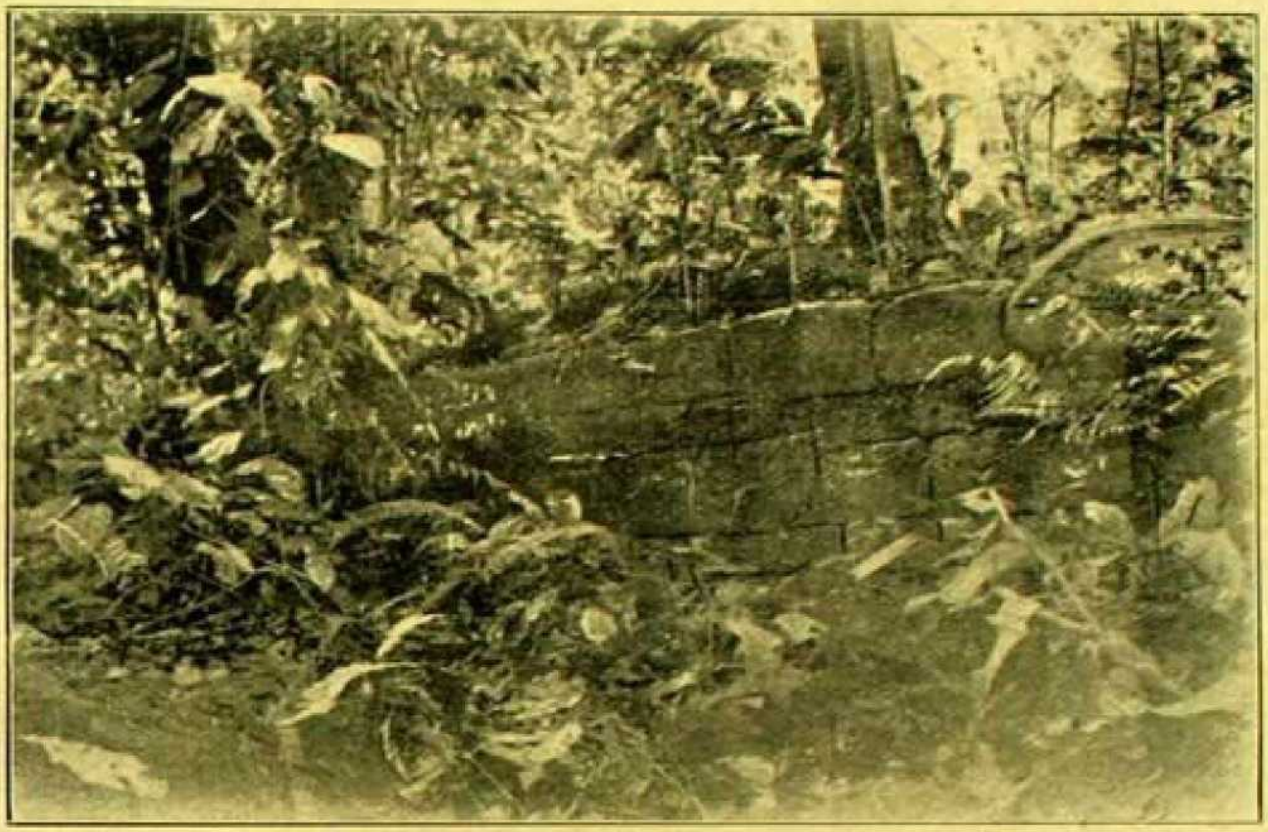


FIG. 1.—BUROI FORTIFICATIONS (ASSAM).
No. 1.

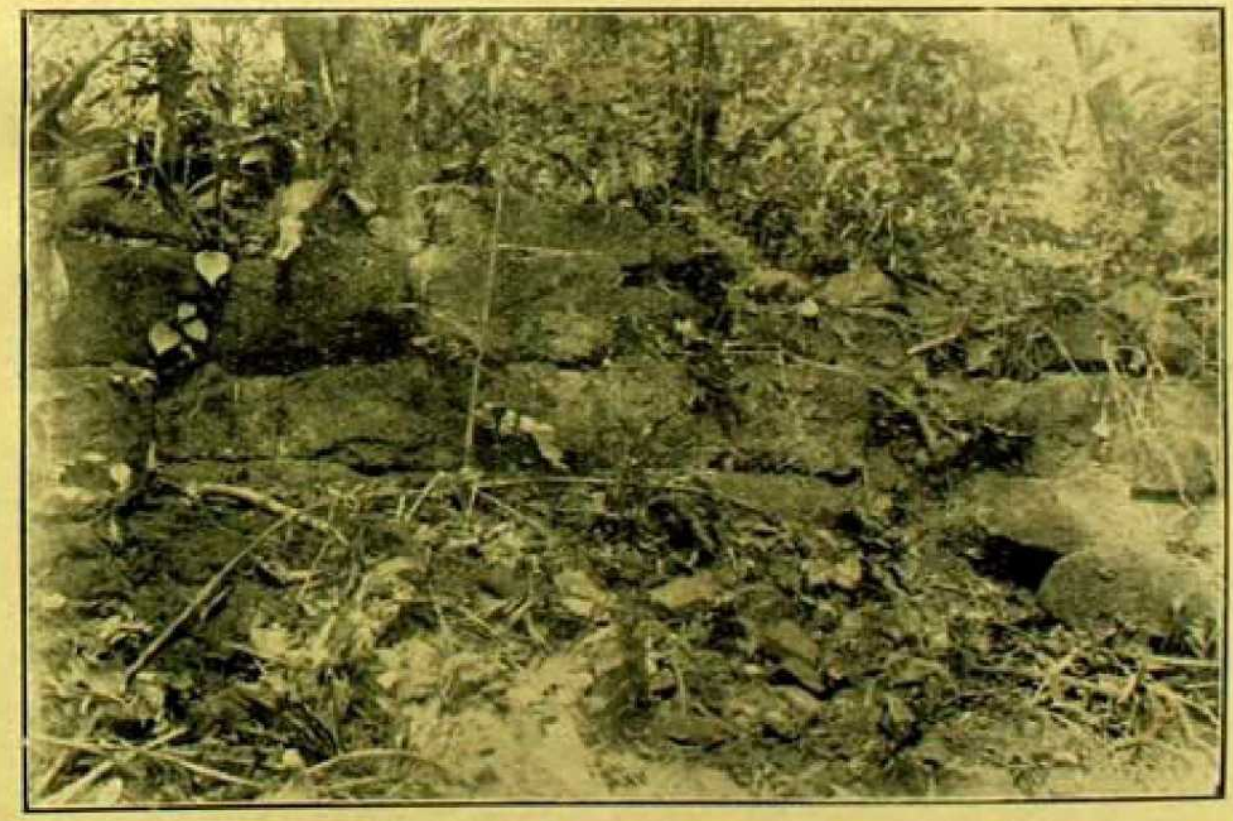


FIG. 2.—BUROI FORTIFICATIONS (ASSAM).
No. 2.

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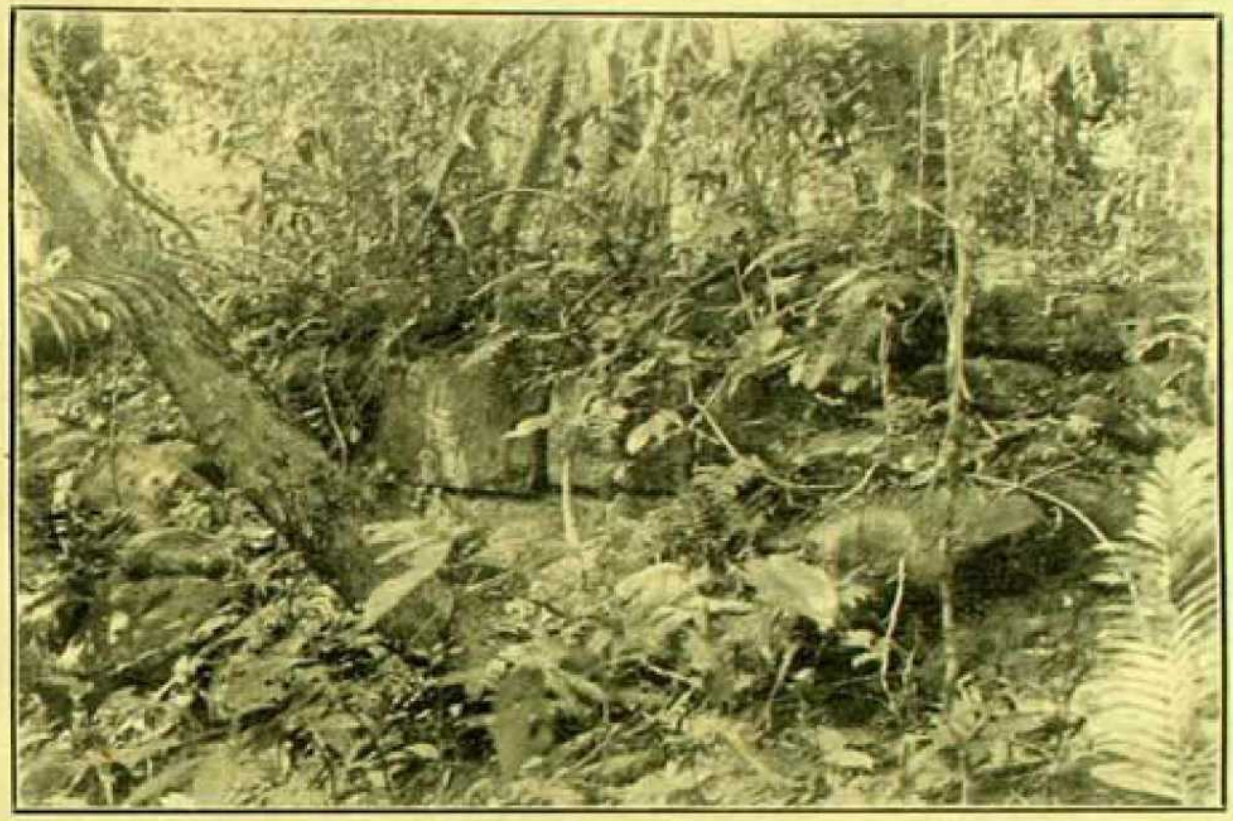


FIG. 1.—BUROI FORTIFICATIONS (ASSAM).

No. 3.

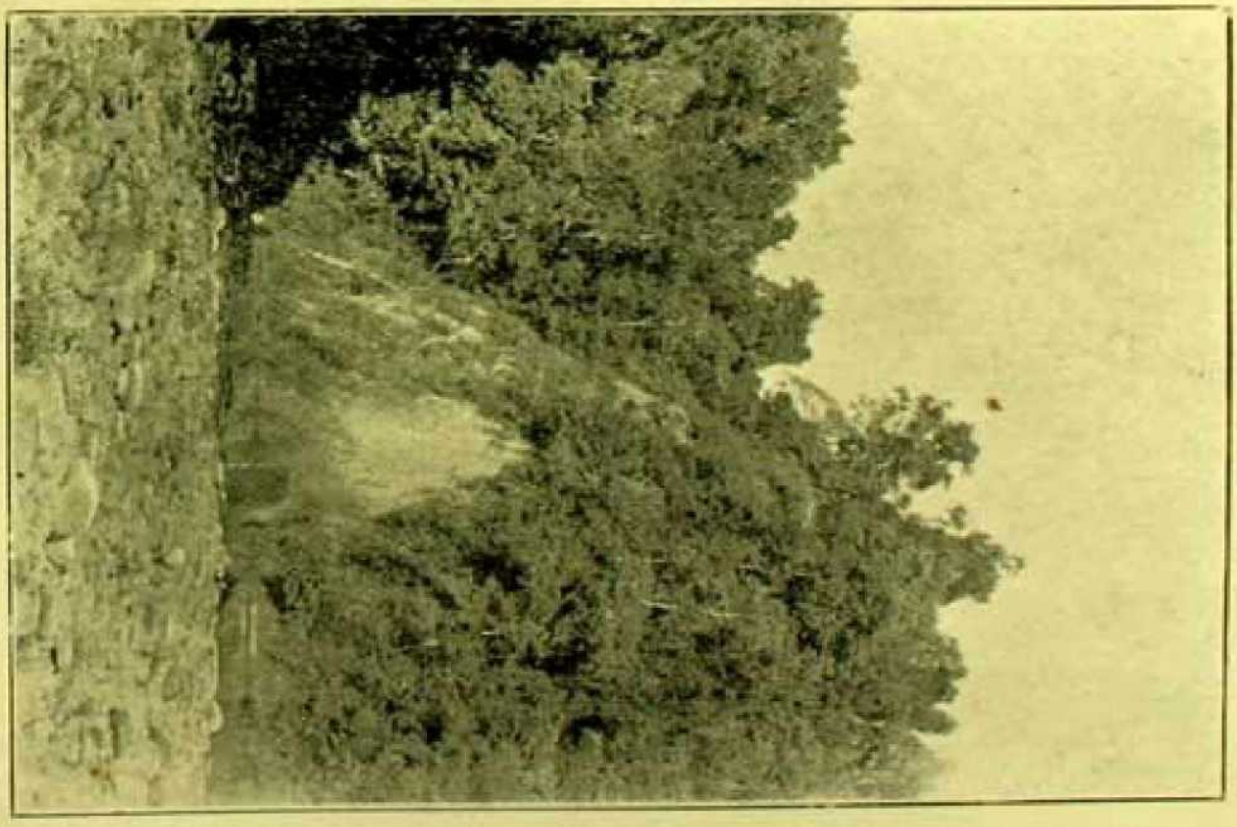
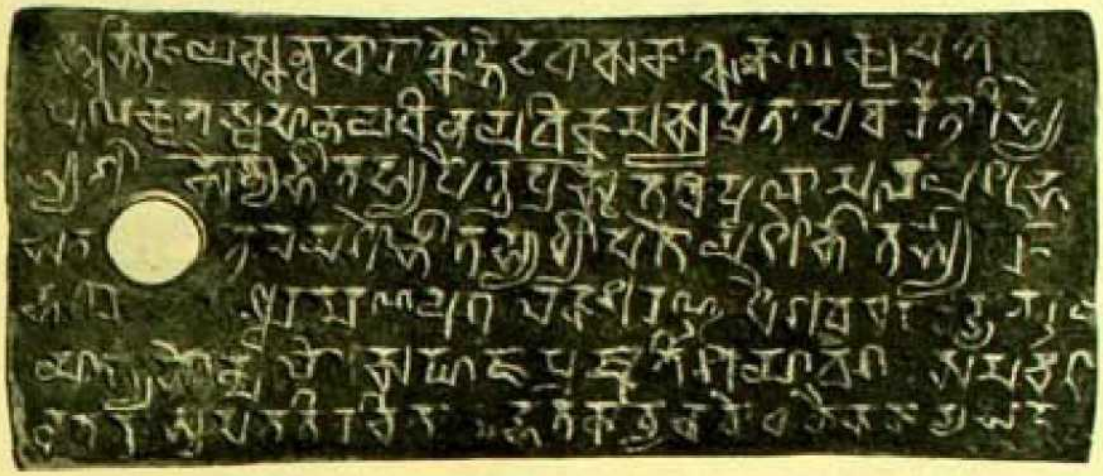
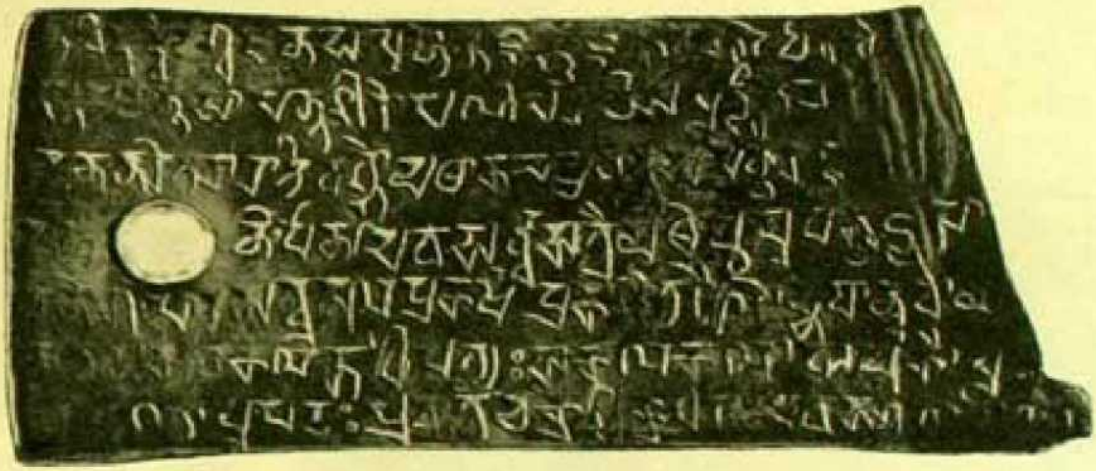


FIG. 2.—CLIFF AT NORTH END OF BUROI FORTIFICATIONS (ASSAM).

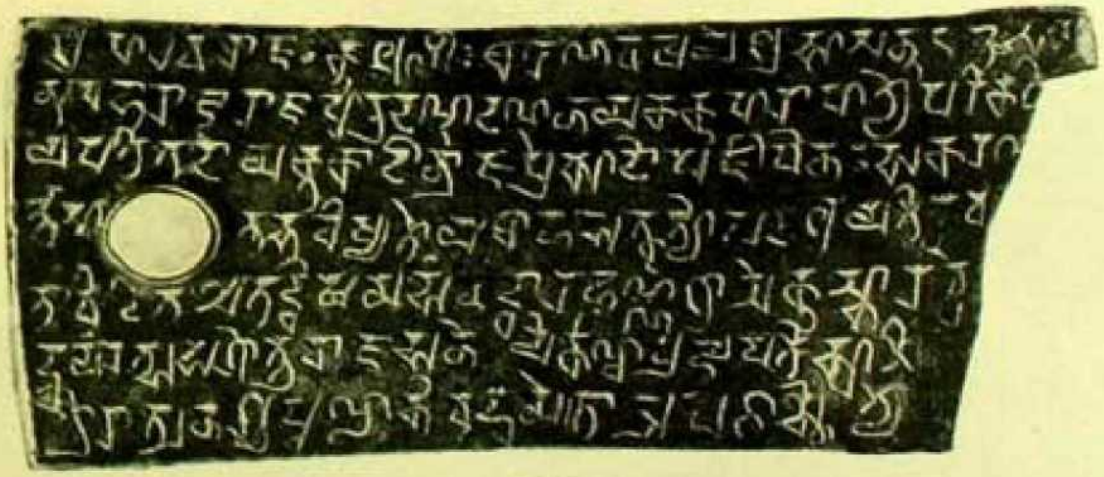
I.



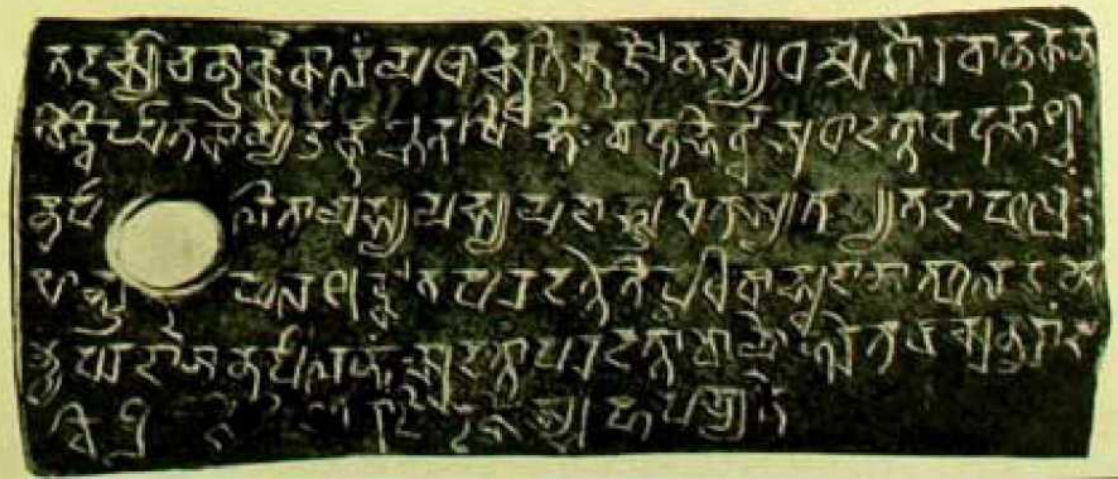
IIa.



IIb.



III.



II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit;
elsewhere . . ـَ or ـٰ

ب	. . . . b	س	. . . . s	ک	. . . . k	ا	. . . . ā
ت	. . . . t	ش	. . s or sh	ل	 l	ي	. . . . ī
ث	. . ṯ or th	ص	. . ṣ or s	م	. . . . m	و	. . . . ū
ج	. . j or dj	ض	. ḍ, dz, or z	ن	. . . . n		
ح	. . . . ḥ	ط	. . . . ṭ	و	. . w or v		
خ	. . ḫ or kh	ظ	. . . . ẓ	ه	. . . . h		
د	. . . . d	ع	. . . . ʿ	ي	. . . . y		
ذ	. . ḏ or dh	غ	. . ġ or gh				
ر	. . . . r	ف	. . . . f				
ز	. . . . z	ق	. . . . q				

Vowels.

ـَ	. . . a
ـِ	. . . i
ـُ	. . . u

Diphthongs.

ـَيْ	. . . ai
ـَوْ	. . . . au

wasla	. . ـٰ
hamza	ـَ or ـٰ
silent t	. . ـْ
letter not pronounced	. ـّ

Additional Letters.

Persian Hindi. and Pakshtū.		Turkish only.		Hindi and Pakshtū.		Pakshtū only.	
پ	. . . . p	ک	when pronounced as	ټ or ټ	. . ṭ	څ	. . . . ts
چ	. . c or ch			ډ or ډ	. . ḍ	ږ	. . . . g
ژ	. . ʒ or zh	g	. . . k	ړ or ړ	. . ṛ	ڼ	. . . ṇ
ګ	. . . . g	ڭ	. . . ñ			ښ	. . . ksh

Under orders of the Council the following system of transliteration will be adopted for the future in all publications of the Society. Authors of contributions for the *Journal*, Pt. I, and the *Bibliotheca Indica*, are particularly requested to adhere to it.

Transliteration of the Sanskrit, Arabic and allied alphabets.

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ . . . . . *a*	ओ . . . . *o*	ट . . . . . *ṭ*	ब . . . . . *b*
आ . . . . . *ā*	औ . . . . *au*	ठ . . . . . *ṭh*	भ . . . . . *bh*
इ . . . . . *i*	क . . . . *k*	ड . . . . . *ḍ*	म . . . . . *m*
ई . . . . . *ī*	ख . . . . . *kh*	ढ . . . . . *ḍh*	य . . . . . *y*
उ . . . . . *u*	ग . . . . . *g*	ण . . . . . *ṇ*	र . . . . . *r*
ऊ . . . . . *ū*	घ . . . . . *gh*	त . . . . . *t*	ल . . . . . *l*
ऋ . . . . . *ṛ*	ङ . . . . *ṅ*	थ . . . . . *th*	व . . . . . *v*
ॠ . . . . . *ṝ*	च . . . . . *c*	द . . . . . *d*	श . . . . . *ś*
ऌ . . . . . *ḷ*	छ . . . . . *ch*	ध . . . . . *dh*	ष . . . . . *ṣ*
ॡ . . . . . *ḹ*	ज . . . . . *j*	न . . . . . *n*	स . . . . . *s*
ए . . . . . *e*	झ . . . . . *jh*	प . . . . . *p*	ह . . . . . *h*
ऐ . . . . . *ai*	ञ . . . . . *ñ*	फ . . . . . *ph*	ळ . . . . . *ḷ*

ं (*Anusvāra*) . . . . *ṁ*	ऽ (*Avagraha*) . . . . '
ँ (*Anunāsika*) . . . . *m̐*	*Udātta* . . . . . ˊ
ः (*Visārga*) . . . . *ḥ*	*Svarita* . . . . . ˆ
× (*Jihvāmūlīya*) . . *ḫ*	*Anudātta* . . . . . ˋ
ϰ (*Upadhmānīya* . . *ḫ*	

2. पलक्षितक्षमानयविनयविक्रमस्य प्रतापवारितारिसैन्य[1]-
3. स्य श्रीसैन्यभीतस्य पैत्र[2]प्रस्तविपुलामलयशसः
4. सततमयशोभीतस्य श्रीमतो यशोभीतस्यात्मजो
5. भगवंमहेश्वरचरणयुगलैकशरण्यः[3] शैशव एव विद्याचतुष्ट-
6. याभ्यासोन्मीलितसहजप्रज्ञातिशयावगतसमस्ता-
7. र्थतत्वः स्वमतविरचितात्यद्भुतकाव्यार्थबोधनैककार्य्यसङ्गृहि[4]-

Second Plate (1*st side*).

8. तविद्वद्विदग्धजनसमूहो निजभुजबलावलेपावमि[०००००][5]
9. स्तपर्य्यन्तसामन्तशिरोमणिमरीचिसंमूर्च्छितच[र(ण)०००]
10. च्छिन्नात्तरेतरारातिवर्गो यथाक्रमप्रवृत्तसमनुरञ्जित[०००००००]
11. महानिपानमिव सर्व्वसल्लक्ष्यैश्वर्य्यमुपभुञ्जमा[(न)००]
12. वभोगसारसत्वसारप्रकर्षप्रकाशितशैलोद्भवान्ववाय[(ज)०]
13. नतसकलकलिङ्गाधिपत्यः सकलकलावान्नकौमूर्त्त[6]
14. व जगता प्रमदः प्रवृत्तचक्रश्चक्रधर इव भगवान्माधवः

Second Plate (2*nd side*).

15. श्रीमाधवराजः कुशली योरणविषये श्रीसामन्तमहासाम-
16. न्तमहाराजराजपुत्रदण्ड[7]दण्डनायककुमारामात्योपरिकवि[ष]
17. यपतितदायुक्तकादीन्राजप्रसादोपजीविनः सकर[णां०][8]
18. र्त्तमानभविष्यतो यथार्हं सत्कृत्योपदर्शयति भवतु००[9]
19. तां विदितमेतद्विषयसंवद्धारहण्यग्रामे कुम्भारच्छे[०००]
20. दयं वत्सगोत्तवाजसनेयिकाग्वप्रज्ञापतिस्वामिने [०००][10]
21. चोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये ताम्रपट्टस्थित्य [०००][11]

1 Read सैन्य. 2 Read पौत्र. 3 Read भगवन्महेश्वरचरणयुगलैकशरण्यः
4 Read ī instead of i. 5 The reading might have been वनमितसमस्त
6 Probably कौमुद इव 7 Cancel the first दण्ड 8 The letter was probably व
9 The last two letters were probably भव
10 The last three letters were मातापि 11 Read ताम्र०

Third Plate.

22. तदस्याचन्द्रार्क्ककालं यथास्थितिभुञ्जानस्य धर्म्मगौरवानकेन[1]
23. चिविद्दिघातकार्य्य[2] उक्तञ्च ऋषिभिः बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चा-
24. नूपालिता यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि तस्य[3] तस्य तदा फलः[4]।
25. मा भूदफलशङ्का व[5] परदत्तेति पार्थिवा[ः*] स्वदानात्फलमान-
26. न्त्यं परदानानुपालनं। स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां स
27. विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा[6] पितृभिस्सह पच्यते।

1 The last letter but two should be doubled न्न
2 Read धर्म्मगौरवान्न केन चिद्दिघातः कार्य्यः
3 For भति तस्य read भूमिस्तस्य
4 For फलः read फलम्
5 For व read वः
6 For क्रि read कृ

The Later Mughals (1707-1803.)—*By* WILLIAM IRVINE, *Bengal Civil Service* (*Retired.*)

In continuation of the articles in Part I of the *Journal* for 1896 Vol. LXV, pp. 136-212; for 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 141-166; and 1903 Vol. LXXII, pp. 33-64.

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Section 20.—The Jāṭ Campaign, September 1716—April 1718.

We have now to deal with another branch of that wide-spread Jāṭ or Jaṭ race,[1] which formed such a large proportion of the Sikh fighting line. Without entering into Colonel James Tod's speculations about their identity with the Goths or Getæ, it may be assumed as a certainty that, for many hundreds of years, a branch of this people has been settled in the country south of the Jamnah, between the cities of Āgrah and Dihlī. This region, ending on the east at the Chambal river or a little beyond it, marks the eastern limit of their advance from the west. East and north-east of that point there are practically no Jāṭs. Their position on the flank of the high road between two great capitals and of the routes from both those places through Ajmer onwards to the Dakhin, must in all ages have given this robust race an opening for plundering on the highways, a temptation which they found it impossible to resist.[2]

1 Beames, I, 134, note, says that between Jāṭ and Jaṭ there is only a dialectic difference.

2 A lively picture of the dangers of this road early in Bahādur Shāh's reign is given by Yār Muḥammad, *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, 130. Between Mathurā and Dihlī the road had been entirely stopped for two months, and a crowd of many hundred

Without attempting to carry very far back the history of these Jāṭ depredations, we find, without question, that in the reign of Shāhjahān (1047 H., 1637), they killed Murshid Qulī Khān, the *faujdār* of Mathurā, during an attack on one of their strongholds. In the next reign, that of 'Ālamgīr, they several times gave trouble. In Ẕu-l Hijjah 1079 H. (April 1669) another *faujdār*, 'Abd-un-nabī, lost his life in an attack on a village called Sorah, the home of a Jāṭ freebooter named Kokalā, who had raided the town of Sa'dābād in the Dūābah. 'Ālamgīr marched in person from Āgrah, and sent on before him a new *faujdār*, Ḥasan 'Alī Khān, son of Allahwirdī Khān. Kokalā and a follower of his, Sankī, were captured and executed, limb being torn from limb; Kokalā's daughter was married to the Emperor's favourite slave, and his son was made a Mahomedan.[1]

'Ālamgīr's prolonged absence in the Dakhin speedily weakened the imperial authority in Northern India. In their master's absence the provincial governors took their ease and winked at abuses. Favoured by this negligence, the Jāṭs resumed their depredations. At length in 1099 H. (1687-8)[2] Khān Jahān, Ẕafar Jang, Kokaltāsh, and Prince Bedār Bakht, son of Ā'ẕam Shāh, were sent from the Dakhin to restore order. At this time the chief stronghold of the Jāṭs was at a village called Sansanī, eight miles south of Dīg, and sixteen miles north-west of Bhartpur.[3] This place was taken on the 15th Ramaẓān 1099 H. (14th July, 1688), the chief, Rājā Rām, was killed, and his head sent to the Emperor. Prince Shāh 'Ālam, when he was put in charge of the Āgrah *ṣūbah* in the thirty-ninth year, *i.e.*, 1106 H. (1694), also had trouble with the Jāts. Bhajjā, the father of Curāman, is the next leader of whom we hear, and his abode was also at Sansanī. In the forty-ninth year of 'Ālamgīr's reign, 2nd Rajab 1117 H. (19th October, 1705), Sansanī was destroyed a second or third time by Mukhtār Khān, the then *ṣūbahdār* of Āgrah; and shortly afterwards, on the 18th Ramaẓān 1119 H. (13th December, 1707), Riẓā Bahādur attacked it again, sending in ten carts filled with weapons and one thousand heads.[4]

When Bahādur Shāh and his brother, Ā'ẕam Shāh, took the field

travellers, including the wife of Amīn-ud-Dīn, Sambhalī, had collected. In 1712 the Dutch envoy and his party also found the road infested by robbers, who were, no doubt, Jāṭs, F. Valentyn IV, 302. The same state of things is reported in the diary of our own envoy, John Surman, a year or two afterwards, Orme Collections, p. 1694, entries of the 8th, 16th, 26th, and 30th June 1715.

1 *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I, 540, *Pādshāhnāmah*, I, 7, Mirzā Muḥammad, 294.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, 316, has 1095 H. (1683), but the *Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī* is a preferable authority.

3 It is still in the Bhartpur Rājah's territory.

4 Curā, or more politely Curāman, son of Bhajjā, of Sansanī, had by this time

against each other and met between Āgrah and Dholpūr, Curāman collected as many men as he could, and hung about the neighbourhood of both armies, ready to pillage the vanquished. In the end, so much plunder fell into his hands, that he became from that time forth a most formidable partisan leader, with whom it was necessary to reckon in such troublous times. While Bahādur Shāh was at Āgrah, Curāman came in, and professing to have repented of his turbulent ways, was granted the rank of 1500 *zāt*, 500 horse. In Ramaẓān 1120 H., (November 1708), he helped Riẓā Bahādur, the imperial *faujdār*, in an attack on Ajīt Singh, zamīndār of Kāmā, where Curāman was wounded and Riẓā Bahādur was killed. In 1122 H. (1710) Curāman joined the Emperor at Ajmer, and took a part in the campaign against the Sikhs at Sādhaurah and Lohgaṛh. He went on with Bahādur Shāh to Lāhor, and was present during the fighting which took place there after that Emperor's death (March 1712). He also seems to have fallen upon and plundered the baggage of both sides impartially, when Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukhsīyar met in battle array near Āgrah in Ẕu-l Hijjah 1124 H. (January 1713).[1]

Early in Farrukhsīyar's reign Chabelah Rām, then *ṣūbahdār* of Āgrah, received orders to march against Curāman, and efforts to reduce his power were continued for a long time without success, owing to the underhand opposition of the Wazīr and his brother. The next holder of that Government, Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah, Khān Daurān, not feeling strong enough to use force, tried to make terms. Curāman agreed to come to Court, and on the 16th Ramaẓān (5th October, 1713), when he arrived at Bārahpulah near the city, Rājah Bahādur, Rāthor, son of 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān's maternal uncle, was sent out to meet and escort him. Curāman marched in at the head of 3,000 to 4,000 horsemen, and was conducted to the *Dīwān-i-khāṣ* by Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah in person. Charge of the royal highway from Bārahpulah near Dihlī to the crossing on the Cambal, was made over to him, and he soon returned home. But by slow degrees he fell into disfavour, the extent of the country he took possession of was thought excessive, his realisation of road dues was objected to, and his interference with *jāgīr*-holders was disliked. All that a *jāgīrdār* could collect from him was a little money thrown to him as if it were an alms. These things were repeated to the Emperor in detail, over and over again, until they produced an effect, and he resolved that some action must be taken. The difficulty was to find anyone

succeeded to the leadership of the Jāṭs. *Maʼāṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 311, 498, Dānishmand Khān, under above date, Khāfī Khān II, 316, *Maʼāṣir-ul-umarā*, I, 809.

[1] Dānishmand Khan, entries of the 28th Jamādī II, and 9th Rajab 1119 H. (27th September and 6th October 1707).

competent to undertake such an arduous task. Curāman had meanwhile constructed a new stronghold at a place called Thūn.[1]

At length in the fifth year of the reign, Jamādī II. 1128 H., May—June 1716, Rājah Jai Singh, Sawāe, returned to court[2] from his government of Mālwah. Finding out Farrukhsīyar's secret desire to get rid of Curāman, he offered himself as ready to undertake and carry out the work. Early in Shawwāl (September 1716) he received his orders, and started on the 9th of that month (25th September 1716), being the Hindū festival of the Dasahrah. Some troops under Sanjar Khān and Shamsher Khān, of the *Wālā Shāhīs*, were posted at Palwal, thirty-six or thirty-seven miles from the city, to keep communications open, and provide convoys from that place to Hoḍal in one direction, and Farīdābād in the other. A large sum in cash was disbursed to Rājah Jai Singh from the imperial treasury, and he sent for troops from his own country. Serving under him were Māhārāo Bhīm Singh, Hāḍā, of Kotah, Rājah Gaj Singh, Mārwārī, and Māhārāo Rājah Budh Singh, Hāḍā, of Bondī.[3]

Thūn having been completely invested, the siege began on the 5th Ẓū,l Ḥijjah 1128 H. (19th November, 1716). The fort was provided with lofty walls and a deep ditch filled from springs, and round it spread a thick and thorny jungle "through which a bird could hardly make its way." Supplies were abundant; indeed, (though this is probably an exaggeration), there was said to be grain, salt, *ghī*, tobacco, cloth, and firewood sufficient for twenty years. When the siege was imminent, Curāman had forced all merchants and traders, with their families, to quit the place, leaving their goods behind them. Curāman made himself personally responsible for their compensation if he gained the day, and as the property could not be removed, the owners gave their consent without much demur.[4]

Curāman's son, Muḥkam Singh, and his nephew, Rūpā, issued from the fort and gave battle in the open. In his report of the 7th Muḥarram, 1129 H. (21st December, 1716), the Rājah claimed a victory. He next cut down all the trees round the fort, and erected a large number of

[1] Thūn does not seem to be well known now. Can it be the Toond of the Indian Atlas, Sheet 50, between Dīg and Gobardhan? Or is it Jatolee Thoon, 8 miles west of Sansanī? An 18th century writer remarks: "Il y a encore (1767) un Thoun, mais dans un autre endroit, peutêtre pour conserver la mémoire d'une place qui, quoique malheureuse,n'a pas donnē peu de reputation aux Jats," Orme Collections, p. 4218.

[2] Mace bearers were sent to fetch him on the 27th Rabī' II. 1128 H. (19th April, 1716), Kāmwar Khān, 140, 163, *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 293.

[3] Kāmwar Khān, 140, 168, Shiū Dās, 11b.

[4] Kāmwar Khān, 168, Shiū Dās, 12b. Hoḍal, 18 or 19 m. S. of Palwal, Indian

small guardhouses, in which he placed his men. A large cannon, said to throw a ball weighing a Shāhjahānī maund,[1] was sent to him, being escorted with great ceremony from Palwal to Hoḍal, whence it was taken on to Thūn by Nuṣrat Yār Khān, the Deputy Governor of Āgrah. Three hundred maunds of gunpowder, one hundred and fifty maunds of lead and five hundred rockets were ordered to be sent from the arsenal at Āgrah. At first 'Abd-uṣ-ṣamad Khān, Governor of Lāhor, was recalled from the Panjāb, but after he had reached Dihlī, the idea of sending him was abandoned, and Sayyad Muẓaffar Khān, Khān Jahān, maternal uncle of the two Sayyads and then Governor of Ajmer, was summoned to take his place. The Sayyad was despatched to Thūn on the 30th Muḥarram 1129 H. (13th June, 1717).[2]

In spite of the investment of Thūn, the roads were not cleared of robbers. The other zamīndārs and villagers took Curāman's part; they pillaged travellers and plundered villages. For instance, a caravan of merchants arrived at Hoḍal, consisting of thirteen hundred carts loaded with leather bottles full of clarified butter. Instead of giving the usual notice to Sanjar Khān, the owners started for Palwal, in the belief that their own one thousand matchlockmen would suffice. When two or three kos from Hoḍal, they were surrounded, the armed guards threw down their guns and fled, while the Jāṭs and other plunderers drove off the carts into the neighbouring villages. About twenty lakhs' worth of property, as the owners asserted, had been taken. Sanjar Khān soon reached the spot with his troops, but he was afraid to enter the villages, because they were in the *jāgīrs* of the Wazīr, Quṭb-ul-mulk, and of Khān Daurān.[3]

Rājah Jai Singh Sawāe was never distinguished as a soldier or general in the field, and in spite of all he could do, the siege dragged on for twenty months. The rains of 1717 were very late in coming, prices rose very high, and great expense fell upon the Rājah in bringing supplies from his own country of Amber. In Ṣafar 1130 H. (January 1718), the Rajah reported that he had many encounters with the Jāṭs, in which he had overcome them, but owing to support given to them at

Atlas Sheet No. 50; Farīdābād, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49 S.E.; Narwar, Thornton, 685, 210 m. S. of Dihlī, the Narwar Rājah was a Kachwāha; Bondī, Thornton, 1410, 245 m. S.W. of Dihlī; Kotah, Thornton, 525, 265 m. S. of Dihlī, Palwal, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 49 S.E.

1 The maund or, more properly, *man*, is of about 80 pounds.

2 'Abd-uṣ-ṣamad Khān reached Dihlī on the 12th Muḥarram, Sayyad Khān Jahān on the 25th, (Kāmwar Khān, 169). Khāfī Khān, II, 777, says, Sayyad Khān Jahān delayed two or three months outside the city before he finally started.

3 Kāmwar Khān, 168, 169, 175.

Court, they were not inclined to yield. And, no doubt, the presence of Khān Jahān, a near relation to the Wazīr, caused a division of authority which was fatal to success. At length Curāman made overtures to Quṭb-ul-mulk through his agent at Dihlī, offering a tribute of thirty lakhs of rupees to the Government and a present of twenty lakhs for the minister himself. Thereupon Quṭb-ul-mulk espoused the Jāṭ's cause. He represented to Farrukhsīyar that Rājah Jai Singh had received a large amount of money and that the monthly expenses were very heavy. Yet, although twenty months had elapsed, no definite result had been arrived at. Very reluctantly Farrukhsīyar consented to the terms offered. Sayyad Khān Jahān was written to, directing him to bring Curāman to Court, with his sons and brothers' sons, after having protected the whole of his property from pillage. At the same time a flattering *farmān* was despatched to Rājah Jai Singh, thanking him for his exertions, informing him that Curāman had made overtures which had been accepted, and that all hostilities must cease. By this time Rājah Jai Singh believed that victory was within his grasp, and now, by this negociation over his head, the whole fruit of his labour was taken from him! Although inwardly raging, he obeyed orders, withdrew his men, and raised the siege.[1]

Quṭb-ul-mulk's ill-will to Rājah Jai Singh is said to have arisen in the following way. When the Rājah first came to Farrukhsīyar's court, he found himself very favourably received by the new Emperor. In former reigns a noble, when he found the sovereign gracious to him, never thought of paying court to anyone else. Believing himself secure in the Emperor's good graces, Rājah Jai Singh neglected to ask for the support and favour of Quṭb-ul-mulk. The Wazīr resented this neglect. He was further vexed about the campaign against Curāman, a matter on which his advice had not been asked. Thus he privately applied himself to prevent the Rājah from reaping the reward of his undertaking. He instructed Khān Jahān, his kinsman, accordingly, and it is said that Curāman was secretly aided with supplies of food and powder. After more than eighteen months of exertion, nothing had been effected. Farrukhsīyar grew angry, as he believed the conquest to be an easy one; and on several occasions, Quṭb-ul-mulk made covert allusions to the effect that the task was one beyond Jai Singh's strength. In the end Curāman's proposals were brought forward and accepted as already stated.[2]

On the 10th Jamādī I, 1130 H. (10th April, 1718) Khān Jahān

1 Shiū Dās' 14b, 15b (where there is a copy of the *Hasb-ul ḥukm*, and 15a (copy of Farmān), Khāfī Khān, II, 777, Mirzā Muḥammad, 352.

2 Mirzā Muḥammad, 352.

arrived at Dihlī with Curāman and his nephew, Rūpā. They went first to visit Quṭb-ul-mulk, which angered Farrukhsīyar very much. On the 19th (19th April, 1718) the formal presentation to the Emperor took place, the introduction being made by Quṭb-ul-mulk. Farrukhsīyar granted this audience very ungraciously, and absolutely refused to see Curāman a second time. Two days afterwards Sayyad Khān Jahān, in return for his services, received the addition to his titles of the word "Bahādur" and was promoted to 5,000 horse. On the 30th (30th April, 1718) it was settled through Quṭb-ul-mulk that the Jāṭ leader should pay fifty lakhs of rupees in cash and goods, to be liquidated by instalments. Rājah Jai Singh and Māhārāo Bhīm Singh returned to Dihlī from Thūn on the 29th Jamādi II, (29th May, 1718)[1]

Section 21.—Renewal of Intrigues against the Sayyads.

July 1715—April 1718.

With the return to court, on the 11th Jamādi II, 1127 H. (13th June 1715), of Niẓām-ul-mulk, after his supercession by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān in the government of the Dakhin, the plots against the two brothers once more commenced. Niẓām-ul-mulk was angry at losing the Dakhin. This is betrayed by the fact that when he was on his march to Dihlī, although Ḥusain 'Alī Khān passed him at a distance of only a few miles, he failed to visit the latter. According to the customs of the country this was most disrespectful, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān being his superior in rank. At court Niẓām-ul-mulk, who had been trained in the school of 'Ālamgīr, found it difficult to remain on good terms with the men in Farrukhsīyar's confidence, and when in Jamādi I, 1129 H. (April 1717), he was made *faujdār* of the Murādābād *chaklah*, he elected to proceed there in person, instead of appointing a deputy.[2]

During these two years (1715–17) the Emperor started on many hunting expeditions, of which the principal object was supposed to be the finding an opportunity to make away with 'Abdullah Khān. Farrukhsīyar was absent from Dihlī for a month, from the 21st Rajab to the 25th Sha'bān 1127 H. (22nd July—25th August 1715), being then forced to return by illness.[3] It was during this expedition that the secret orders already spoken of were issued to Dāūd Khān to resist Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, Niẓām-ul-mulk having been taken into council for this purpose. 'Abdullah Khān, during the interval, enlisted fresh troops and prepared to defend himself. Since, after waiting a month, no

1 Kāmwar Khān, 177, Khāfī Khān, II, 777.

2 Niẓām-ul-mulk returned to Court on the 29th September, 1718, see forward Section 28. Kāmwar Khān, 156, Mirzā Muḥammad, 393.

3 His principal halting-places had been the Quṭb, Sarāe Bādlī, and Pānīpat.

news came from Dāūd Khān, and Farrukhsīyar's ailment had increased, he was forced to return to Dihlī. Then on the 10th Shawwāl 1127 H. (8th October, 1715) came the report from the Dakhin that on the 8th Ramaẓān (6th September, 1715) Dāūd Khān, Pannī, had been defeated and slain by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān near Burhānpur. Four days afterwards (12th October, 1715) 'Abdullah Khān, who had been a great deal absent from *darbār*, presented himself at audience, laid offerings before the Emperor, and congratulated him upon the recent victory over the rebel, Dāūd Khān. False speeches were made and lying compliments exchanged between Emperor and Wazīr. The secret cause of Dāūd Khān's resistance was already known to the Wazīr, and the seeds of fresh ill-will had been sown in both their hearts. One story is that Farrukhsīyar, in Quṭb-ul-mulk's presence, said it was a pity that such a brave man as Dāūd Khān should have been slain. To this the Wazīr retorted: "I suppose, if my brother had been slain instead, it would have been a good thing and acceptable to your Majesty?"[1]

It seems that after Dāūd Khān's death, his belongings fell into the hands of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. Among these the Sayyad's servants found several letters from Khān Daurān, and an imperial *farmān* granting the Government of the Dakhin to Dāūd Khān. These papers were sent to Quṭb-ul-mulk, who began at once to raise troops and prepared for resistance. Khān Daurān was deputed to conciliate him. At their interview, Quṭb-ul-mulk complained of the parcel of beggars' sons, newly risen in the world, who employed their time in slander and detraction. What good could result? Khān Daurān replied, "Who is the wretched creature? No man worthy the name of man resorts to slander." Quṭb-ul-mulk placed in his hand the original letters to Dāūd Khān, and said: "Look at these, who is the writer?" Khān Dāūran unfolded them and began to read. As he did so, the sweat stood on his face like drops of dew, and his face flushed a deep red. After a moment's silence, he began a defence founded on obedience to the Emperor's orders. "When his sovereign ordered, how could he dare to disobey?" In short, he talked much, but was encountered by Quṭb-ul-mulk at every turn, until he was reduced to silence and took his departure.

Section 22.—Return of Mīr Jumlah to Dihlī.

Part of the compact which ended the first quarrel between the Emperor and his minister, was the dismissal from court of Mīr Jumlah, who was appointed governor of Paṭnah 'Aẓīmābād. He left Dihlī in

[1] *Siyar-ul-Mutākharīn*, 29, Briggs, 126, Kāmwar Khān, 157, 158, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 204.

Zū-l-Ḥijjah 1126 H. (December, 1714), and his doings at Paṭnah will be spoken of when we come to deal with events in the provinces. Suffice it to say here, that owing to his reckless mismanagement, Mīr Jumlah was soon unable to meet the pay of the large and turbulent force of Mughals that he had taken with him to Paṭnah. Partly to escape from their demands, and partly, as is believed, in obedience to a secret letter from Farrukhsīyar, he prepared to leave his government and return to Dihlī.[1] As far as Benares he came openly, but at that place, leaving everyone behind, he started for Dihlī in a covered litter such as is used by women. In nine days he was at Dihlī, which he entered secretly during the night of the 22nd Muḥarram 1128 H. (16th January, 1716). He had left no time for the Wazīr to hear of his starting or forbid his coming. Rumours of his arrival spread through the city, and Farrukhsīyar, when made aware of it the next morning, expressed no disapproval. It was currently believed that, in reality, he was more pleased than he dared to show.[2]

When Quṭb-ul-Mulk learnt that Mīr Jumlah was again in Dihlī, he went at once to the Emperor. Farrukhsīyar swore the most solemn oaths that he had not sent for the man. To this Quṭb-ul-mulk answered that whatever His Majesty might wish was no doubt right and proper, but he might look on the speedy return of Ḥusain 'Alī Khan as an absolute certainty. The Emperor, greatly frightened at the prospect, sent officers with peremptory orders to Mīr Jumlah to withdraw to Lāhor.[3]

Mīr Jumlah procrastinated, and thus day after day passed. At length, either of themselves or at his instigation, his Mughal troops, seven or eight thousand in number, broke into revolt. They said that the whole of their pay was still due from the treasury, and the proper person to represent them was Mīr Jumlah, their commander, and until their arrears were paid, they would not allow him to stir one step. The houses of Muhammad Amīn Khan, second *Bakhshī*, and of Khan Daurān,

1 The *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, 118a, seems to say that by this time Mīr Jumlah had been removed from his appointment, and made instead *faujdār* of Benares.

2 Word of Mīr Jumlah's arrival was brought to Mirzā Muḥammad that same night by his relation, Mḥd Mīr, who had been in the Nawāb's service at Paṭnah, Mirzā Muḥammad, 237, Wheeler, 178.

3 Mirzā Muḥammad, 243. The account in the *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, 118b, differs from all others. There we are told that from Farīdābād, a distance of 10 kos from Dihlī, Mīr Jumlah petitioned for an audience. Angry at Mīr Jumlah's leaving his post without orders, Farrukhsīyar despatched mace-bearers with orders to conduct the fugitive to the fortress of Gwāliyār, and bring back a receipt from the commandant. Quṭb-ul-mulk and others then interceded, the offender was pardoned, but no audience was granted. At length, he was ordered to withdraw to his estates.

deputy of the first *Bakhshī*, were also surrounded. The disturbance was prolonged for a month; and as the house, known as Āṣaf-ud-daulah's, in which Mīr Jumlah resided, was close to the palace, he was forced in the end of Ṣafar to move to another house that he owned, called Fidāe Khān's, near Khārī Bāolī.[1] At this house the whole of the Mughals congregated, their leaders being Sayyad Faṭhullah Khān, Khweshgī, and Bahādur Dil Khān.[2] For many days, especially on the 1st Rabī' I. (23rd February, 1716), the uproar in the city was indescribable, the streets being filled with Mughal horsemen fully armed and clad in mail. As it was thought that this outbreak would be used as a pretext for an armed attack on his house, Quṭb-ul-mulk fortified himself in his quarter of the city, and increased the number of his troops; while his son-in-law and nephew, Ghairat Khān, who had lately been appointed *faujdār* of Nārnol, returned to Dihlī, to take part in his uncle's defence. The Emperor placed his personal guards, called the *Haft Caukī*, on permanent duty at the palace; and when Quṭb-ul-mulk or Khān Daurān went to audience, they were accompanied by the whole of their troops. Mīr Jumlah took fright at the aspect of affairs and sought refuge in Muhammad Amīn Khān's house. At length it was decided that ten *lakhs* of rupees should be paid to the men, in order to get rid in this way of Mīr Jumlah, with whom, owing to this conduct, Farrukhsīyar professed to be very angry. All his titles were taken from him; and he was removed from the offices of Dāroghah of the Pages (*Khawāṣ*) and Dāroghah of the Post Office (*Dāk*), which were conferred on his deputies, Amīn-ud-dīn Khān, Bahādur, and Mīrza Khān. His government of 'Aẓīmābād Paṭuah was transferred to Sarbuland Khān.[3]

On the 9th Rabī' I. 1128 H. (3rd March, 1716), Mīr Jumlah moved to Niẓām-ul-mulk's house, and next day that noble conducted him as far as Narelah,[4] and thence sent him on to Sihrind. At that place he delayed seven or eight months, putting up in the common roadside *sarāe* in the hope of exciting Farrukhsīyar's commiseration, but finally, by express order, he was forced to move on to Lāhor. His titles were not

1 Apparently this Bitter Well (*Khārī Bāolī*) lies behind and to the west of the Jāmi 'Masjid; *see* map of Dihlī city in C. T. Metcalfe's "Two Narratives."

2 This is Lāchīn Beg, known as the *tasmah-kash* or "strap-twister" (strangler).

3 Mirzā Muḥammad, 253, Khāfī Khān, II, 770, *Siyar-ul-mutākharīn*, 29, Briggs, 129.

4 Narelah, Indian Atlas Sheet 49 N.E., 16 m. N. of Dihlī. Kāmwar Khān, 162, says Niẓām-ul-mulk and Ḥāmid Khān only went as far as *Mandavī-i-namak* (the Salt Market). Farrukhsīyar ordered Shamsher Khān, Afghān, to conduct Mīr Jumlah to Lāhor, Kāmwar Khān, entry of 7th Rabī' I., 1128 H.

restored until the 21st Jamādī, II, 1128 H., (11th June, 1716), on the intercession of Quṭb-ul-mulk, who at the same time obtained for him a *jāgīr* of three *lakhs* of rupees. The Mughals sought service where they could. Their principal officer, Bahādur Dil Khān, was for a time with Quṭb-ul-mulk, but not succeeding to his wishes, he transferred himself to Khān Daurān. In that service he stopped for a long time, without having any influence; he was then ordered to join Ḥusain 'Alī Khān in the Dakhin.[1]

SECTION 23.—CONTINUATION OF THE PLOTS.

As soon as the disturbance raised by Mir Jumlah's return had been allayed, another hunting expedition was planned. At once the word passed from house to house and from tent to tent, that during the journey the arrest of Quṭb-ul-mulk would be arranged. Farrukhsīyar moved to the Shālihmār garden at Āgharābād[2] on the 6th Rabī' II, 1128 H. (29th March, 1716), and thence on the 10th, six *kos* further on, to Siūlī. He returned to Āgharābād on the 26th, and it was here that the fight took place on the 29th (21st April, 1716) between the retainers of Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah and Muhammad Amīn Khān, as already related. Farrukhsīyar returned to the palace on the 11th Jamādī II, (1st June, 1716). An urgent messenger had been sent on the 7th Rabī' II (20th March) to bring Rājah Jai Singh, Sawāe, from Mālwah, and on the 14th Jamādī II (4th June) the Rājah was reported to be at Sarāe Allahwirdī Khān; he was received in audience two days afterwards, Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah conducting him from his camp near the 'Īdgāh.[3] Shortly afterwards Rāo Rājah Budh Singh, Hāḍah, of Būndī, arrived. He had been expelled by Mahārājah Bhīm Singh, Hāḍah, of Kotah. Jai Singh introduced the fugitive to the Emperor and obtained for him promises of succour. Every day Rājah Jai Singh seemed to rise in Farrukhsīyar's estimation. Finally, on the 9th Shawwāl (25th September, 1716), he was entrusted with the crushing of Curāman, Jāt, under the circumstances and with the results already recorded.[4]

Again the Emperor quitted Dihlī on the 24th Muḥarram 1129 H. (7th January, 1717), camping first at Masjid Mochiyah. On the 17th

[1] Kāmwar Khān, 161, 165, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 253. Lāchīn Beg (Bahādur Dil Khān) turns up in the Dakhin in 1137 H. under Niẓām-ul-mulk (battle with Mubāriz Khān), see Khāfī Khān, II., 954.

[2] 'Āgharābād, a mile or two north of the city; Siūlī; Sarāe Allahwirdī Khān.

[3] The 'Idgāh lies three-quarters of a mile west of the city wall; See plate 47 in Constable's "Hand Atlas," and plate 1 in Carr Stephen, "Archæology of Dihlī."

[4] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 260, 275, 293, 302, Kāmwar Khān, 163, 165, Khāfī Khān, II, 771, Ijād 43a.

Ṣafar (30th January, 1717) he was at Narelah, and there 'Ināyatullah Khān, Kashmīrī, formerly *Dīwān* of the *Khālişah*, was received on his return from pilgrimage to Makkah, where he had gone early in the reign, on his own removal from office and the execution of his son, Sa'd-ullah Khān. Farrukhsīyar was now of opinion that it had been a mistake to remove all the old officials, and that they would have furnished a useful counterpoise to the overwhelming influence of the Sayyads. 'Ināyatullah Khān's return was, therefore, very welcome. He was received into favour, and the disparaging remarks, entered in the official history of the reign in regard to his son, were expunged by the Emperor's own hand.[1] On the 27th Ṣafar (9th February, 1717) Farrukhsīyar was at Koedalī, and from the 7th to the 13th Rabī' I, (18th to 23rd February) near Sonpat. He marched to Siūlī on the 26th of that month (9th March, 1717), to Narelah on the 1st Rabī' II, back to Āgharābād on the 3rd, finally re-entering the palace on the 29th of that month (11th April). I'tişām Khān, a protégé of Khān Daurān's, had just resigned the office of Dīwān, worn out with his struggles against undue influence. The next day 'Ināyatullah Khān was given the rank of 4,000, 3,000 horse, and appointed to be *Dīwān* of the *Khālişah* and the *Tan*, also to be Governor of Kashmīr, the latter appointment to be exercised by deputy.[2]

'Ināyatullah Khān's appointment was displeasing to Quṭb-ul-mulk, who recollected his harsh behaviour to Asad Khān in 'Ālamgīr's reign. But Ikhlāṣ Khān, then on very intimate terms with the minister, intervened and effected a reconciliation. 'Ināyatullah Khān undertook to do nothing without the knowledge and consent of Quṭb-ul-mulk, and to make no appointments independent of him. On the other hand, it was stipulated that Ratn Cand should not interfere with the work of the *Khālişah* Office; and as Quṭb-ul-mulk was naturally indolent and fond of pleasure, being furthermore discouraged by the Emperor's conduct, four or five months would sometimes elapse before he attended at his public office to sign papers, business remaining meanwhile at a standstill. A promise was now made by him that he would come to the office in the palace once or twice a week. For a time the compact was observed, but events soon came to pass which put an end to the truce.[3]

First of all, much to the disgust of Ratn Cand and the other Hindū officials, the *jizyah*, or poll-tax on non-Mahomedans, was

1 For 'Ināyatullah Khān, see *Ma,āşir-ul-umarā*, II, 828.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, 773, Kāmwar Khān, 171.

3 Khāfī Khān, II, 774.

reimposed.[1] Next 'Inayātullah Khān endeavoured to reform the system of *jāgīrs*, or assignments of land revenue in payment for service. The Hindūs and eunuchs and Kashmīris, by fraud and force, had acquired rank beyond their deserts, and accumulated in their hands all the most profitable and easily managed *jāgīrs*, reducing in a corresponding degree the chances of everybody else. 'Ināyatullah Khān, after drawing up some comparative tables, meant to reduce or set aside these excessive grants. Ratn Cand and other officials were angry at these attempts to reduce their incomes, and on their persuasion Quṭb-ul-mulk refused to ratify the scheme. After this time, the Hindūs put every obstacle in the *Dīwān's* way, the agreement between him and the minister ceased to operate, and peace was maintained with difficulty.

During this and the preceding reign, that of Jahāndār Shāh, the strict rules and regulations for business in all departments were much neglected. Most of the men who knew the old routine had disappeared by death or dismissal. The Wazīr was not a trained administrator himself, and paid little or no attention to civil business; Ratn Cand had been allowed to do almost what he liked. His views were narrow, and he was chiefly governed by personal considerations. For several reigns the Emperors had devoted all their efforts to break down the custom of farming out the collection of the revenue. They had tried on all occasions to substitute direct management by paid servants of the State, bearing in mind the truth of the adage, *amānī ābādānī, ijārah ujārā*."[2] As a result their treasury was full, their subjects contented, and their army well paid. These arrangements were now set aside, and the collections leased by Ratn Cand to the highest bidder.[3] In consequence the revenue fell off, both of the State domains and of the assigned lands, and many *jāgīrdārs* complained to the Emperor of the non-receipt of their allowances. During his term of office, Luṭfullah Khān had only made matters worse by granting to *manṣabdārs* holding the rank of from 50 to 1,000, a sum of fifty rupees a month, instead of their assignments on the revenue. This money, considering the high prices, did not

[1] See Note A at the end of this Section, on the *Jiziyah* tax, and Khāfī Khān, II, 775.

[2] Roebuck, No. 110, II, page 106, "Direct management brings prosperity; farming out, ruin."

[3] We find unexpected confirmation of this accusation against Ratn Cand in Mr. E. Thurston's paper on the East India Company's coinage. Ratn Cand was the first to farm out the Benares mint, with the effect of causing the coinage to be re-minted yearly, in order to increase the farmers' profits. [Journal As. Soc., Bengal, Vol. LXII., Part I. (1893), p. 55.]

suffice to meet their expenses, and, as we must remember, it was no doubt very irregularly paid.[1]

According to Yaḥyā Khān, one of Farrukhsiyar's grievances against 'Abdullah Khān was, that whenever he appointed an *'āmil*, he took from the appointee a writing[2] in the nature of a contract or lease, and realized the money from the man's banker. This practice was held, rightly enough, to be destructive to the prosperity of the district to which the man was sent. The Emperor requested that it might be abandoned, and that in place of it, all appointments should be made *amānī*, that is, should involve complete accounting for gross receipts and expenses, and for the resulting balance. 'Abdullah Khān refused. He also offered a passive resistance to the re-imposition of the *Jizyah*, or poll tax.[3]

About this time a subordinate of the *Khālisah* office, a protégé of Ratn Cand, was called upon to file his accounts, and a large sum was brought out by the auditors as owing by him. 'Ināyatullah Khān imprisoned this defaulter and, in spite of repeated messages from Ratn Cand, refused to release him. One day, the man evaded his guards and took refuge in the house of Ratn Cand. With the Emperor's sanction, armed messengers were sent to bring the fugitive from his protector's house, but the Wazir's *Dīwān* refused to surrender him. Between the Emperor and the minister there was an angry interview, and the latter was ordered to dismiss Ratn Cand, but nothing came of it.

In pursuance of the plan to restore the older men to office, Sayyad Amīr Khān, 'Ulwi, who was then fort-commander at Āgrah, was recalled to Court; he and his relations were presented on the 9th Rajab 1129 H. (18th June, 1717).[4] Mīrzā Muḥammad who, as a page, had served under this man in 'Ālamgīr's reign, was of opinion that his age (he being then seventy-four) and his failing memory, rendered him unfit for active employment. Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah being of the same opinion, and seeing that the old man could never become a dangerous rival, pushed his claims, and as Quṭb-ul-mulk was displeased with Amīn-ud-din Khān,[5] obtained for him that noble's office of Dāroghah

1 Khūshḥāl Cand, 399b.

2 *Khaṭ-i-ant* (?), this is some Hindī word, *query* read, "a note of hand."

3 Yaḥyā Khān, fol. 123 b.

4 The popular rumour was that Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah had fallen into disgrace, and would soon be supplanted in his office of Dāroghah of the Privy Audience Chamber by Sayyad Amīr Khān.

5 Amīn-ud-dīn Khān obtained re-employment two months afterwards (Mirzā Muḥammad, 331), and on the 29th Zul-Hijjah 1129H. (3rd December, 1718) he was made *Buyutāt* of the *Rikāb* (i.e., the Court) and of Dihlī.

of the *Khawāṣ*, or pages, 15th Shawwāl 1129 H. (21st September, 1717). Farrukhsīyar's consent to this change was only reluctantly given.[1] Other appointments of old officials were those of Muḥammad Yār Khān, grandson of Āṣaf Khān, Yamīn-ud-daulah,[2] to be *Khānsāmān*, and of Ḥamīd-ud-dīn Khān, 'Ālamgīrī,[3] to be 'Arẓ Mukarrar, 29th Shābān 1128 H. (17th August, 1716). As already related, it was about this time that the ending of the campaign against Curāman, Jāṭ, through the intrigues of Quṭb-ul-mulk and Sayyad Khān Jahān (April 10th, 1718), added fresh fuel to Farrukhsīyar's anger.[4]

Note A. The Jazīyah or Poll Tax.

The *jazīyah* tax was re-imposed by 'Ālamgīr in his twenty-second year (1090 H., 1679-80),[5] and thus it had been levied for thirty-four years when it was abolished again in the first year of Farrukhsīyar.[6]

[1] According to Mīrzā Muḥammad, 319, Sayyad Amīr Khān's name was Abd-ul-karīm; he was the son of Amīr Khān, son of Qāsim Khān, Namakīn. His father died when he was very young; he long received a daily allowance, and eventually obtaining a small *manṣab*, rose gradually under 'Ālamgīr, and gained the title of Ṭanak (or Multifat) Khān. He succeeded Anwar Khān as superintendent of the pages, an office that he held for more than fifteen years and up to the death of 'Ālamgīr. He had become Khānahzād Khān, Ḥāfiẓ, and finally Amīr Khān. In Bahādur Shāh's reign he was *ṣūbahdār* of Āgrah, up to the end of the reign. In Jahāndār Shāh's reign he was replaced by Muḥammad Māh (A'ẓam Khān), and transferred to charge of the Āgrah fort. From their residence in Sind, his family bore the epithet of Sindhī, although really they were Sayyads from Hirāt. There are the following biographies in the *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*: Amīr Khān, Sindhī, I., 303, Qāsim Khān (Mīr Ab'ul Qāsim), Namakīn, III., 74, Amīr Khán (Mīr Ab'ul Baqā), d. 1057 H., I 172. For an explanation of the epithet "Namakīn" (not "Tamkīn"), see Blochmann, *Ā,in*, I., 470, and table on p. 471. Amīr Khān was not long at Court; on the 10th Rabī' I., 1130 H. (Kāmwar Khān, 176) he was replaced by Muḥammad Murād; and on the 9th Jamādī I., 1130 H. (id. 177), was sent back to Āgrah as fort commandant. He died on the 28th Zu,l Qa'dah 1132 H. (30th September, 1720), aged 77 years, and the *Tārikh-i-Muḥammadī* describes him as the son-in-law of Mir 'Isā, Himmat Khān (d. 1092 H.) Mīr Bakhshī, son of Islām Khān, Badakhshī (d. 1072 H.)

[2] Muḥammad Yār Khān (son of Mīrzā Bahmanyār), *Ṣūbahdār* of Dihlī, *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, III. 706. His son Ḥasan Yār Khān died young ('*Tārikh-i-Mḥdī*, d. 15th-20th Ṣafar 1133 H. aged about 40), and he had no other issue. Muḥammad Yār Khān himself died 18th Jamādī I, 1138 H. at Dihlī. There are the following biographies of this family in the *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*; Āṣaf Khān, I, 151, d. 1051 H.; 'Itiqād Khān, I, 232, d. 1082 H; Muḥammad Yār Khān, III., 700, d. 1138 H.

[3] For Ḥamīd-ud-dīn Khān, 'Ālamgīrī, see *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I., 605.

[4] Khāfī Khān, II., 775, 776, Shiū Dās, 17a, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 293, 319, 228, Kāmwar Khān, 172.

[5] *Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 174.

[6] British Museum, Oriental MS. No. 1690, fol. 163*b*.

'Alamgīr's rules were, no doubt, revived upon its re-introduction through 'Ināyatullah Khān: and here, as in many of his other regulations, 'Ālamgīr, a bigoted Mahomedan, studied to imitate as closely as possible the methods laid down by the orthodox doctors of that religion. The exemptions seem to have been numerous. They comprised men of Rūm possessing revealed Scriptures (*i.e.*, Jews and Christians), the "idol worshippers of 'Ajam and of 'Arab" (whoever they were), apostates, minors, women, slaves, the helpless, the maimed, the blind, the blemished, or the aged poor.

Persons paying the yearly impost were divided into three classes: (I) The poor, (II) the middle class, (III) the rich. The rates were respectively 12, 24, and 48 *dirhams.* But as there was no *dirham* current in India, uncoined silver was to be taken: from the first class, 3 *tolchah*, 1⅓ *māsha*, double that weight from the second, and four times from the third class. Rupees were not to be demanded. But if anyone offered them, they were to be received equal to the above weight of silver.[1]

Poor, middle class, and rich were defined as follows: a poor man was he who had either nothing at all, or property worth two hundred *dirhams;* a middle class man, he who had property worth between 200 and 10,000 *dirhams*; a rich man, he who had over 10,000 *dirhams'* worth of property. A poor man, who had nothing but the strength of his own right arm to rely on, or who had many children, was to be excused.

Precise rules for the manner of collection were laid down. These must have been exceedingly galling to the better class of Hindus, and here, no doubt, is to be found a substantial reason for the exceeding unpopularity of the tax. The person paying (styled, of course, a *zimmī*, in itself a stigma) must appear in person, bare-footed, the collector being seated and the tax-payer standing. The collector, placing his hand upon the *zimmī's* hand, lifted up the money, and pronounced a formula in Arabic, signifying, "I accept the poll-tax from this dependant." Money sent through another person must be refused.

Collection was made from the first class in four, the second class in two, and the third class in one instalment. The tax ceased either on

[1] As to the *dirham*, see C. J. Rodgers' "Catalogue of Lāhor Museum," p. 206, for a coin stamped *dirham shara'ī*, or legal drachma, struck at Lāhor in Farrukhsīyar's 6th year (1129 H.), possibly in connection with the revival of the *jazīyah* tax in that year. It is a square coin weighing 41¼ grains. Taking Farrukhsīyar's rupee as equal to 176 grains, the value of the *dirham* comes out at ·23 of a rupee, or 3 annas and 8 pies. But the weight of silver claimed makes the three classes of the tax equivalent to Rs. 3-3-6, Rs. 6-7-0, and Rs. 12-14-0, respectively, instead of Rs. 2-12-0, Rs. 5-8-0, and Rs. 11-0-0 as they would be by the above *dirham-i-shara'ī.*

death, or on the acceptance of Islām. If a minor became of full age, a slave was emancipated, or a sick man was restored to health before the date of collection, the tax was levied. If these events happened after that date, the tax was remitted for that year. If a man fell from the class of rich to that of poor men, and the change applied to part of the year only, the rate levied was to be the mean between that of the class he had left and of that he had entered. If a poor tax-payer was ill for half the year he paid nothing. Servants of the Government, with their children living in their house, were altogether exempt. As Khushḥāl Chand remarks, the tax-collectors, in spite of these wise orders, were guilty of exactions, and at the beginning of every year levied money, even from widows, under the pretext of expenses.[1]

Section 24.—Sudden Rise of Muḥammad Murād, Kashmīrī.

With his usual changeableness, Farrukhsīyar now chose a new favourite, on whose exertions he founded great expectations. This man's rise is usually accounted for in the following way. The Emperor had lately planned to send Muḥammad Amīn Khān to take the place of Rājah Jai Singh, Sawāe, as governor of Mālwah, with the object of barring, if necessary, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's return from the Dakhin to Dihlī. 'Aẓīm-ullah Khān, Naṣīr-ullah Khān, and other nobles were placed under his orders. As was usually the case, the new governor spent a great deal of time in preparation, and showed no great readiness to start. Farrukhsīyar betrayed his impatience at this delay, and Muḥammad Murād Khān, then the third *Mīr Tozak* or chamberlain, offered to induce Muḥammad Amīn Khān to begin his march. The man was loud-voiced and foul-mouthed, as most Kashmīrīs are reputed to be; but at first his violent language failed in effect. He returned to the Emperor with bitter complaints, and on his advice, Farrukhsīyar ventured to dismiss Muḥammad Amīn Khān from his office of second Bakhshī, and appointed instead Islām Khān (son of the late Āṣaf Khān, son of Mir 'Abd-us-salam, Islām Khān, *wazīr* to Shāh Jahān), Fidāe Khān (son of Ṣalābat Khān deceased), being promoted to Islām Khān's office of first *Mīr Tozak*. Muḥammad Murād himself replaced Fidāe Khān as second *Mīr Tozak*, with a rise of 500 in rank, making him 3,000 *zāt*.[2] The result of these measures was that Muḥammad Amīn Khān

[1] Khushḥāl Cand, B.M. Or 3288, fol. 286a. The popular belief is that the Mahomedan tax-gatherer made the *zimmi* open his mouth, and spat into it.

[2] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 338. Kāmwar Khān, 174, has these changes on the 30th Muḥarram 1130 H. (31st December, 1717). For Islām Khān, *Wazīr*, d. 1057 H.

began his march for Mālwah. Farrukhsīyar, himself the most cowardly of men, looked on this feat as heroic, and Muḥammad Murād became at once in his eyes the right man for a desperate undertaking. Possibly there is some truth in the above story, as accounting for Muḥammad Murād's exaltation, for the time of his rise and of Muhammad Amīn Khān's departure coincide almost exactly.[1]

This Muḥammad Murād, already a man of about sixty-two years of age, was a native of Kashmīr, of the tribe called Audard.[2] For a time he was in the employment of Mīr Malik Ḥusain, Khān Jahān, Kokaltāsh,[3] the foster brother of 'Ālamgīr, and was agent at Court for that noble's son, Sipahdār Khān. Next, he entered the imperial service with a *manṣab* of 300, but in a year or two was dismissed. On this he came to Lāhor, where Muta'mad Khān (Mirzā Rustam)[4] was deputy governor for Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam (afterwards Bahādur Shāh), and obtained an introduction through Lālā Shiū Dās, Khatrī, the governor's chief man of business. The rank of 500 was obtained for him. Khwājah Muḥammad Amīn, Kashmīrī, who had once been also in Khān Jahān Kokaltāsh's service, having replaced Muta'mad Khān at Lāhor, Muhammad Murād's fortunes improved, for he was of the same place and race as the new deputy. This happy state of things lasted only for a year or two, until Khwājah Muḥammad Amīn fell into disgrace, when Muḥammad Murād retired to Dihlī, where he lived in obscurity. On Mun'im Khān's appointment, first as *Diwān* to Prince Mu'azzam, Shāh 'Ālam, and then as his deputy at Lāhor, Muḥammad Murād, being an old friend of his, was restored to the service and returned to Lāhor, until the two men quarrelled, when he came back to Dihlī.[5]

Not long after this time 'Ālamgīr died, and Prince Mu'azzam, Shāh 'Ālam, with Mun'im Khān in his train, passed through Dihlī on his way to Āgrah; and Muḥammad Murād attached himself to their camp. After the victory of Jājau, Mun'im Khān obtained for his old friend the rank of 1,000, and the title of Wakālat Khān, with the

see *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I, 162, and for his son, Āṣaf (or Ṣafī) Khān, d. 1105 H., id. II, 470. For Fidāe Khān, see *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā* II, 745.

[1] Khāfī Khān, II, 787; Kāmwar Khān, 174, 25th Ẓu,l Ḥijjah, 1129 H. (29th November, 1717); Mirzā Muḥammad, 337–8; *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I., 339.

[2] Ibbetson, para. 557, gives the names of ten Kashmīrī tribes; the only one approaching Audard (اودرد) is the ninth, *viz.* Warde.

[3] *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I., 798. This Khān Jahān died in 1109 H. (1697).

[4] Muta'mad Khān (Rustam) was the father of Mīrzā Muḥammad, the historian.

[5] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 331; *Aḥwāl ul-khawāqīn*, 126a; *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I., 337, Kām Raj, *'Ibratnāmah*, 63b.

office of *wakīl*, or agent at Court, to Prince Mu'izz-ud-dīn, Jahāndār Shāh. Muḥammad Murād, being a chatty, talkative man, managed to strike up a great friendship with 'Alī Murād, Kokaltāsh Khān, on whom all power in Jahāndār Shāh's household rested, "nay, he was the veritable Jahāndār Shāh," and by his aid rose to be a *Dūhazārī* (2,000), with the title of Bahādur. In Jahāndār Shāh's reign of ten months, he was promoted to 5,000, but obtained no further favours from Kokaltāsh Khān. On Farrukhsīyar's accession Muḥammad Murād attended the Sayyad brothers, with whom he had been formerly acquainted, and through Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was maintained in the rank that he held in Bahādur Shāh's reign (*i.e.* 2,000 *zāt*); but his former title having been given to someone else, he was created Muḥammad Murād Khān and soon afterwards received the office of fourth *Mīr Tozak*. At this time he was high in the favour of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, who procured his promotion to 2,500.

After that noble's departure for the Dakhin, Muḥammad Murād used all his endeavours to strengthen his position with the Emperor. As he was in constant attendance, he succeeded at last in joining in the Emperor's conversation, and owing to his chattiness and readiness of speech soon found a way to his heart. He also obtained favour as a compatriot of the Emperor's mother, Ṣāḥibah Niswān, who was a Kashmīrī, and the first open sign of his new position was that Farrukhsīyar said one day to the great nobles in *darbār*, "You have heard, have you not, I'tiqād Khān is related by marriage to my exalted mother?" The Emperor's feeling against the Sayyads was an open secret, but the brothers being on their guard, he had been foiled hitherto in all his attempts against them. As opportunity offered, Muḥammad Murād Khān hinted to Farrukhsīyar, in guarded and metaphorical language, that Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah, Khān Daurān, up to that time his very soul and the confidant of all his secrets, was in collusion with the Sayyads, and thus it was that all his plots against them were divulged. The Emperor's mind was turned against Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah, and he determined to bring forward Muḥammad Murād Khān.[1]

On the 19th Ṣafar 1130 H. (19th January, 1718), Muḥammad Murād became *Dāroghah* of the *Harkārahs* or scouts, with the privilege of admission at all times to the Privy Audience Chamber, the chapel and secret audience room.[2] Having now private access to the sovereign's ear, he repeated plainly, with details, what he had formerly suggested by hints and signs. He produced many projects for the overthrow of

1 *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I., 339, and Khāfī Khān, II., 791, Yaḥyā Khān, 123b.

2 *i.e.*, the *Dīwān-i-khāṣ*, the *Tasbīḥ Khānah* and the *Ghusal Khānah*.

the two Sayyads and offered himself to carry them into execution. Since Farrukhsiyar looked with apprehension upon everything, Muḥammed Murād boldly counselled him to take heart and not to be afraid. "Such fears," he said, "amount to a defect: you are Emperor: no one has the strength to oppose you: you should free your heart of dread, and issue whatever orders you may please."[1]

Another hunting expedition was planned. The Emperor moved to the mansion at Khiẓrabād[2] on the 29th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah (3rd Dec., 1717) and remained there for two or three weeks. It was the common talk of the town that Quṭb-ul-mulk would be seized, a task which the Emperor's advisers had persuaded him could be easily accomplished. Qūṭb-ul-mulk, too, left his house with a large force of men, and camped outside the town near Kilūkahri,[3] by this move allaying the rumours and causing the conspirators to stay their hand. At night the Emperor sent him trays of fruit and food. Next day (23rd Dec., 1717), the advance tents were moved towards Pālam. Muḥammad Murād increased in favour. The following march (27th Muḥarram, 1130, 30th Dec., 1717) was to Masjid-i-Moth. Here the new appointments were made, by which Muḥammad Murād was advanced to second *Mir Tozak*. On the second Ṣafar (4th Jan., 1718) they reached Pālam, on the 17th they moved to Ṣadīpur, and on the 29th back to Āgharābād near the city. Nothing had been effected.[4]

Instead of returning to the palace the Emperor moved out from

[1] Kāmwar Khān, 175, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 337.

[2] Khiẓrābād is on the Jamnah bank, about five miles south of the Dihlī gate of Shāhjahānābād, *see* Carr Stephen, map, page 1. *Āṣār-uṣ-ṣanādīd* chap. III, p. 25, says it was a town built on the river bank by Khiẓr Khān in 861 H. (1418) A. D.). There is no trace now of any fort; possibly the site of it was that now known as Khiẓrābād village.

[3] Kilūkahri is probably the site of the palace built on the Jamnah bank by Mu'izz-ud-dīn, Kaikobād, (1286-1288), H. M. Elliot, "Bibliographical Index," 284, and *Ain* II., 279. The *Ain* says that Humāyūn's tomb is on this site, but the village itself is about 1½ miles S.E. of the tomb.

[4] Kāmwar Khān, 179. Pālam is in the Dihlī district, 11 miles S.W. of the city: it lies about 10 miles W. of Mothkī masjid. (Indian Atlas, Sheet 49 N.E.) Masjid-i-Moth, C. Stephen, plate opposite p. 1, is 5½ miles S.W. of the Dihlī gate of the city, id. 166, and was built in 894 H. (1488). The tradition is that a man picked up a grain of *moth*, sowed it, and in time built this mosque from the produce. Ṣadīpur, not traced; there is a Madipur on Sheet 49 N.E. of the Indian Atlas. This lies half-way between Pālam and Bādlī (Āgharābād). I can find no Sadīpur in that direction; but there is a Sadīpur near the 'Idgāh, west of the city, see Constable's "Hand Atlas," Plate 47. Āgharābād is N. of the city and the same as Shālihmār close to Sarāe Bādlī. Mīrzā Muḥammad, 331, says the camp was for three months

Āgharābād to Siūlī,[1] on the 1st Rabi' II. 1130 H. (3rd March, 1718); and a few days afterwards Muḥammad Murād was created I'tiqād Khān, Bahādur, Farrukhshāhī, received a standard, kettle-drums, two elephants and several horses, with the rank of 5,000, 2,000 horse, and replaced Amīr Khān as superintendent of the pages (*khawāṣ*), with the right to come and go at all hours of the day or night.[2] His influence increased in a marked degree every day. As one writer says, he was promoted daily; on one day to 5000, the next to 6,000, and the next to 7000.[3] On the 16th Rabī' II, (18th March), they came back to 'Āgharābād, and on the 22nd, Muḥammad Murād was made *dāroghah* of the mace-bearers. Whole nights were spent by Farrukhsīyar in conclave with Muḥammad Murād and other favourites; sometimes he did not retire to rest until break of day. As Muḥammad Murād had a bad reputation and was pointed at for secret vices, this constant companionship gave rise to undesirable reports, defamatory of a descendant of Taimūr and derogatory to the lustre of his rule. On the 21st Rabī' II, a mansion in Dihlī was given to Muḥammad Murād. Finally, on the 12th Jamādī I, 1130 H. (12th April, 1718), the Emperor left Āgharābād and re-entered the palace.

Presents continued to be showered lavishly on Muḥammad Murād. On the 9th Jamādī II. (9th May, 1718), he was raised to 6,000, 5,000 horse, various gifts were added, and he was appointed *faujdār* of Jammū, with power to appoint a deputy. His son and two of his officers were given *manṣabs* of 1,000. Twenty days afterwards he was again promoted, becoming 7,000, 7,000 horse, received a valuable fringed litter (*pālkī*) and other gifts, with the office of *Nāẓir*, or governor of the imperial harem. On the 2nd Rajab (21st May, 1718) a gold bedstead, covered with gold plates and studded with jewels, which had belonged to the Emperor Jahāngīr, was given to the favourite. In fact, not a night passed without his receiving silver and gold coin, valuable jewels or rich clothes. The best *jāgīrs* in the Gujarāt, Dihlī, and Āgrah provinces were also allotted to him. In the course of one year and some months he had become the owner of one hundred elephants, with

from Jan. 1718 at Sarāe Bādlī, which was close to Āgharābād and the Shālimā, garden.

[1] Siūlī, just S. or E. of Pānīpat.

[2] In honour of the occasion he had the following motto (*shaja'*) cut on his seal;

Murād yāft, zi Farrukhsīyar, khudeo-i-jahān,
Ba ḥusn-i-nīyat-i-khud i'tiqād-i khān-i-jahān.
Murād (Desire) obtained from Farrukhsīyar, Ruler of the World,
"By virtue of good intent, the confidence (*i'tiqād*) of the Lord of the World.

[3] Yaḥyā Khān, fol. 124a.

everything else in proportion. He also realized much money by force, but most of it passed from him into the hands of young men of evil reputation in the city, who in a very short time had collected round him to the number of three or four thousand. As the saying is, "Soon got is soon spent."[1]

Farrukhsīyar's reckless mode of enriching Muḥammad Murād is shown by one anecdote. One day he spoke to the Emperor about a ring. Orders were at once given to bring a valuable ring from the imperial jewel-house; and ten or twelve trays, full of rings, were brought. Farrukhsīyar said to Muḥammad Murād: "Hold out your skirt." He did so. Then Farrukhsīyar several times took up double handfuls of rings, and emptied them into his skirt. Qūṭb-ul-mulk and others present remonstrated but without effect.[2]

Section 25.—Sarbuland Khān Recalled to Court.

About this time (April 1718) the settlement with Curāman, Jāṭ, had been forced through by Quṭb-ul-mulk, quite against the wishes of Farrukhsīyar himself. From this cause the smouldering quarrel again broke into activity. More especially was this noticeable after the arrival of Rājah Jai Singh, who asserted that in another month Curāman, who was very hard-pressed, would have been utterly defeated; that Quṭb-ul-mulk had been so strenuous in pressing the Jāṭ's application, only owing to his desire to prevent the Rājah's success. As Farrukhsīyar fully believed that the two Sayyads were working for his destruction, this complaint added fuel to the flames. Contemporaries concur in asserting that, although Muḥammad Murād had liberality (*sakhāwat*) and kindliness (*maravvat*), he had not the talent (*hoṣlah*) required in a *wazīr*, or even in a great noble. Nor was he valorous. He was even less so than Mīr Jumlah; though, all the while, Farrukhsīyar believed that in him he had won a splendid piece to play in his game against Quṭb-ul-mulk.[3] But Muḥammad Murād himself felt that he was not the man to enter upon an open contest with the Sayyads. He therefore cast about for somebody more fitted to undertake the enterprize with some hope of success. His first selection was Sarbuland Khān, who had a reputation for wisdom and courage, and though just removed from the governorship of Bahār, was still at the head of a large army. On the favourite's advice, Sarbuland Khān was summoned to Court, where he

1 *Daulat-i-tez rā baqāe nīst*, literally, "Rapid fortune has no permanence." *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, fol. 126, Kāmwar Khān, 176, 177, 178, 179, Shiū Dās, 16b.

2 Shiū Dās, 16.

3 Yaḥyā Khān, 124b, *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, 126b.

arrived on the 10th Sha'bān 1130 H. (8th July, 1718), Muḥammad Murād going out to meet him. His troops were paraded before the Emperor on the 21st of that month.[1]

Sarbuland Khān had come to Court with the anticipation that when the Sayyads had been successfully dealt with, he would receive as his reward the exalted office of *wazīr*. Full of zeal, he had started with seven to eight thousand well-armed horsemen and some artillery. As this force approached, it was the common belief that at last the Sayyads were to be effectually crushed, that at last the Emperor had come to a firm determination, having set up in Sarbuland Khān a sagacious and energetic rival fit to cope with them; that when Quṭb-ul-mulk had been got rid of at Court, to dispose of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān would be a comparatively easy matter. Sarbuland Khān was promoted to 7,000, 6,000 horse, with the titles of Mubāriz-ul-mulk, Sarbuland Khān, Nāmwar Jang,[2] and by promises of further reward he was induced to undertake the business.

Quṭb-ul-mulk had long been on his guard; he now redoubled his precautions. He never moved to *darbār* without being escorted by three or four thousand horsemen. It was not long before, by chance, it came to Sarbuland Khān's knowledge that, even if he carried the attempt to a successful issue, he might be rewarded liberally, but the office of *wazīr* was intended for another. He resolved to obtain confirmation of this from the Emperor's own lips, although to do so demanded great care in the way the question was put. Accordingly he framed it in the following way: "As Your Majesty has decided on the disgrace of these two brothers, you must have in your mind some one capable of bearing the burden of chief minister, an office of supreme importance." The simple-minded Emperor replied: "For this post I have I'tiqād Khān (*i.e.* Muḥammad Murād) in my mind; and to speak the truth, there is no one better than him for it." Sarbuland Khān, who in his hope of the wazīrship had been hitherto hot as flame, now grew cold as ice. The position suggests to the author of the *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā* the verse, "I am in love, and the loved one desires another; Like the first of Shawwāl called the Feast of Ramaẓān."[3] Quṭb-ul-mulk had already warned

[1] For the secret letter sent to Sarbuland Khān by Amīn-ud-dīn Khān with a *shuqqah* from the Emperor, see *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, p. 29. Mirzā Muḥammad, 379, copy of *Farmān* in Shiū Dās, 19a, Kāmwar Khān, 179-180.

[2] Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī (1154 H.) has Dilāwar Jang (دلاور) instead of Nāmwar (نامور).

[3] *Man āshiq, o ma'shūq ba kām-i-digarān ast;*
Chūn ghurrah-i-Shawwāl, kih 'Id-i-Ramaẓān ast.

Sarbuland Khān that he and his brother meant the contest to be one for death or life, that they meant to stake their heads on the cast of the dice. From that day Sarbuland Khān drew back. Although in appearance he continued to act and talk as before, in his heart he resolved to do nothing further. Finally he was appointed to Āgrah on the 19th Shawwāl (14th September, 1718), but on the 1st Muḥarram 1131 H. (23rd November, 1718) he resigned office and returned from Farīdābād, having gone no further than that place on his way to his new government.[1]

Section 26.—Attempt to Seize Quṭb-ul-mulk.

The next phase in the struggle was a project to seize Quṭb-ul-mulk in the 'Īdgāh on the day of the 'Id (1st Shawwāl, 1130 H., 27th August, 1718). It was argued that the Emperor's party would be there in force, to the number of seventy or eighty thousand men, ready to sacrifice their lives, while Quṭb-ul-mulk would have round him none but a few relations and followers. They could fall upon him and cut off his head before he could cry out. But spies had warned Quṭb-ul-mulk of this plot, and he redoubled his precautions. The night before the 'Īd, while one watch of the night still remained, Sayyad Khān Jahān, the minister's maternal uncle, repaired with his sons and his soldiers to the 'Īdgāh, and occupied it. Before daybreak Quṭb-ul-mulk's men reached the spot, and they sufficed to fill the whole of the space. In the morning, when the Emperor's people arrived and saw what had been done, they drew in their claws and made no attempt at violence. Nawāb Quṭb-ul-mulk reached the 'Īdgah before His Majesty and at the head of his followers came out to make his bow. Farrukhsīyar saw it was useless to attempt anything, and much dejected left directly the prayers were over.[2]

Section 27.—Mahārājah Ajīt Singh is Sent for.

Sarbuland Khān's defection did not trouble Farrukhsīyar very much; his hopes now centred in his father-in-law, Mahārājah Ajīt Singh, for whom he had sent through Nāhar Khān, the only person believed to have sufficient influence over the Rājah to secure his adhesion. Nāhar Khān is the man whose good offices the Rājah had employed to secure

[1] Shiū Dās, fol. 19a and b, Khāfi Khān, II, 792. Farīdābād, 16 miles S. of city, Indian Atlas, Sheet 49, S.E.

[2] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 384, Khāfi Khān, II., 792. Mīrza Muḥammad (385), who was there, says that even after the Emperor, with many nobles and a number of spectators had left, there were still so many of Quṭb-ul-mulk's men present, that you could not tell that anyone had gone away. As a consequence of this attempt, Quṭb-ul-mulk enlisted twenty thousand new men, and, contrary to his previous practice accepted the services of men who were not Bārhah Sayyads.

terms from Sayyad Ḥusain 'Alī Khān four years before. But Nāhar Khān was an intimate friend of the two Sayyads, and his first efforts were directed to bringing over Ajīt Singh to their side, and detaching him from that of Farrukhsīyar. In this he was fully successful. The Rājah started from Jodhpur for Dihlī, and the Emperor was overjoyed at the prospect of his arrival. These hopes were, however, doomed to disappointment, for Ajīt Singh had not the least intention of taking that side; on the contrary, his mind was fully made up to espouse the cause of the Sayyads.[1]

On the 4th Shawwāl 1130 H. (30th August, 1718), when Rājah Ajīt Singh's arrival near Bāgh Malhan Shāh was reported, I'tiqād Khān (Muḥammad Murād) was sent with the present of a dagger, and Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah was deputed as an escort. These men were commissioned to impress on the Rājah the high favour in which he stood with His Majesty, and by persuasive talk induce him to present himself in audience without the intervention of Quṭb-ul-mulk. I'tiqād Khān, after delivering the gifts with which he had been entrusted, told the Rājah that he was too great a man to need another person to introduce him, he should present himself in audience the next day, and he would be received. He could then lay his own representations before the throne. In reply the Rājah, after using many similar flattering professions, announced his intention of obtaining audience through Quṭb-ul-mulk. In vain I'tiqād Khān displayed all his eloquence, he could not turn the Rājah from his purpose. It is said that this was the result of Quṭb-ul-mulk's advice, conveyed through Nāhar Khān and others. They had frightened the Rājah into the belief that Farrukhsīyar's word could not be relied upon. By what vows and oaths, they said, had he not bound himself in the case of Asad Khān and his son, only to lure them into the net! The Sayyads, they added, are the only men who can stand up against such a sovereign, or whose support is of any value.[2]

When his emissaries returned and reported their ill-success, Farrukhsīyar flew into a passion. But unable to help himself, he sent a message to Quṭb-ul-mulk that the next day was appointed for the reception of Rājah Ajīt Singh, and that he, too, should present himself at *darbār*. The Rājah had written that unless the minister attended he would not come.

The next day, the 5th Shawwāl (31st August, 1718), I'tiqād Khān and Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah set out once more, and brought the Rājah to

[1] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 383. Surman Diary, 3rd January 1717 O.S. [14th January 1718 N.S.–12th Ṣafar 1130]: "Naar Cawne [sent] to bring Raja Adjet San to Court."

[2] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 386, Kāmwar Khān, 180.

the audience hall. Quṭb-ul-mulk was present. On reaching the outer gate, Rājah Ajīt Singh declined to advance further until he was certain of the presence of the *wazīr*. It was only after repeated assurances that he consented to enter the palace. When he reached the door of the *Dīwān-i-'ām* he halted, and said that until Quṭb-ul-mulk came to him there, he would not advance another step. Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah convinced him that Quṭb-ul-mulk would come, but the spot fixed for him to appear was further on. They moved on to the door of the *Dīwān-i-khās*. Again the Rājah halted. Here Quṭb-ul-mulk appeared and the two men greeted each other most effusively. The Nawāb then took the Rājah by the hand and conducted him to the presence. Farrukhsīyar, though far from pleased with his conduct, appeared hypocritically gracious and conferred the usual *khila't* and other presents.

For twenty days neither the *wazīr* nor the Rājah re-appeared at *darbār*. In this interval the Rājah visited Quṭb-ul-mulk only once or twice, and the Nawāb went once to him. But secret agents were constantly passing to and fro between them, and these men used every effort to strengthen the alliance. As the differences between the Emperor and his minister had now become public, Farrukhsīyar, instigated by I'tiqād Khān, took what measures he could to win the day. On his side, too, Quṭb-ul-mulk drew aside the veil, and refused to appear in audience. As soon as he found that the Nawāb and the Rājah were one, Farrukhsīyar returned to the idea of a reconciliation. For several days in succession I'tiqād Khān (Muḥammad Murād) visited them with proposals for peace and concord. It leaked out, however, that Quṭb-ul-mulk placed no reliance on I'tiqād Khān's word, holding him to be a stirrer-up of strife. The negociations were therefore transferred to Afẓal Khān, the Ṣadr-uṣ-ṣadūr, but with equal want of good result. Sarbuland Khān and Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah's services were next enlisted (22nd Shawwāl, 17th September 1718), although they were suspected of infidelity to the Emperor. But the final destruction of Quṭb-ul-mulk was as firmly resolved on as ever. The command of the artillery, of which the assistance would be absolutely necessary, was in the hands of Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān, a man well affected to Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah, whose loyalty was now doubted. This command was taken away, and given on the 22nd Shawwāl (17th September, 1718) to Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān, Ghālib Jang, who could be relied on as having no sort of connection with the Sayyads or Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah ; nay, he might be accounted their enemy, for owing to the scanty favour that they had shown him, he was living in poverty, in spite of his *manṣab* of 7,000 *zāt*.[1]

1 Mīrzā Muḥammad, 390, Kāmwar Khān, 181.

After Sarbuland Khān and Ṣamṣām-ul-daulah had been entrusted with the task of assuaging the anger of Quṭb-ul-mulk, they succeeded by smooth speeches and plausible arguments in bringing him, to some extent, into a more reasonable frame of mind. He agreed to appear once more in *darbār*. It was faithfully promised that there should never again be anything to disturb his mind, or arouse differences of opinion. Rājah Ajīt Singh having also absented himself, the *wazīr* advised that he also should be conciliated, and that they should be brought to *darbār* together. This was accordingly done and the Rājah propitiated. On the 26th Shawwāl, 1130 H. (21st September, 1718), Rājah Ajīt Singh repaired to the *wazīr's* house. Sarbuland Khān and Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah came on behalf of His Majesty, and requested that the two nobles might mount and set out. The two envoys, mounted on one elephant, preceded them to the palace. Quṭb-ul-mulk and Rājah Ajīt Singh followed, riding upon one elephant. Speeches full of apparent peace and goodwill were interchanged, outwardly all cause of quarrel between the parties had been removed, and at the *wazīr's* request the country of Bīkāner was conferred upon the Rājah. But acute observers likened the situation to the well-known description of an hour-glass:

"They are joined together like an hour-glass,
Hearts full of dust and faces all clear."[1]

Section 28.—Niẓām-ul-mulk is Summoned.

Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah was suspected of treachery, I'tiqād Khān's talk came to nothing, Sarbuland Khān had become lukewarm, Ajīt Singh, false to his salt, had gone over to Quṭb-ul-mulk! Who was there left? Farrukhsiyar thought now of Niẓām-ul-mulk, then *faujdār* of Murādābād,[2] and sent a *farmān* recalling him to Court, in the hope that from him deliverance might come. Niẓām-ul-mulk crossed the Jamnah towards the end of Shawwāl and camped near Khiẓrābād.[3] Nawāb Sādāt Khān, father-in-law of the Emperor, went out to meet him (29th Shawwāl 1130 H., 24th September, 1728) and escorted him to the presence Farrukhsiyar now made overtures to Niẓām-ul-mulk. But at the same

[1] Shiū Dās, 19a.

Cūn shīshah-i-sā'at and, paiwastah ba-ham,
Dilhā hamah pur-i-ghabār, wa rūhā hamah ṣāf.

Ghabār, literally, "dust," metaphorically, "ill-will, vexation." Mīrzā Muḥammad, 392, Kāmwar Khān, 181-2.

[2] For his appointment to Murādābād see back, Section 21.

[3] Kāmwar Khān says the camp was near the 'Idgāh. The two places are not very far apart.

time, as he was greatly afraid of the Sayyads, he bound the Nawāb to disclose nothing, until one of the men devoted to his cause had removed Quṭb-ul-mulk out of their way. Niẓām-ul-mulk saw plainly enough that on these conditions the enterprize was hopeless, and therefore amused the Emperor with procrastinating words, without committing himself. Day after day passed until Farrukhsīyar despaired of assistance in this direction. A few months afterwards (16th Ṣafar 1131 H., 7th January, 1719), Farrukhsīyar, in his heedless, short-sighted way, finally alienated Niẓām-ul-mulk by removing him from his appointment in Chaklah Murādābād, which was then erected into a *Ṣūbah* and conferred on the favourite I'tiqād Khān (Muḥammad Murād).[1]

Section 29.—Mir Jumlah's Second Return to Dihli.

We have already told[2] how in 1128 H. (March, 1716) Mīr Jumlah was exiled first to Sihrind and then to Lāhor. He had never abandoned hope of a return to Court, but Farrukhsīyar was too frightened of the Sayyads to accord his consent. At length, the Emperor, having screwed up his courage to the sticking place, recalled Mīr Jumlah. As soon as Quṭb-ul-mulk learnt this, he sent to ask Farrukhsīyar why, if there was no quarrel left between them, he should have sent for Mīr Jumlah. Frightened at this remonstrance, Farrukhsīyar cancelled his first order. But Mīr Jumlah, directly he had received the *farmān*, had started on his return, and paying no attention whatever to the second order, hurried on by forced marches. Knowing what anger would be aroused in Quṭb-ul-mulk's breast by Mīr Jumlah's arrival, Farrukhsīyar despatched Shāhbāz Khān, *Qūl*,[3] to turn him back wherever he might be found. Even this measure was powerless to arrest his course. However, as Mīr Jumlah perceived that, out of fear of the Wazir, Farrukhsīyar would decline to see him, he decided to give himself out as an adherent of the Sayyads. Accordingly he went straight to Quṭb-ul-mulk's house, 5th Zū,l Qā'dah (29th September, 1718). Farrukhsīyar, overpowered by anger, took away Mīr Jumlah's rank and gave orders to resume the mansion, known as Asad Khān's, which had been granted him, and conferred it upon Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah. Energetic men were sent with orders to remove him from the house of Quṭb-ul-mulk to that of the late Fidāe Khān. Quṭb-ul mulk was much enraged at this action, and the ill-will which had been hidden under a pretended reconciliation, was now again shown openly. The Wazīr wrote (5th Zu,l Qa'dah, 29th

[1] Shiū Dās 18b, (copy of *Farmān*), Mīrzā Muḥammad, 401.

[2] Section 22.

[3] *Qūl*, Turkish for slave.

September, 1718) to his brother, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, requesting him to leave the Dakhin at once and return to Dihlī. In his letter, after referring to the enemies who had obtained the ear of His Majesty, he recounts the story of Jai Singh, Sawāe's, campaign against Currā, Jāṭ, and the quarrel arising from its termination, his fear of assassination, and his measures to collect additional troops. There is no doubt that Quṭb-ul-mulk's fears for his personal safety were not unfounded. For instance, on the 29th Shawāl (24th September, 1718), when he was seated in the office of the *Dīwān* engaged in signing documents, spies brought him word that an outbreak was planned, whereupon he called hurriedly for a *pālkī*, and was carried home.[1]

One of the strange occurrences of this time, one remaining quite unexplained, was the sudden appearance in the imperial audience hall, on the 11th Shawwāl (6th September, 1718), of a man who took his seat on the marble platform, the place where the *khawāṣ* or pages stand, and made three *salāms* or reverences, with his sword. When told by the carpet-spreaders and guards to desist, he drew his sword and attacked them, whereupon one of the guards dispatched him with his dagger. No one knew who he was or what his object had been. His body was made over to the *Kotwāl*.[2]

When Farrukhsīyar heard that Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had been written to, he sent off Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah to allay the Wazir's apprehensions. On the 6th Z,ul Qa'dah (30th September, 1718) he went out hunting, and on his way home sent a message that he was about to honour Quṭb-ul-mulk with a visit. It so happened that Rajah Ajīt Singh had been told of a plot made by Farrukhsīyar to seize him, when he, as in duty bound, should come out to the door of his house, to make obeisance at the time of the Emperor's passing by. This may have had no other foundation than in the Rājah's evil conscience, for, as Khāfī Khān says, it is a proverb that: "The faithless are full of fear."[3] In any case the fact remains that Ajīt Singh sought that day a refuge with Quṭb-ul-mulk. As soon as the Emperor heard of the Rājah's presence, he countermanded his orders, and sent Sayyad Najm-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān to say, that if that base-born pig had not been at the Wazir's house, he would have paid him a visit. On the arrival of the boat (*nawārah*)[4] opposite the

[1] Kāmwar Khān, 182; Mīrzā Muḥammad, 404, is a little different. Mīrzā Muḥammad, 385, Shiū Dās, 17b (copy of letter to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān.)

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 181.

[3] Al-khā, in khā'if.

[4] *Nawārah*, these boats were fashioned into fanciful shapes such as wild animals, etc. They were roofed in at one end, which was covered with broad cloth; they were better finished and lighter than a common boat (*kishti*). The boatmen

Wazir's house, the Emperor directed the boatmen to increase their speed, in spite of the fact that the imperial equipage was drawn up, and the wazir waiting on the river bank to receive him. Thus this occasion for untying the knot was lost, and the Emperor turned again to Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah for advice. That noble repaired to Quṭb-ul-mulk's on the 9th Zū, l Qa'dah (3rd October, 1718) and conferred with him. At this time, by reason of the rise of I'tiqād Khān (Muḥammad Murād), Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah had fallen out of favour with Farrukhsīyar, and was even suspected by him of treachery. Being aware of this change of feeling, he was now far from well-affected to the Emperor, had improved his relations with Quṭb-ul-mulk, and had inspired that noble with full confidence in his friendship. Listening to his advice, Quṭb-ul-mulk presented himself in *darbār*, made his obeisance, and, to all appearance, the quarrel was again made up, after the usual false speeches had been exchanged.[1]

The story goes that Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah had planned with Farrukhsīyar the arrest of Quṭb-ul-mulk. The Emperor was to take his seat in the *Tasbīḥ Khānah*, or chapel, round which the armed attendants were to be secretly collected. When the moment came, the signal was to be given by the cry of "*Qūl!*" and, rushing in, the slaves were to seize the wazir and hurry him off to prison. Quṭb-ul-mulk having entered with a small following, Farrukhsīyar, when the time came, called out as agreed on, "*Qūl!*" From some motive, either of prudence or friendship, Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah, instead of repeating the signal, changed the word, and shouted "*Qūl!*" (armed retinue), the word used to signify that all those waiting for audience should be admitted. This slight change of one letter disarranged the whole plan. The slaves never stirred. But a large number of Quṭb-ul-mulk's armed retinue at once appeared in the audience-chamber, and Farrukhsīyar was much disturbed at seeing this crowd. As soon as the minister had left, he vented his rage on Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah. In his access of passion he threw at his favourite the seal, the box for holding the ink used with it, and, as some add, a metal spittoon. After this catastrophe Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah absented himself for several days, nor did he return until Farrukhsīyar had written him a friendly note in his own hand, asking him to attend court as usual.[2]

were mostly from Kashmīr and used Kashmīrī calls to each other when working. Anand Rām, (Mukhliṣ) *Mirāt-ul-Iṣṭilāḥ*, fol. 166b, B. M. Oriental, No. 1813 (Elliot MSS.). Anand Rām quotes Bābar as to the convenience of boat travelling.

1 Khāfī Khān, II., 803, 804, Kāmwar Khān, 182, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 405.

2 Mīrzā Muḥammad, 405, Khushḥāl Cand, 411a, Shiū Dās 17a, Yaḥyā Khān 123b, Kām Rāj, *'Ibratnāmah*, 56a, Kāmwar Khān, 183.

After a few days the Emperor went out again on a hunting expedition, accompanied by many officers and state officials: and, as usual, the rumour spread that on this occasion, when Quṭb-ul-mulk appeared to make his obeisance, hands would be laid upon him. Quṭb-ul-mulk, receiving a hint from Ṣamṣāmrud-daulah, came surrounded by men; when he dismounted at the entrance, five hundred fully-armed soldiers dismounted with him. In spite of all that the chamberlain (*Mīr Tozak*) and attendants (*yasāwal*) could say, the whole of these men followed into the audience tent. Farrukhsīyar was greatly perturbed at the sight, and it was with much constraint that he was able to utter a few words of compliment before he dismissed the visitor. Further attempts to heal the breach were made. On the 20th Zū,l Qa'dah (14th October, 1718) Ẓafar Khān, the fourth Bakhshī, took I'tiqād Khān to Quṭb-ul-mulk's house, when the favourite and the wazir interchanged presents, and three days afterwards, Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah visited I'tiqād Khān. About this time Farrukhsīyar, always of a suspicious nature, came to the conclusion that his foster-mother, who held an honoured position in the harem, and I'timād Khān, a eunuch, had betrayed his secret projects to the Sayyads.[1]

Section 30.—Mir Jumlah Pardoned.

After waiting for more than a month, Mīr Jumlah was at last admitted to audience on the 7th Zū,l Hijjah (31st October, 1718) under the auspices of Niẓām-ul-mulk. He received the addition of "*Tarkhān*" to his former titles.[2] Three days afterwards, it being the day of the 'Īd, the Emperor proceeded to the 'Īdgāh for the usual observances, but by his express order Quṭb-ul-mulk did not attend. The reason for this prohibition was that Farrukhsīyar recollected and resented the failure of his plans on the day of the former 'Īd at the end of Ramaẓān. On the 12th (5th November, 1718) I'tiqād Khān paid Mīr Jumlah a visit at his house, and the next day, by the Emperor's order, he invited Mīr Jumlah to a banquet in return. All this intercourse was encouraged by Farrukhsīyar in the hope that the chief nobles would join with him heart and soul in the destruction of Quṭb-ul-mulk. But all was without avail. The bringing forward of I'tiqād Khan had

[1] This gives Kāmwar Khān, 183, an opening for quoting the saying, "one spot (or dot) turns "*maḥram*," محرم (a confidant) into "*mujrim*," مجرم (a criminal)":

Maḥram ba yak nuktah mujrim shavvad.

[2] For the meaning and attributes of this distinction, see Blochmann, *'Aín*, I., 364, and *Tārīkh-i-yaashīdī*, Ross and Elias, p. 55, note.

estranged many who were otherwise well affected to the Emperor's person, and had caused them to enter into terms with Quṭb-ul-mulk. By expatiating on the wazīr's Sayyad lineage, on his claims for service done, and on his bravery in the field, they found reasons for holding that right was on his side. I'tiqād Khān's sudden rise, which was without apparent justification, rankled like a thorn in their hearts. Farrukhsiyar paid no heed to this discontent, but continued to support I'tiqād Khān, whose counsels he received as equivalent to a revelation from on high, nor could he bear the man to be away from him for a moment. At the annual rejoicing for the defeat of Jahāndār Shāh, 15th Zū,l Hijjah 1130 H. (8th November, 1718), Quṭb-ul-mulk did not attend.[1]

Section 31.—Ḥusain 'Ali Khān's Start from the Dakhin.

On the 1st Muḥarram 1131 H. (23rd November, 1718) an official report reached the Court that in the previous month Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had started from Aurangābād. On the 22nd Muḥarram (14th December, 1718) he left Burhānpur, and Ujjain on the 4th Ṣafar (26th December, 1718), continuing his route *viâ* Mandeshwar.[2] Before this time he had put forward a pretext that the Dakhin climate did not agree with him, and had asked to be recalled. Farrukhsiyar said he might try a change to Aḥmadābād, and if he did not recover, he might then return to Hindūstān. About this time Ḥusain 'Alī Khān also reported that Mu'īn-ud-dīn,[3] a reputed son of Prince Akbar, the rebel son of 'Ālamgīr, had been captured by Rājah Sāhū, the Mahrattah, and made over to him, on the condition that he obtained the release of the Rājah's mother and brother, who had been prisoners since the year 1101 H. (15th Muḥarram 1101 H., 28th October, 1689) and were still at Dihlī. Farrukhsiyar ordered the Bakhshī to send the pretended prince to Dihlī.[4]

Compliance with this order did not fall in with Ḥusain Alī Khān's plans; for his brother's, Quṭb-ul-mulk's, letter had already warned him that his presence was necessary at Court. He had already made up his mind to return to Hindūstān, and the fiction of having found a son of Prince Akbar was only part of this design, and in fact a mere excuse.

1 Kāmwar Khān, 183, 184, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 410.

2 Mandeshwar, Thornton, 645, now in Sindiah's dominions, Lat. 24° 1′, Long. 75° 9′.

3 *'Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn, Ib.* 127a, refers to the pretended prince as Jawān Bakht, who had come to the Karnātak from Irān when Prince Akbar died. Yaḥyā Khān, 124a, says he was called a son of Kām Bakhsh.

4 Kāmwar Khān, Shiū Dās, 20a, Khāfī Khān, II., 793, 795.

He had given out in open *darbār* that he expected the arrival from Satārah of a prince, Mu'in-ud-dīn Ḥusain, son of Prince Akbar. When Prince Akbar, after rebelling against the Emperor 'Ālamgīr, left India for Iṣfahān, this son had been, it was said, left behind. Equipage suitable for a prince of the Gurgānī family was prepared; scarlet tents, a throne, and a crown were made ready. The Mīr Bakhshī at the same time announced that he was about to pay a visit to Hindūstān. The youth selected for the rôle of royal pretender was the son of a Qāẓi in one of the Dakhin towns, good looking, talented, and with some external resemblance to the princes of the royal house. Mu'aẓẓam Khān, a *jama'dār*, was deputed to bring to camp the so-called prince. The news writers and intelligencers asked for instructions as to what entry they should make. The Nawāb replied that he would in a short time make a report, and himself write detailed letters to Court. Next day the tents were pitched outside the city; more soldiers were enlisted and a month's pay given to them in advance. Terms were come to with Rājah Sāhū, and payment to him of the *Chauth*, or one-fourth of the revenues of the Dakhin, was agreed to. Husain 'Alī Khān also obtained the services of Mahrattas at the daily rate of one rupee for each man, to be paid from the time of crossing the Narbadā until their return home.[1] After three or four days, Mu'in-ud-dīn Ḥusain was placed on an elephant in a high-sided canopy, with a white cloth over it to keep out the dust. Red and white tents were erected, a deep ditch was dug all round his camp, sentinels were set, and all the externals of royalty were assigned to him. To keep up appearances, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān went daily to have a *mujrā* or ceremonious interview with his prisoner, such as would be necessary in the case of a real prince.[2]

Finally on the 15th Shawwāl (10th September, 1718) Ḥusain 'Alī Khān appointed his brother, Saif-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān, to the command of a vanguard of 4,000 to 5,000 men, and sent him towards Burhānpur to collect artillery and other stores. 'Ālim 'Alī Khān,[3] his nephew and adopted son, was named as his representative during his absence. Saif-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān temporarily replaced Jān Niṣār Khān as gover-

[1] G. Duff, 197.

[2] Kām Rāj, *'Ibratnāmāh*, 64b.

[3] 'Ālim 'Alī Khān had been adopted when an infant, (Kām Rāj, *'Ibratnāmah*, 64b.) The *farmān* of appointment can be seen in *Majma'-ul-inshā* (litho.) p. 84. It includes the 6 *ṣūbahs* of the Dakhin with the *faujdār*-ship of the Karnātak and of Bijāpur, and the collectorship (*taḥṣīldārī*) of the tribute (*peshkash*) due from the zamīndārs of Sondhā and Bidnūr. Mubāriz Khān, Daler Khan, and the other governors were placed under him, and letters notifying this fact were transmitted to them through him.

nor of Khāndesh, and Sādāt Khān, an old officer now blind of both eyes, was sent as commandant of the fort at Aḥmadnagar.[1] 'Ālim 'Alī Khān was put under the tutelage of Shankarā Mulhār, a trusted agent of Rājah Sahū.[2] About November, 1718, Ḥusāin 'Alī Khān started himself,[3] accompanied by Sayyad Asadullah (Nawāb Auliyā), the sons of Jān Nīṣār Khān, 'Iwaz Khān, deputy governor of Barār, Asad 'Alī Khān, the one-handed, the 'Alī Murād Khānī, Dil Daler Khān (brother of Luṭfullah Khān, Ṣādiq), Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān (grandson of Khān Zamān), Hājī Saifullah Khān, Ẓiā-ud-dīn Khān, *diwān* of the Dakhin, Firūz 'Alī Khān, Bārhah, *the Amir-ul-umarā's* Bakhshī, Diyānat Khān (grandson of Amānat Khān, 'Khāfī), Rājah Jai Singh, Bundelah, Rājah Muḥkam Singh, one of the chief employés, and Khiẓr Khān, Pannī (sister's son of Dāūd Khān, Pannī).[4] In all there were twenty-two imperial commanders, many of whom followed unwillingly. There were 8,000 or 9,000 of his own troops and 11,000 or 12,000 Mahrattas, besides Bhīls and Talingās. He carried with him nearly all the civil establishments of the Dakhin, and anyone who made excuses and turned back was punished by the loss of his *jāgīr*.[5] The total force was 25,000 horsemen, besides the artillery, and 10,000 to 11,000 infantry armed with matchlocks. At the head of the Mahrattas were Bālā Jī Wiswanāth, the Peshwā, Khandū Rāo Dhabāriyah, Santā,[6] and some others. These leaders received horses and elephants, robes of honour,

[1] Khāfī Khān, II., 797.

[2] For Shankarā, see Grant Duff, 197, Khāfī Khān, II., 796.

[3] Khāfī Khān, the historian, was himself present in Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's army, see II., 798. He had just been removed from the *faujdārī* of Muṣṭafābād.

[4] Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 225. Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān, eldest son of Manavvar Khān, Quṭbī, son of Manavvar Khān, son of Khān Zamān, *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, III., 655, Ẓiā-ud-dīn Khān, *diwān* of the Dakhin, see *Ma, āṣir-ul-umarā*, III., 36, and Khafi Khān, II., 790, Diyānat Khān, grandson of Amānat Khān, *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I., 258. Diyānat Khān, No. 2, id. II., 62, Rājah Mukḥam Singh (Khatrī), *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, II., 330, died Jamādī II, 1137 H., *Tārikh-i-Muḥammadī*. For the Pannīs, see *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, II., 63. Instead of "Jai Singh" the *Siyar-ul-muta, akharin* has "Partīt Singh."

[5] Khāfī Khān, II., 803.

[6] Or Khandī. This man was Rājah Sahū's so-called *Ṣūbahdār* in Khāndesh, (Khāfī Khān, II., 798). An abstract of his career runs thus (Grant Duff, 162, 163, 196, 209): he was present at the council held after the death of Sambhā Jī (1689); and took a part in the flight of Rājā Rām. In 1716, after a long absence, he reappeared at the court of Satāra and was made *Senāpatī* (commander-in-chief). He died in 1721, shortly after the defeat of 'Alim Alī Khān. Santā Jī was said to be the natural son of Parsū Jī, Bhonslah (G. Duff, 199, note). Briggs in a note (p. 178) calls him Santā Jī, Kadam.

and money for expenses, with many promises of future reward in addition to the release of Rājah Sambhā's wife and son. These promises included ratification of the treaty for a grant of the *Chauth*, or one-fourth share in the revenues of the Dakhin, a grant of the *Sardesmukhī* or ten per cent. on the collections, and a confirmation of the hereditary Mahrattah territory, or *Swa-rāj*. Each Mahrattah trooper was to receive from the Viceroy's treasure-chest half a rupee, or, as some say, a rupee a day. A number of zamīndārs and their levies also joined. The most disturbing rumours as to the fate of Quṭb-ul-mulk, passed from mouth to mouth throughout Aurangābād.[1]

Consternation was produced in Farrukhsīyar's mind by the news of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's approach. Ikhlāṣ Khān, who was supposed to have great influence with the Sayyad, was sent off at once to intercept him and persuade him to return.[2] Early in Ṣafar 1131 H. (end of December, 1718) this envoy came up with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān in the neighbourhood of Māndū in *Ṣūbah* Mālwah. Instead of loyally executing his trust, Ikhlāṣ Khān employed his secret interviews with the *Mīr Bakhshī* in filling his mind with stories of the peril of his brother's position, of the threatening assemblage of great nobles at Dihlī, and of the overpowering influence acquired by I'tiqād Khān (Muḥammad Murād). Instead of being appeased, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was made only more eager than before to reach Dihlī. At first, some danger was apprehended from the attitude assumed by Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Cīn, governor of Mālwah, then encamped near Ujjain. Naṣīr-ud-dīn Khān, Irānī, superintendent of the viceroy's stables, had been sent off to interview Muḥammad Amīn Khān and discover his intentions, when suddenly news was received that he had marched for Dihlī without orders.[3]

[1] G. Duff, 198, Khāfī Khān, II., 794.

[2] Khāfī Khān, II., 799, says Ikhlāṣ Khān started at the end of Shawwāl 1130 H. (24th September, 1718). This is too early to fit in with the other authorities. Kām Rāj, *'Ibratnāmah*, 65a, says Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was at Sarāe Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh north of the Narbadā river, when Ikhlāṣ Khān joined him. He calls Ikhlāṣ Khān the *Mīr Munshī*.

[3] From Amīn-ud-dīn's letter to Ikhlāṣ Khān, it would seem that on starting for Mālwah, Muḥammad Amīn Khān had bragged much of the aid he would obtain from the Afghān chief, Dost Muḥammad Khān (afterwards of Bhopāl). Nothing came of these boasts. But he wrote to Dihlī demanding impossible reinforcements in men and artillery and extravagant advances of money. His applications were rejected, and it was assumed at Dihlī, as it turned out quite rightly, that he meant to beat a retreat. Probably he also received a summons from Farrukhsīyar to return to Court (See later on Section 33). *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, p. 53, Khāfī Khān, II., 794-799, 800.

The *farmān* carried by Ikhlāṣ Khān, after acknowledging the receipt of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's report of his coming to Court with the son of Prince Akbar and reciting his promise to Rajah Sāhū, the Mahrattah ruler, (first) that the youth should not be killed, (secondly) that the Rajah's mother and brother should be released, goes on to state that the conditions asked for were accepted. For such an important business it was right for him to come, and His Majesty yearned to see him. At the same time, public affairs in the Dakhin were not in a position to admit of his absence, and the Mahrattas would seize the opportunity to give trouble. He ought, therefore, to return to his own government. All necessary instructions had been given to Ikhlāṣ Khān who would impart them orally ; and the prisoner should be made over to him on a signed and valid receipt. As for Rājah Sāhū's requests, they would be granted in whatever way Ḥusain 'Alī Khān chose to lay them before the throne.

In his reply, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān admitted that to come to Court without orders was opposed to rule, but he required to represent in person certain matters pertaining to the Dakhin, and there was also the prisoner, with whose custody there was no one he could trust. He alleged that he had left a trustworthy deputy in the Dakhin. When, on reaching Mālwah, Ikhlāṣ Khān had delivered to him the *farmān*, he had at once made ready to return. But the officers of the Mahrattah rājah, who were in his company at the head of a large force, swore that unless he remained, they could never secure the release of the Rājah's mother and brother. Now, if they were to suspect him of treachery, the consequences might be dreadful. Moreover, he was overcome by his longing to see His Majesty once more, he had come a long way, the remaining distance was short; he had therefore decided to push on, make over the prisoner, discuss certain matters of the Dakhin, and then return at once to his own government. On these pretexts he disregarded the order to retrace his steps.[1]

Section 32.—Progress of Events at Dihlī.

By the middle of Muḥarram 1131 H. (7th December, 1718) Quṭb-ul-mulk had been absent from Court for two or three months. In that month the Emperor passed several times close to his house on the way to and from Fīrūz Shāh's *Lāth*,[2] towards which he had gone to hunt, but on no occasion had Quṭb-ul-mulk come out to the door to make his

1 Shiū Dās, 20, 21b.

2 There were two pillars at Dihlī known as *Lāth-i-Fīrūz Shāh*. The first was brought by river from a place 90 *kos* to the north, and put up in Koṭilah Fīrūz Shāh

obeisance, as required by etiquette, Farrukhsīyar was now in a state of terror at the approach of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, whose well-known violence of temper and vigour of purpose he much dreaded. He and his advisers thought it prudent therefore to win over Quṭb-ul-mulk, so that he might act as a peace-maker and not as an increaser of strife. Since, by this time Farrukhsīyar had abandoned all hope of destroying the Sayyads, success in this new project was looked on as far from impossible. But, as Yaḥyā Khān says, he did not recollect the saying, "After you have lost your sight what is the use of treatment?"[1]

Accordingly, on the 26th Muḥarram (18th December, 1718) Farrukhsīyar embarked in his boat on the Jamnah and was taken to the *wazīr's* door. Quṭb-ul-mulk came out to meet him and bowed his head so as to touch the Emperor's feet. Rich offerings were brought and presented. In return Farrukhsīyar took off the turban he was wearing and placed it on the minister's head along with the costly jewels attached to it, adding a suit of clothes which he had himself worn.[2] Breakfast was eaten and a siesta taken in the house before his return to the palace. On his departure, after the exchange of many vows and promises, Ratn Cand and some others received robes of honour. Kāmwar Khān here justly quotes a line to the effect that such promises were as much to be relied on as the winds of heaven.[3]

The next day, the 27th, about midday, Quṭb-ul-mulk appeared at the Audience, made the usual offerings, and was dismissed. That afternoon there was an outbreak among the troops, and it very nearly ended in an attack on Quṭb-ul-mulk's mansion. On one side were the artillery headed by Bīkā, Hazārī;[4] on the other, the men of Rājah Ajīt Singh and of Curā, Jāṭ. The fight lasted over three hours, many

near the Masjid at Fīrūzābād, *Aṣār-us-ṣanādīd*, Chapter III., p., 47. It stands a few hundred paces to the south of the present city, (Thornton, 26).

The second pillar is shown in the map of Dihlī and its environs, made in 1808 and prefixed to E. Thomas' "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings" (8vo, 1871). It is there named "Shah Fakir's lath." It stood on the old bank of the Jamnah, north of the new city, half-way between it and Wazīrābād. This is, I presume, the same as the "lath" of the *Kūshak-i-shikār* in the *Aṣār*, p. 8, chapter 3, and Carr Stephens, 140. The second of these pillars is, in all probability, the one referred to in the text. As to the removal of these pillars to, and their re-erection at Dihlī, see Shams-i-Siraj, 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, Elliot, III., 350, 351.

[1] *Ba'd az khirābī-i-baṣārat fikre sūd na dārad.* Yaḥyā Khān, fol. 124a, Kāmwar Khān, 185, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 417.

[2] A mark of high favour, according to the Mughal ceremonial.

[3] *Takiyah bar 'ahd-i-tū o bād-i-ṣabā na awān kard.*

[4] Or Tīkā. A *Hazārī* is equivalent to a captain of artillery.

on both sides were killed, and only the coming-on of night separated the combatants. Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān, Ghālib Jang, the commander of the artillery, Sa'īd Qulī Khān, Qūl, and Sayyad Najm-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān intervened, and the quarrel was made up. Ẓafar Khān was sent by the Emperor to make excuses and apologise to Rājah Ajīt Singh.[1]

At his own interview Quṭb-ul-mulk had told the Emperor of Rājah Ajīt Singh's discontent, which ought in his opinion to be removed. Acting on this opinion, Farrukhsīyar on the 1st Ṣafar (23rd December, 1718) went with Quṭb-ul-mulk to Rājah Ajīt Singh's quarters, and presents were interchanged. He remained over an hour and then went on his way. On the following day the *wazīr* and Rājah Ajīt Singh proceeded together to the Emperor's audience. To all appearance the breach was closed once more. The next man requiring to be conciliated was Sarbuland Khān, Mubāriz-ul-mulk, Dilāwar Jang. He had been appointed, as we have already said, to Āgrah, and after enlisting a large force marched as far as Farīdābād. His expenses were heavy, and he was at all times a bad financier. Farrukhsīyar neither recalled him in order to strike a decisive blow, nor sent him any remittance from the treasury. Sarbuland Khān parted with everything he had, even down to his dwelling-house, and then came back from Farīdābād without orders, and sought refuge in Old Dihlī. His *manṣab* had been taken from him in consequence. On the 6th Ṣafar (28th December, 1718) Quṭb-ul-Mulk went to him and brought him to audience.[2]

By this time Farrukhsīyar began to see that Quṭb-ul-mulk and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had obtained the upper hand of him. All his efforts were now directed to propitiating his enemies. Quṭb-ul-mulk was raised on the 6th Ṣafar (28th December) from 7,000, 7,000 horse to 8,000, 8,000 horse, of which 5,000 were *dúaspah* (two horses each), and he received a gift of 5 *krors* and 80 *lakhs* of *dām*.[3] I'tiqād Khān (Muḥammad Murād) and Ẓafar Khān, Ṭurrah-i-bāz, having acted as negociators between the Emperor and Quṭb-ul-mulk, the supposed happy results were attributed to their exertions. The former was now styled Rukn-ud-daulah, I'tiqād Khān, Bahādur, Farrukhshāhī, with the rank of 7,000, 7,000 horse, of which 4,000 were *dūaspah*. To Ẓafar Khān's titles were added the words Rustam Jang; he was given the insignia of the fish dignity, and he was promoted to 6,000. On the following day, 7th Ṣafar (29th December), Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was promoted to 8,000, 8,000 horse

1 Mīrzā Muḥammad, 417, 418; Kāmwar Khān, 185,186, Khāfī Khān, II, 800.

2 Kāmwar Khān, 186; Mīrzā Muḥammad, 427; Khāfī Khān, II., 801.

3 Forty to the rupee, about £96, 666 at present values.

of which 5,000 were *dūaspah*, and 4 *krors* and 80 *lakhs* of *dām* were granted to him.[1]

Several appointments were made under the renewed influence of Quṭb-ul-mulk. On the 16th Ṣafar 1131 H. (7th January, 1719) Sarbuland Khān was appointed to Kābul, the former governor, Nāṣir Khān, having recently died at Peshāwar.[2] Mahārājah Ajīt Singh, on the same day, was gratified with the epithet of Rājeshar, added to his other titles, and the government of Aḥmadabad-Gujarāt was given to him, on the removal of Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah (Khān Daurān). At the same time the Emperor's own favourites were not forgotten. On the 16th Ṣafar 1131 H. (7th January, 1719) the *chaklah* of Murādābād (part of the *ṣūbah* of Dihlī) was taken from Niẓām-ul-mulk and erected into a *ṣūbah* with the name of Ruknābād, and conferred on I'tiqād Khān,[3] his deputy being Fakhrullah Khān, his brother-in-law. Niẓām-ul-mulk was thus entirely ousted from office, but Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah was consoled the next day for the loss of Aḥmadābād by appointment to Āgrah, including the *faujdār*-ship of Mathurā.[4]

Farrukhsīyar's thoughts next turned to a reconciliation between Rājah Jai Singh, Sawáe, and Quṭb-ul-mulk. Jai Singh was displeased at the part which Quṭb-ul-mulk had played in the matter of Curāman, Jāṭ. As the Rājah had taken Farrukhsīyar's side throughout, the latter was very anxious to favour him, but Quṭb-ul-mulk's position having proved so strong, he was afraid to do anything without a reconciliation. Therefore, on the 18th Ṣafar (9th January, 1719), he sent Ẓafar Khān to the Rājah's house, and at this messenger's suggestion the Rājah accompanied him on a visit to Quṭb-ul-mulk. The Nawāb received him most affably, and gave him a dagger and other things by way of present. A return visit was paid on the 24th, followed on the 25th (15th and 16th January, 1719) by a visit to the Rājah from Farrukhsīyar himself, to whom valuable offerings were made both in cash and other things. The Rājah had also filled a reservoir (*ḥauẓ*) with rose-water and saffron, had adorned the trees with imported fruit, and in all ways strove to do honour to the occasion. His titles were increased to Rāj-indar, Rājdhirāj.[5]

Section 33.—Return of Muḥammad Amīn Khān from Mālwah.

Muḥammad Amīn Khān who had, as we have seen, deserted the

[1] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 429.

[2] Nāṣir Khān died on the 24th Muḥarram 1131 H., 16th December, 1718.

[3] Khāfī Khān, II, 792, asserts that the *chaklah* was given in *al-taghmah* (literally "Red-seal") or perpetual grant.

[4] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 414, 431, Kāmwar Khān, 186.

[5] Kāmwar Khān, 187, Mirzā Muḥammad, 431.

post of danger in Mālwah, now arrived near the city. In the preceding year he had received orders to clear the Mālwah province from an incursion of the Mahrattas, but owing to the delay he made, for objects of his own, he fell under the imperial displeasure, was removed from the office of Second Bakhshī, and exiled from Court as permanent governor of Mālwah. From that time he had been employed in his new province. In the interval Farrukhsīyar, pursuing his endeavours to destroy the Sayyads, had recourse first to I'tiqād Khān and then to Sarbuland Khān. Despairing of them, he turned next to Ajīt Singh, who went over at once to the opposite side. Niẓām-ul-mulk was next appealed to. Seeing clearly the Emperor's want of firmness, he declined to undertake the business himself, but continued to favour the idea and to give advice. Some say that on his suggestion his cousin, Muḥammad Amīn Khān, was recalled. No doubt, if Niẓām-ul-mulk and Muḥammad Amīn Khān, could have believed in the truth of the promises made to them, and had been properly supported, in all probability the two Sayyads would have been uprooted easily enough. But Farrukhsīyar was a prey to unreasoning terrors, and he could never come to any firm resolve.[1]

When the rumours of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's intended return to Court were confirmed, Muḥammad Amīn Khān knew not what course to adopt. His force was not strong enough to enable him to throw himself across the Nawāb's route and block his way. To openly evade a meeting would leave an indelible stain on his reputation for courage. Luckily, the order came for his return to Court and he set out at once.[2] In the meantime Farrukhsīyar came to the conclusion that he could never oust the Sayyads, and seeing no other way of escape tried to make friends with them. By this time Muḥammad Amīn Khān had marched back as far as Āgrah. Quṭb-ul-mulk thereupon remarked that as his Majesty had no longer any distrust of him, why or wherefore had he recalled Muḥammad Amīn Khān? Farrukhsīyar, frightened that there would be trouble, sent off urgent orders to Muḥammad Amīn Khān directing his return to Mālwah. As this order did not suit that noble's plans he disobeyed it, and leaving his baggage in Āgrah, he made forced marches towards Dihlī. On the 20th Ṣafar (11th January, 1719) he was at Bārahpulah, a few miles to the south of the city.

On learning of Muḥammad Amīn Khān's arrival, Quṭb-ul-mulk

1 Mīrzā Muḥammad, 433.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, 802, on the other hand, asserts that he left Mālwah without orders and without permission.

said to His Majesty: "It seems that the servants of the State have "made disobedience of orders a habit. To such an extent is this the "case that, in spite of renewed orders to retrace his steps, Muḥammad "Amīn Khān has not discontinued his advance to the capital." Farrukhsīyar was put out at this complaint, and answered: "Have you anyone you can send to turn him back?" The *wazīr* then sent Rājah Ratn Cand to persuade Muḥammad Amīn to return to his government under pain of the imperial displeasure. Muḥammad Amīn Khān used strong language, even in the Rājah's presence, and utterly refused to obey. The Rājah reported this state of things to the minister. Quṭb-ul-mulk, with much heat, repeated the matter to the Emperor, and caused him to become angry. Muḥammad Amīn Khān was deprived of his rank (*manṣab*), and his revenue assignments (*jāgīrs*) were attached. Quṭb-ul-mulk considered that the stars in their courses were fighting for him, when the Emperor had been estranged from such a high-placed and valiant noble. Forthwith he set to work to make his own peace with Muḥammad Amīn, and in two or three days obtained from the Emperor permission for him to enter the city, sending out his own brother Najm-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān, and Ẓafar Khān to escort him to his home. This took place on the 29th Ṣafar (20th January). The incident turned Muḥammad Amīn Khān's heart from Farrukhsīyar, and made him friendly to the cause of the Sayyads, at least to the extent of securing his neutrality.

At this point a few other changes may be noted. As a consequence of Muḥammad Amīn Khān's loss of favour, the office of paymaster to the *Aḥadīs* was taken from his son, Qamr-ud-dīn Khān, and given to Ẓafar Khān, Ṭurrah, on the 1st Rabī'I. 1131 H. (21st January, 1719). Then, 'Ināyatullah Khān, with whom Quṭb-ul-mulk was displeased for his refusal to bow before the authority of Rājah Ratn Cand, lost his appointment of *Dīwān*. But as Farrukhsīyar believed in this man's honesty, he was not kept altogether out of employ, but transferred to the post of *khānsāmān*, or Lord Steward, on the 3rd Rabī' I. 1131 H. (23rd January, 1719). The Dīwānship of the *Tan* (assigned revenues) was made over to Rājah Bakht Mal, a *protēgē* of Muḥammad Yār Khān; as for the Exchequer or *Khāliṣah*, Quṭb-ul-mulk was told to carry on the duties till someone else was nominated, 4th Rabī' I. 1131 H. (24th January, 1719).[1]

Section 34.—Arrival of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān at Dihlī.

Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was approaching nearer and nearer to Dihlī.

[1] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 443.

He left Burhānpur on the 22nd Muḥarram 1131 H. (14th December, 1718) and Ujjain on the 4th Ṣafar[1] (26th December, 1718), having crossed the Narbadā by the Akbarpur ferry. The embassy of Ikhlāṣ Khān, who had met him near Māndū, had been unsuccessful in arresting his march. Then by letters from Barqandāz Khān, *faujdār* of Gwāliyār, and from his own agent at Court, he heard of the renewal of friendly intercourse on the 26th Muḥarram 1131 H. (18th December, 1718), between the Emperor and Quṭb-ul-mulk. Publicly, he received the news with the remark that if His Majesty had no longer ill-will to them, they had no other object left than to serve him loyally; after he had seen the Emperor and settled certain matters, he would return to the Dakhin without delay. The Dakhin officials, on leaving Aurangābād, had been told that they would be dismissed at the Fardāpur pass; on reaching that pass, they were ordered to come on to Burhānpur. At Burhānpur, much to their disgust, their continued attendance was enjoined. Thus, when the news of a return march to the Dakhin spread from tent to tent throughout the camp, all men received it with joy and looked forward to speedily seeing their homes again. But, in a day or two, persons in the confidence of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān divulged the fact that privately he had expressed the opinion that this was only a new plot hatched by Farrukhsīyar, that it was absurd on the face of it; had they never heard the saying: "When was a secret kept if it was told in an assembly?" A wise man could perceive the only possibly result, namely, if they fell into the clutches of the Emperor, their lives would be forfeited; but if they get hold of him, his escape was hopeless.[2]

All this time the supposed prince was surrounded and guarded with the greatest care. An elephant with rich trappings was set apart for him, and he rode in a canopied seat with the curtains drawn on all four sides, so that no one could see or recognize him. A separate division of the army was told off to escort him, and surrounded his elephant on every side. He was accorded the state and dignity of an imperial prince, men of rank stood on watch all night round his quarters; and on the march, two men sat behind the canopy waving fans of peacock feathers.[3]

When they came to the Rānā of Udepur's country, some villages and a great deal of sugar-cane were plundered by the men of the army. Soon afterwards a brahman sent by the Rānā

[1] Khāfī Khān says the 14th, but Mīrzā Muḥammad, a more precise writer, gives the 4th. The report reached Dihlī on the 29th (20th January, 719).

[2] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 433, Khāfī Khān, II., 799, 800.

[3] Shiū Dās, 20a.

arrived with presents and cash. Strict orders were then issued to refrain from injuring the crops. On the contrary, when they passed into the lands of Rājah Jai Singh Sawāe, the offering brought by one of his principal officers was refused, while many villages with their crops and cattle were pillaged by the camp followers. Even the women and children of the cultivators were looked on as lawful plunder and carried off.[1]

Another effort was now made by Farrukhsīyar, on the 1st Rabī' I., 1131[2] H. (21st, January, 1719) to conciliate Ḥusain 'Alī Khān through 'Abd-ul-ghafúr. This man was married to a sister of I'tiqād Khān's (Muḥammad Murād's) wife. Early in this reign he had joined Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, was admitted to his intimacy, and made the confidant of his secrets. When his brother-in-law rose into favour, he asked permission from Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and returned to Court. Through I'tiqād Khān he was made a *Dūhazāri* (2,000). He was now promoted to 2 500 *zāt* with a standard, and deputed to interview Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, his former friend. By this time even Farrukhsīyar's intimates began to despair of him. Amīn-ud-dīn wrote: "The complexion of affairs "changes here daily, fickleness prevails, sense is absent, and every "moment one futile device is succeeded by another. It reminds one of "the fable of the mice and the cat. In a deserted spot there were "many mice, and every day the cat came and took two or three of "them. The mice met in council and resolved to hang a bell to the "cat's neck, so that having warning they might flee in time. The bell "was got. But who was there able to attach it to the cat's neck?" Farrukhsīyar's projects were of this sort, from which nothing but failure could result. He is represented as still believing that the storm would blow over as it had done before. He did not seem to see that "to heal an estranged heart was as hard as to mend a broken glass," and advice was thrown away upon him.[3]

When 'Abd-ul-ghafūr had started, Farrukhsīyar recollected that for a long time past Quṭb-ul-mulk had urged that, until the office of *Dāroghah* or Superintendent of the Privy Audience had been made over to one of his brothers, he and his brother could not feel themselves safe. As Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's arrival grew nearer, the Emperor felt sure he would make the same request, nay, would never come to an audience till it had been granted. But if such an appointment were made, Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah would be ousted. He had long taken Farrukh-

[1] Khāfī Khān, II., 803.

[2] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 443, says it was on the 4th.

[3] Kāmwar Khān, 187, Dastūr-ul-Inshā, 30.

sīyar's side, and though lately he had fallen out of favour, his public disgrace was not desired. Accordingly on the 10th Rabī' I. (30th January, 1719) he was consoled with the place of 2nd Bakhshī, from which Islām Khān was ejected. Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah's duties as deputy of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, the first Bakhshī, were transferred to Ẓafar Khān, Ṭurrah, who was friendly with the Sayyads, and at the same time professed to be zealous for the Emperor. He made all the efforts he could to bring the parties to an agreement. For his attempts to keep friends with everybody he was described, Khāfī Khān says, as "the ingredient in every dish."[1] Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān succeeded Ẓafar Khān as fourth Bakhshī.[2]

Sarbuland Khān had lately been appointed to Kābul, but was still discontented. To appease him the Emperor ordered Quṭb-ul-mulk to visit him. This visit took place on the 9th Rabī' I. (29th January, 1719), I'tiqād Khān accompanying the *wazīr*. Sarbuland Khān on the 13th moved out as far as the Salt Market on his way to Kābul. Three days afterwards he was visited, by express orders, by Mahārājah Ajīt Singh and Mahārāo Bhīm Singh. Then at Sarāe Mihr Parwar, nine kos from the city,[3] he halted and awaited the course of events.[4]

Another new appointment, made on the 18th Rabī' I. 1131 H. (7th February, 1719), was that of Niẓām-ul-mulk to the province of 'Aẓīmābad-Paṭnah in place of Khān Zāmān Khān. From the first up to this time Niẓām-ul-mulk had never asked a favour from Quṭb-ul-mulk or his brother, and had even refrained from visiting them. On many occasions, during these troubles, he had urged on Farrukhsīyar the uprooting of the Sayyads as the best course he could pursue. On this account the two brothers were far from well disposed towards him. But now Farrukhsīyar, in a state of mortal fright, had placed himself completely in the hands of the two brothers. Under these altered circumstances, it was to the Emperor's interest to put an end to the quarrels and ill-feeling among the nobles, and he urged Quṭb-ul-mulk to take the first step in making friends with Niẓām-ul-mulk. This reconciliation falling in with Quṭb-ul-mulk's own ideas, on the 18th Rabī' I. (7th February, 1719) accompanied by two of his sister's sons, Sayyad Ghairat Khān

1 *Nakhūd-i-hamah āsh*, "the pea in every *plāt*" (Khāfī Khān, II., 806), a proverbial saying applied to a busybody, Roebuck, 419.

2 Mīrzā Muḥammad, 444.

3 Sarāe Mihr Parwar is not marked on the Indian Atlas; it must have been between Narelah and Soupat, perhaps near Akbarpur Barotah. Miskīn, B.M. Oriental, No. 1918, fol. 67a, mentions it as lying ten kos from Dihlī.

4 Mīrzā Muḥammad, 445, Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 248.

and Sayyad Shajā 'at-ullah Khān, and by Ẓafar Khān, he paid a visit to Niẓām-ul-mulk. Their talk was of a friendly character and to all appearance amity took the place of enmity. This was followed on the 23rd (12th February, 1719) by a banquet given to Niẓām-ul-mulk at Quṭb-ul-mulk's house, when the host loaded his guest with costly presents. Niẓām-ul-mulk at the request of the *wazīr* was now appointed governor of Bahār, or 'Aẓīmábád-Paṭnah. With one exception, that of Rājah Jai Singh, all the influential nobles had now been won over to the party of the Sayyads and had deserted Farrukhsīyar. The case of Niẓām-ul-mulk furnishes a flagrant instance of Farrukhsīyar's short-sightedness. He had recalled this noble from Murādābād, and without providing him with any equivalent, his charge was given to I'tiqād Khān, the favourite. Naturally Niẓām-ul-mulk was disgusted, and became a willing listener to overtures from Quṭb-ul-mulk.[1]

As Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was now not very far off, on the 21st Rabī'I. (10th February, 1719) Ẓafar Khān, and a day or two afterwards I'tiqād Khān, were sent out to greet him on the Emperor's behalf. They found his camp, on the 25th Rabi' I. 1131 H. (14th February, 1719), at Sarāe Allahwirdī Khān, about sixteen miles south-west of the city.[2] They are said to have met with a very ungracious reception. Ẓafar Khān gave offence by his ostentatious retinue; but more potent still was the talk of Rājah Ratn Cand, who had managed to anticipate them. He had already impressed Ḥusain 'Alī Khān with the belief that even after the last reconciliation, Farrukhsīyar continued both openly and secretly to favour those who wished to supersede the Sayyads, and had conferred on their enemies gifts and promotions, giving them hints to carry on the struggle. In short, through bad advice, the Emperor was still intent on "using his hatchet to cut his own foot." Amīn-ud-dīn was one of the men who interviewed Ḥusain 'Alī Khān at this halting-place. He writes to the Emperor that, having been taken by Ikhlāṣ Khān to the *Mīr Bakhshī*, he laid before him the message with which he had been entrusted. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān smiled but said nothing. As it was getting late, Amīn-ud-din asked what answer he should send. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān said that, as there was no time left, he would see him again on the morrow at the next stage, Sarāe Moth.[3] But if,

[1] Khāfī Khān, II., 792, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 446, Kāmwar Khān, 188.

[2] Khāfī Khān, II, 804, says that Ẓafar Khān and Ratn Cand reached the camp four stages from Dihlī. Sarāe Allahwirdī Khān is on the Indian Atlas Sheet, No. 49, S.W.: it lies two miles south of Gurganw. *Aḥwāl-i-Khawāqīn*, 139, mentions Koṭ Patīlī, 99 miles S.W. of Dihlī in Jaipur territory, as one of Ḥusain 'Alī Khāns' halting places, Thornton 528, Lat. 27° 43′, Long. 76° 16′.

[3] Sarāe Moth is no doubt meant for Moth ki, Masjid, about 5½ miles south of

as he had demanded, the interior of the palace were made over to their guards, all the Emperor's servants turned out, and the keys of all the gates handed to their men, he would, in the presence of His Majesty say and do what was requisite. In Amin-ud-dīn's opinion things looked very black, even Ikhlāṣ Khān threw the blame of his ill-success on Farrukhsīyar's inconsistent conduct; "or rather what fault did your Majesty commit; Fate had willed that it should be so." Amīn-ud-dīn winds up by offering a choice of two courses. First, I'tiqād Khān having been sent a prisoner to the *Kotwālī* or city police office, Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah, Ghālib Jang, Mīr Mushrif, and others should be called out to defend their sovereign; neither the guards of the palace should be withdrawn nor the keys of the gates made over; and His Majesty should issue forth and take the command in person. The other suggestion was that Farrukhsīyar should mount his horse and ride out alone, and presenting himself as a supplicant, ask for forgiveness: whatever sacrifice was demanded must be made. Even thus it was doubtful if Ḥusain 'Alī Khān would be appeased.[1]

Section 35.—Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Marches to Wazīrābād.

On the 27th Rabī' I., 1131 H. (16th Feb. 1719) Ḥusain 'Alī Khān a the head of his army, estimated to include 30,000 horsemen, marched to Wazīrābād, one of the imperial hunting preserves about four miles north of the city, on the Jamnah bank.[2] As they passed, his troops plundered the shops and trod down, in the most merciless manner, the standing crops in the fields outside the city. By this time he had often been heard to say, that as he no longer considered himself to be in the imperial service, why should he respect the rules of etiquette; the sovereign's anger, or the loss of rank having no terrors left for him. Disregarding the rules forbidding the playing of the *naubat* within one mile of the capital, he marched in with sovereign state, kettle-drums beating and clarions sounding. His fear fell on the hearts of all men, great and small. Farrukhsīyar was so overwhelmed with apprehension that he took no notice of this transgression; and persisting in his

the Dihlī gate of Shāhjahānābad, see map in Carr Stephens, p. 1, and description on p. 166.

1 Mīrzā Muḥammad, 447; Kāmwar Khān, 189, 193; Khāfī Khān, II, 804; *Dastūr-ul-inshā* 57.

2 Khāfī Khān II, 804, names Sarāe Bādlī, which is a place about 3 miles due west of Wazīrābād. Muḥammad Qāsim, 230, says the camp was close to the pillar of Fīrūz Shāh, and near Quṭb-ul-mulk's mansion. This must mean the second pillar north of the city, see *ante*, Section 32. In the '*Ibrat-nāmah* of Kām Rāj, 65, the place is described as Lāt Fīrūz Shāh, "near the camp of Ajīt Singh."

senseless conduct, he forwarded daily messages to the haughty rebel in soft and flattering words, with presents of fruit, *betel* and scent. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's pride increased in proportion, and to all these overtures he returned nothing but harsh answers. Still Farrukhsīyar's advisers persuaded him that all this rigour and this ill-temper were assumed, and merely intended by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān to increase his own importance, without betokening anything more serious.[1]

On the 29th (18th Feb. 1719) Muḥammad Amīn Khān and Nawāb Ghāzi-ud-dīn Khān, Ghālib Jang, came at different hours to visit Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. It is said that Muḥammad Amīn Khān, being angry with Farrukhsīyar, urged Ḥusain 'Alī Khān to depose him, and the danger from the Mughal party, which up to this time had threatened, was thus dissipated completely. On the 30th (19th Feb. 1719) Quṭb-ul-mulk, Mahārajah Ajīt Singh and Maharāo Bhīm Singh came to see Ḥusain Alī Khān. The three men held council together and their projects took shape and substance. It was decided that first of all, before Ḥusain 'Alī Khān presented himself, the post of Dāroghah of the Privy Audience and the command of the artillery should be confided to their nominees. Farrukhsīyar, owing to the presence of the rival prince, was in such a state of trepidation that, as one writer says, "his liver melted through fear." He wished Amīn-ud-dīn to find out what the Sayyads were plotting. Amīn-ud-dīn refused and repeated his former advice But from a friend, who had access to the Sayyads, he had just received a note, which he sent on in original. In this it was stated that Farrukhsīyar was to be deposed, and one of the captive princes raised to the throne. "Now was the time, in God's name, to fight for "life, to brace himself up to resolve! For, if he paid no heed, he might "be sure that Fortune would say good-bye, and the lamp of success "would be extinguished. What care or sorrow could the writer and "his friends have, save for His Majesty's person; to them individually "what did it matter? It is the ass that is changed, not the pack-"saddle."[2]

Following the advice of I'tiqād Khān, all the demands made by the Sayyads were conceded. On the 1st Rabī 'II., 1131 H. (20th February, 1719) Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah was ordered to vacate the house in

[1] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 447; Kāmwar Khān 189; Khāfī Khān, II, 804; Shiū Dās, 24a.

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the fort known as the *Peshkhānah*. He left it and moved into his own mansion in the city. Some five to six thousand of the Emperor's own troops (the *Wālā Shāhi*), and all Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah's retainers marched out of the fort. The following appointments were then made: Sayyad Najm-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān (with I'tiqād Khān as deputy) to be Dāroghah of the Privy Audience, *vice* Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah; Sayyad Khān Jahān (with Ẓafar Khān as deputy) to be commandant of the imperial artillery; 'Abd-un-nabī Khān to be head officer of the Mace-bearers; Sayyad Shajā'at Khān to be the head officer of the *Jilau*, or retinue; Nijābat 'Alī Khān to be Nāẓir or head of the Harem; and Sayyad Ghairat Khān to be Governor of Āgrah. Farrukhsīyar insisted that as the celebration of the *Nauroz*, or New Year's day, was so close at hand, I'tiqād Khān and the other old officials should continue to act for a few days as the deputies of the new office-holders. But in spite of the remonstrances addressed to him by his own people, Farrukhsīyar agreed that on the day of the interview, the gates of the fort and the doors of the palace should be held by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's men.[1]

During these few days the city was full of rumours, and fear spread among all classes. Daily the nobles were seen hastening to and fro in vain efforts to arrange the question in dispute. Even Quṭb-ul-mulk professed to be exerting himself in the same direction. It is said that in those few days Rājah Jai Singh several times pointed out to Farrukhsīyar many indications that the other side meant to come to no arrangement. It were well then, he urged, before matters went beyond mending, to take the field and fall upon the Sayyads. All would rally to his side, he, Jai Singh, had with him nearly 20,000 tried and trusty horsemen, and until the last breath had left his body he would fight for his master. Their enemy was not likely to resist long. Even if the Fates were unpropitious, they would have escaped, at any rate, the taunt of being cowards. All was in vain. The infatuated Emperor persisted in his attempt to buy off the Sayyads by concession after concession; and a few days afterwards, yielding to the insistance of Quṭb-ul-mulk, he, by a note written with his own hand, ordered Rājah Jai Singh and Rāo Budh Singh to march from Dihlī to their own country. The Rājah was told that the following day was an "auspicious moment" for a start, and as his robe of honour on departure accompanied the note, he need not wait for a farewell interview.[2]

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A eunuch brought the note to the Rajah; he protested but was not listened to; and seeing no help for it, he obeyed, and moved to Sarāe Sahīl. This was on the 3rd Rabī' II. (22nd February, 1719).[1]

On this same day, there was a fight on the march between Rājah Bhīm Singh and Rājah Budh Singh, who were first cousins, and had quarrelled over the succession to their ancestral country of Būndī. Several Rajputs and the Dīwān of Budh Singh were slain. In the end Bhīm Singh's side prevailed and Budh Singh, with a small following, rode off to Sarāe Allahwirdī Khān to seek the protection of Rājah Jai Singh, Sawāe, who had taken his side in the dispute.[2]

Section 36.—Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's First Audience.

On the 4th Rabī' II (23rd February, 1719)[3] Quṭb-ul-mulk and his brother Ḥusain 'Alī Khān were to be received by the Emperor. Quṭb-ul-mulk and Ajīt Singh repaired to the palace early in the morning, removed all the imperial guards, and substituted men of their own. At three hours after sunrise, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān set out. First of all came the Mahrattas, their ranks reaching from the entrance of the hunting preserve to the gate of the fortress, their lances (*nezah*) and spears (*bhālah*) reminding the spectator of a waving reed-bed or canebrake. Following them marched the Nawāb and his retinue. Owing to the great crowds, progress was slow and the palace was not reached till close upon three o'clock. On the arrival of the Sayyads in the hall of audience, the few remaining eunuchs and pages were turned out, leaving only the two brothers and Ajīt Singh with the Emperor. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān bowed down to kiss the Emperor's feet, but Farrukhsīyar preventing this act of homage, put his arms round him and embraced him. The Bakhshī offered 100 gold coins and 100 rupees; and in return received gifts of the usual character. Conversation then began. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān first brought up the subject of the *farmān* sent to Dāūd Khān, which had been found among the confiscated goods

accounts. Sahīl is given by Tod as Serbul Sarae. In neither form have I traced it. The Rājah says he moved on the 9th Phāgun 1775 S. (28th Rabī' I, 1131 H., 17th February, 1719), and his letter is dated 19th Phāgun (8th Rabi II, 27th February). The wording of the letter shows that it was written after the arrival of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, that is, after the 27th Rabī' I, (16th February,) but before the 9th Rabī' II (28th February). But my authorities show the move to Sarāe Sahīl as taking place on the 14th Phāgun (3rd Rabī' II, 22nd February). I cannot reconcile the discrepancy, unless General Cunningham's tables are wrong.

1 Mīrzā Muḥammad, 449; Khāfī Khān, II, 805, 806; Kāmwar Khān, 191.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, 806, and the Rājah's letter in Tod, I, 370.

3 Mīrzā Muḥammad says it was the 5th, also Khafī Khān, II, 806, and the *M-ul-umarā*, I, 330. I follow Kāmwar Khān.

of that noble after his death. Farrukhsīyar declared it to be a forgery; he knew nothing about it. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān next demanded further concessions. I'tiqād Khān and several others must be excluded from court, and all the offices round His Majesty's person must be made over permanently to the Sayyads and their nominees.[1]

One of the first questions to cross Farrukhsīyar's lips was: "Where is your prisoner, the son of Prince Akbar?" "He is here," replied Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, "but the Dakhanīs object to produce him before they have received Sāhū's mother and brother." Accordingly Bandhū, who for over thirty years had been prisoner, was brought out and made over to the Mahrattas. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān then promised to bring the prince to audience on the following day, and deliver him over publicly, so that no future doubts as to his fate might arise.[2] The Emperor and the Bakhshī now pledged themselves anew to each other. Farrukhsīyar took off his turban and placed it on the head of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, adding a gift of all the jewels that he was then wearing. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān accepted only a part of the gifts offered to him. The interview was prolonged until three hours after nightfall, and when the Sayyad had left, all men believed that the strife had been allayed and ill-will converted into friendliness. The courtiers began to extol the boldiness of His Majesty and praise the loyalty and good faith of the honourable Sayyads.[3]

On the 5th and 6th Rabī' II (24th and 25th February, 1719) Farrukhsīyar sat as usual in the *Dīwān-i-khāṣ*; and all seemed likely to go on as before. The 8th Rabī' II was one of the days fixed in each week for hunting expeditions. Believing that the storm had blown over, the Emperor issued orders to prepare his retinue for that day, intending to go out of the city as usual.[4] Suspicion arose in the Sayyads' minds that this was a mere pretext for flight to Jai Singh's camp, which was not then very far off. Quṭb-ul-mulk at once wrote to the Emperor that on that day, the 8th, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān craved an audience, for the purpose of delivering the captive prince brought from

[1] Mīrzā Muḥammad, 450; Kāmwār Khān, 190; Khāfī Khān, II, 806; Muḥammad Qāsim, 232.

[2] Shiū Dās, 24b, but Wārid, 157b, places this conversation on the last two days of the reign. Khūshḥāl Cand (B.M. 3288, fo.: 316b), following the *Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī* (p. 333), calls the younger brothers of Sāhū, Madan Singh and Udhū Singh. Kāmwar, 199, (1st Jamādī I, 1131 H.) speaks of one only, Madan Singh; and his release is placed on the 1st Jamādī I, 1131, (21st March, 1719). Grant Duff, p. 184, l. 17, calls Madan the illegitimate son of Shambū Jī.

[3] Khāfī Khān, II, 807.

[4] The days fixed were two a week, Saturday and Wednesday, Shiū Dās, 3a. I make the 8th to be a Monday or a Tuesday.

the Dakhin, and of taking his own leave before returning to that province. Overjoyed at the prospect of at last obtaining possession of this dreaded rival, Farrukhsiyar countermanded his expedition or, as another contemporary writer maintains, the hunting expedition had been a mere pretext. By this second account, it had been decided that directly the Emperor left the palace he should fall upon the Nawāb, whose suspicions, as they thought, would have been lulled by the negociations, and thus catching him unawares, he would be easily destroyed. A message was sent postponing the audience; but before it reached him, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had been warned by a woman in the harem. In his answer, he announced that as the next day had been pronounced exceedingly auspicious, he could not put off the audience, and prayed that the hunting excursion might be countermanded instead. His troops remained on the alert all night; and three hours before sunrise, Rājah Muḥkam Singh occupied the Lāhorī gate of the palace, where he awaited Quṭb-ul-mulk.[1]

SECTION 37.—THE SAYYADS TAKE POSSESSION OF THE PALACE.

On the 8th Rabī' II, 1131 H., (27th February, 1719), early in the morning, Quṭb-ul-mulk entered the palace with his own relations and dependants, Najm-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān, Ghairat Khān and others, followed by Rājah Ajīt Singh, Mahārāo Bhīm Singh, Hāḍā, and Rājah Gaj Singh, Narwarī. The imperial artillerymen and the matchlockmen on guard were removed from the bastions and battlements, and evacuated the palace. Not a single soul was left in attendance on the Emperor, except I'tiqād Khān, Ẓafar Khān and two or three eunuchs. The Wazīr took up his position in the house known as the *Peshkhānah* of the late Ja'far Khān,[2] which had been lately vacated by Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah; while the three Rājahs were sent to occupy the office-rooms of the Revenue (*dīwānī*) and of the chamberlain's (*khānsāmān*) departments. The keys of the Privy Council chamber (*Dīwān-ī-khāṣ*), of the sleeping room, and of the Hall of Justice were sent for; and the doors of the palace and the gates of the fort were confided to men trusted by the Sayyads; troops were hidden in the antechambers (*jilau-khānah*) and the palace was guarded on all sides.[3]

1 Kām Rāj, *'Ibratnāmah*, 15b, Kāmwar Khān, 190, 191, Mīrza Muḥammad, 452.

2 Khushḥāl Cand, 413b, states that Quṭb-ul-mulk went to the Haiyāt Bagh. This is more usually called the Haiyāt Bakhsh. It was a garden occupying the north-west corner of the Lāl Qila'h or palace, (see Carr Stephens, p. 216, plan). The Ja'far Khān here referred to is, no doubt, the man who died in 1080 H. (1669-1670). He was the son-in-law of Āṣaf Khān, see *M-ul-U.* I., 151, 531, II., 729.

3 Khāfi Khān, II, 807; Kāmwar Khān, 192; Mīrzā Muḥammad, 452.

About midday, leaving Saif-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān in charge of his baggage, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān entered the city at the head of 30,000 or 40,000 horsemen and a well equipped artillery, bringing with him the supposed prince, seated on an elephant in a canopied howdah, and heralds running before him proclaiming his titles. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān proceeded to the mansion known as the *Bārahdarī* of the late Amīr-ul-umarā, Shāistah Khān,[1] which had been granted to him early in Farrukhsīyar's reign. The Mahratta horsemen drew up at the gates of the palace and in the adjoining lanes of the city. Outside the palace, during the whole of that day, not a soul had the remotest suspicion of any hostile movements. The first inkling of any fresh disagreement was obtained between sunset and evening prayer-time. I'tiqād Khān was seen to come out of the *Dīwān-i-khāṣ*, his limbs trembling from fright, scramble into the first palanquin he could find, and make off to his house. Soon afterwards, Karm Cand, an agent employed at the court, wrote to those outside that all the Sayyads' demands had been complied with, including the degradation of I'tiqād Khan to the rank that he had held in 'Ālamgīr's reign. This news at once spread agitation and anxiety throughout the city. All night long Quṭb-ul-mulk and Mahārājah Ajīt Singh remained in the palace, and Ḥusain 'Alī Khan in his own mansion.[2]

What had happened within the palace must now be told. After much discussion Quṭb-ul-mulk, at a time between midday and afternoon prayer, presented himself before the Emperor. Quṭb-ul-mulk at once repudiated Farrukhsiyar's proferred compromise, by which I'tiqād Khan and his other friends were to act as the deputies of the Sayyads and their nominees. From the first, Quṭb-ul-mulk had objected to the appointment as Nāẓir of the harem of anyone not a eunuch. I'tiqād Khān was removed from that office, which was made over to a eunuch, Maḥaldār Khān. Next, the wazīr expatiated on the base return given for his and his brother's services, bringing up again the secret instructions to Dāūd Khān, and similar letters sent to Rājah Sāhū, Mahratta, and others, all of which the Sayyads had in their possession. The Emperor's repeated appeals: "Why does not my brother, the Amīr-ul-umarā, bring to me the supposititious prince," passed entirely unheeded. In the course of this conversation Farrukhsīyar lost his temper and was overcome with anger; both sides were thus led to the use of abusive

[1] Shāistah Khān, maternal uncle of 'Ālamgīr Aurangzeb, died at Āgrah in the middle of 1105 H. (1695), (*M-ul-U.* II, 709 and *T-i-Muḥammadī.*) His house stood on the edge of the *Shāh-nahr* or canal, opposite the Lāhor gate of the palace, (Muḥammad Qāsim, 236).

[2] Khāfī Khān, II., 807. Kām Rāj, *'Ibratnāmah*, 66a. Shiū Dās, 25a.

language and harsh expressions, things being said which had better been left unsaid. In his rage Farrukhsīyar shouted: "If I am a true son of "'Aẓīm-ush-shān and a real descendant of the Lord of the Conjunctions "(*i.e.* Taimur), I will impose retribution for these uncalled-for deeds "and this unmeasured audacity. I will have the lands of the Bārhah "ploughed by asses, and mice thrust into the trousers of their women."[1] Quṭb-ul-mulk grew furious, and venting his wrath in disrespectful words, left the *Dīwān-ī-khāṣ* for the guard-room (*peshkhānah*) of the *Dīwān-ī-'alā*, and turned out seven hundred of I'tiqād Khān's horsemen who were still on guard at the Khiẓrī, or water-gate of the palace, and the rest of Ajīt Singh's men. He saw now that if they were to save themselves, extremities must be resorted to, for as Sa'dī has said: "When a snake touches the foot of the villager, he withdraws it and "breaks the snake's head with a stone."[2] As soon as the minister had left his presence, Farrukhsīyar turned upon I'tiqād Khān and poured out on him angry abuse and reproach. We are told that I'tiqād Khān had ventured to object to delivering the keys of the gate to the Sayyads. This aroused Farrukhsīyar's anger, and turning to him he exclaimed: "O wretched man! all this calamity has come on me by "reason of you. This moment, when I am a prisoner in their hands, "you choose as the time for giving contrary advice." The Emperor ordered him to be turned out of the palace. I'tiqād Khān, seeing that things had assumed for him a different complexion, hurried away to his own dwelling, as already stated.[3]

Farrukhsīyar now began to cool, and addressing Ẓafar Khān said "Bring back 'Abdullah Khān by any means you can; I will do all that "he demands." Ẓafar Khān replied: "The opportunity has been lost: "the only thing is for your Majesty to go to him in person." Farrukhsīyar refused. Then full of mingled rage and fear, he quitted the window of the Privy Audience Chamber and entered the female apartments. The queens and the concubines crowded round him, the Turkī: and Ḥabshī women were told off to guard the doors, and the night was passed "in supplication and lamentation before the throne of the Eternal." Quṭb-ul-mulk had turned Ẓafar Khān out of the fort, and

[1] *'Ibratnāmah*, Kām Rāj, 66a. Yoking donkeys in a plough and driving them over the ruins of a captured fort was a well-known practice. *See* Elliot "Supp. Gloss." under *Gadhe kā hal*, or Donkey plough. The practice was known to the Tamils in early times, see Dr. G. N. Pope's article in R. A. S. Journal, April, 1899, p. 252: "Asses are yoked to plough up the soil with spears, while worthless plants "are sown on the foundations. Thus rages the conquering king."

[2] *Az ān mār bar pāe ra'i zanad, kih tarsad, sar-ash rā ba-kobad ba-sang.*

[3] Kām Rāj. *'Ibratnamah*, 66a. Khāfī Khān, II, 807, Yaḥyā Khān, 124b, Muḥammad Qāsim, 237.

placed his own sentries to guard the Privy Audience Chamber or *Diwān-khānah*. One of the most curious incidents in this confused drama, was a despairing attempt by Farrukhsiyar to secure the aid of Ajīt Singh. He wrote: "The east side of the palace, towards the Jamnah, is not "guarded; if you can, despatch there some of your men, so that I may "get out and make off somewhere or another." He gave this note to a eunuch, who thrust it into his pocket, and succeeding by a thousand wiles in eluding the vigilance of the guards, placed it in the Rājah's hand. The Rājah replied that the proper time had gone by, what could he do now? Some even say that he sent on the original letter to 'Abdullāh Khān. The wazīr called at once for Curā, Jāṭ, to whom was assigned a post on the river bank below the octagonal bastion of the fort[1]. On every roof sat the Sayyads' men with loaded wall-pieces ready to fire. In short, "such close guarding was carried out and such "care taken, that not even the gentle breeze could find a way into or "out of the fort." In every lane and street of the city the outcry was heard that the Emperor had been deposed. No food was eaten, no repose taken; the night passed in fear and expectation. The more sanguine believed that in the morning Rājah Jai Singh would march in from Sarāe Sahīl in the one direction, and Sarbuland Khān from Sarāe Mihr Parwar in the other; and by their united forces would rescue Farrukhsiyar out of his enemies' hands, and replace him on the throne.[2]

Section 38.—The Last Day of the Reign.

At last the fateful morning dawned of the 9th Rabī' II, 1131 H. (28th February, 1719). Only an hour or an hour-and-a-half after day-break, a great disturbance arose in the city. Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Cīn, Bahādur, and Zakarīyā Khān (son of 'Ābd-uṣ-ṣamad Khān), at the desire apparently of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, were on their way at the head of their Mughals to attend the Sayyad's *darbār*.[3] As the crowd of Mahrattas in the streets and lanes near the fort impeded their progress, the Mughals began to push them forcibly on one side, and open a route for the two Nawābs and their retinue. Having in the Dakhin felt for many a year the weight of the right arm, the Mahrattas as soon as they saw their Mughals' faces, fled like a flock of sheep before a pack of

[1] This bastion, the *Ṣaman burj*, is the central one upon the river front of the fort (see Carr Stephens, p. 216, plan). In places we have *muṣamman*, *i.e.*, octagonal.

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 192, who got his facts from Ẓafar Khān, Ṭurrahbāz, who was present himself. Shiū Dās, 25a, Khūshḥāl Cand, 413b, Muḥammad Qāsim, 248.

[3] Kām Rāj, 66, Zakarīyā Khān was approaching the palace from the direction of Bāzār Khānum.

wolves. So overcome with fear were they, that with no man pursuing, they allowed the bazar idlers—butchers, washermen, and scavengers—to relieve them of their horses and spears. Things came to such a pass that the *Bhaṭiyārins*, or women attendants belonging to the public *sarāe* in Mughalpurah, seized each the bridle reins of some five of these Rāwat[1] horsemen, and by hitting them with sticks or throwing bricks at them, unhorsed them in spite of their lances, stripped them, and killed them. In their panic the men lifted neither hand nor foot to defend themselves, but crept like mice into any doorway or passage that they could find. They were killed as if they were dogs or cats. It was enough for a shopkeeper to stand up, and with a sign or a frown to demand the surrender of their arms. Calling out, *Āre bāp! Āre bāp!* and throwing away their straight Dakhani swords[2] and their shields, they stood on one leg with a straw between their lips, and besought mercy, saying *Nako! Nako!*[3] Two or three leaders of repute lost their lives, among them the chief Santā, who commanded some five or six thousand horsemen. From the gate of the fort to the entrance of the hunting preserve, and the Market (*mandavī*) and the Takiyah of Majnūn Shāh, a distance of three or four kos, bodies were to be seen in every direction. The slain included many men who, from the darkness of their complexion, had been mistaken for Mahrattas. All the *āftābgīr*, a kind of standard which the Mahrattas carry as a mark of honour, one to every fifteen or twenty horsemen, had disappeared.[4] The lining of their saddles was ripped open, the plundered gold and jewels hidden there were taken, and the bags of coin collected from villages in Rājah Jai Singh's country, were extracted from their waist-cloths. It was estimated that 1,500 to 2,000 Mahrattas lost their lives on that day.[5] This, the first armed Mahratta appearance at Dihlī, where in forty years' time they were to be lords and masters, was not of happy augury. They were not accustomed to street fighting and were, no

[1] *Rāwat* (hero, chief), is used here by the Mahomedan historian as a synonym for inferior Hindūs, mere rustics, or in other words "beggars on horseback."

[2] *Dhop.*

[3] Muḥammad Qāsim, 244. The custom known as *Dānt-tinkā*, or "straw between teeth," expressive of abject submission, Elliot, "Supp. Gloss," 252; *Āre bāp* = "O father!" an exclamation of sudden terror; "*Nako, Nako*" = Dakhinī for "Do not, do not," Kām Rāj, 66, and J. Shakespear, 2078.

[4] See Blochmann, *Āīn*, I, 50. It was a sort of large fan of oval shape at the end of a long handle.

[5] Grant Duff, 199, and Briggs, 178, say 1,500: Wārid, 158a, 2,000. Khāfī Khān, II, 811, says he himself was present as a spectator, and gives the number as 1,500; Mīrzā Muḥammad has 3,000 to 4,000; Kām Rāj, 66, four hundred.

doubt, overtaken by irresistible panic.[1] Khāfī Khān draws the moral that this disgraceful rout was a special interposition of Providence. For, if it had not happened, would they not, for ages to come, have boasted that they had gone to Dihlī, the imperial capital, and there deposed and imprisoned the Emperor of Hindustān? If Khāfī Khān, poor man, had lived a little longer, he would have seen events that turned such a boast into no more than the sober truth!

During this outbreak reports spread that, on learning the intention to seize Farrukhsīyar, Mahārājah Ajīt Singh, unable to restrain himself any longer, had plunged a dagger into Quṭb-ul-mulk several times, and had despatched him. Although everybody knew that, except the Sayyads' partisans, there was no one in the fort, and therefore no one likely to do such an act, people were ready, in the confusion and uproar, to believe that anything was possible. It was confidently asserted that Niẓāmul-mulk had come out to rescue his sovereign, but he was far too prudent to make any such attempt. He stood with his Mughals in the enclosure of the Fruit Market until he heard that Farrukhsīyar had been seized, and thereupon withdrew to his house. Other nobles who still clung to Farrukhsīyar's cause, appeared in the streets and turned towards the palace, prepared to fight their way to it. These were I'tiqād Khān, Mīr Mushrif,[2] Islām Khān, Mukhliṣ Khān, Mun'im Khān, Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān and Saifullah Khān, Bakhshī, with some of the *Wálá Shāhī*; Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah did not appear in person, but sent his men. Manohar, captain of artillery, with two or three thousand of the emperor's artillery, also took the field. This group advanced as far as the Dihlī gate of the fort and the square of the late Sa'dullah Khān, just south of that gate. Āghar Khān with his Mughals also appeared on the west side of the fort, in front of the Lāhorī gate, and wished to take part in the resistance to the Sayyads. But the gates were shut in his face and he was obliged to beat a retreat. In another direction, that of the Cāndnī Cauk, appeared Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān (Aḥmad Beg) and Sādāt Khān, the emperor's father-in-law.

The Sayyads advanced their artillery from its position near the imperial stables, and threw several shot from *rahkalahs* and *dhamkahs*

[1] Wārid, 158a, Muḥammad Qāsim, 244; Khāfī Khān, II, 811, 814; Mīrzā Muḥammad, 453; Kāmwar Khān, 193.

[2] Mīr Mushrif, once Dāroghah of artillery in Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's service, had been lately taken into the Emperor's employ (Khāfī Khān, II, 812). Having quarrelled with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, he left the Dakhin, and arrived at Dihlī on the 26th Rabī' II, 1130 H. (28th March, 1718).

in the direction of their assailants, and more than once the cannon over the Dihlī gate were discharged against the men debouching from the Faiẓ Bāzār; while Sayyad Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, the Sayyads' Bakhshī held the Dihlī gate.[1] The fight went on for forty minutes. Sādāt Khān had pushed on as far as the *Cabūtrah* or Police Office in the Cāndnī Cauk, where he received gunshot and sword wounds which forced him to retire.[2] His son, a youth, was made a prisoner and taken to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān (Aḥmad Beg) fought his best, but he had no disciplined troops, and the few followers that he led, after interchanging a blow or two with the other side, took to their heels. He, too, not being reinforced by other nobles, was forced in the end to beat a retreat to his house, fighting as he went.

About midday the news spread that Farrukhsīyar was a prisoner, and that another prince had been raised to the throne. Then the drums beat within the palace to announce the new reign. In spite of this, the opposing nobles stood their ground and resisted until the afternoon. When at last they saw that there was no further hope of success, and as the saying is, "to beat cold iron is profitless," they dispersed full of apprehension to their homes. The disturbance now ceased. From the square (*cauk*) of Sa'dullah Khān to the Dihlī gate the houses were plundered; while the imperial stables which surrounded the palace were set on fire, and some of the horses were burned. With these exceptions the city did not suffer.[3]

Section 39.—Farrukhsīyar is Made a Prisoner and Deposed.

From early dawn on the 9th Rabī' II, (28th February, 1719) Quṭb-ul-mulk continued to send messengers to persuade Farrukhsīyar to come out and take his seat on the throne as usual. Farrukhsīyar refused absolutely to set foot outside the female apartments. Indeed, he made use of some very florid language. He swore that, by the blood of Taimur, the world-conqueror, which flowed in his veins, he would so scourge these rebels, that for years to come their fate should be a tale on the people's tongue, and a warning to traitors intending to follow their example. Quṭb-ul-mulk knew not what further pretext to devise to win his consent to reappear, in order that directions might issue for

[1] For Faiẓ Bāzār, Dihlī gate of fort, Cauk Sa'dullah Khān, see Carr Stephens, 244, 245 246, 247. Sa'dullah Khān, *Wazīr* of Shāhjahān, died 2nd Jamādī II, 1066, H. (17th April, 1656), *M-ul-U*, II, 448.

[2] Sādāt Khān died the same night of these wounds.

[3] Mīrzā Muḥammad 455; Khāfī Khān, II, 809, 812, 813; *Aḥwāl-i-Khawāqīn*, 144b, 145a; Muḥammad Qāsim, 245; Kāmwar Khān, 194; Kām Rāj, 66b, 67a; Shiū Das, 26a.

the degradation and seizure of the Sayyads' enemies. Then arose the outbreak in the streets and urgent messages arrived from Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. It was plain that force must be resorted to.[1]

During the night Farrukhsīyar had hidden somewhere or another in one of the small rooms or closets of the palace. His guard was formed of the Qalmāq or Turkī women servants, armed with sword and shield. It is said that during the night Quṭb-ul-mulk, with the approval of Sayyad Khān Jahān and Nawāb Auliyā, sent several messages to his younger brother to the effect that, all the offices connected with the person of the sovereign being in their hands, it did not much matter if they maintained the throne, the crown, and the coinage untouched in Farrukhsīyar's name. Seated in consultation with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, were Ikhlāṣ Khān, Sayyad Hāshim 'Alī Khān, and most important of all, Muḥammad Amīn Khān. For the time being the last-named had declared himself openly on the side of the Sayyads, because of his anger with Farrukhsīyar for sending him against his will to Mālwah, and then refusing him an audience upon his unauthorized return to Dihlī. It is said that when Ḥusain 'Alī Khan and Muḥammed Amīn Khān first met, the former changed colour, thinking that the man was his enemy. But he recovered his equanimity as soon as his visitor addressed him thus: "O Nawāb, why have you not ere this "finished with this son of a Kashmīrī. You must write a note asking "the elder Nawāb to depose him." The three men now united in calling for Farrukhsīyar's removal. The favourable moment, they said, would never recur; if not taken advantage of, their lives were lost. Besides, had not Farrukhsīyar forfeited all right to the throne by his want of discretion and his promotion of low fellows?[2] While this discussion was in progress a note arrived from Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah urging them to delay no longer, but seat another emperor on the throne. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān sent an answer to his brother's letter in these terms: "If you cannot do the business, come out of the palace and let me enter, and I will settle it." Within the palace Mahārajah Ajīt Singh also urgently importuned for the deposition of Farrukhsīyar; and it was decided that one of the imprisoned scions of the house of Taimur should be brought forth and placed upon the throne. There is a local tradition among the Sayyads of Bārhah that someone

1 Wārid, 157b, Khāfī Khān, 813, 814, Khūshḥāl Cand, 413b, 414a.

2 Khūshḥāl Cand states that a *Maḥẓarnāmah* or Declaration, for the deposition of Farrukhsīyar was drawn up, and then signed and sealed by all except a few of the nobles. It was brought to Ajīt Singh on the last day, and things having gone so far, he had no help for it and signed also.

proposed to set aside the imperial house altogether, the throne being transferred to one of the two brothers.[1] This would have been in accordance with Eastern precedent, where the successful rebel usually claims the crown as the prize of victory. And the virtues of the Mughal line as an instrument of rule being obviously expended, it would probably have been better, in most ways, if the sovereignty had been usurped by a newer and more vigorous family. Probably the difficulty, an insurmountable one as it proved, was to decide which brother should reign, neither being ready to give way to the other.[2]

A consultation was held in order to select a prince, and the lot fell upon Prince Bedār Dil, son of Bedār Bakht, grandson of 'Ālamgīr, who was known as having the best understanding among all the princes. By the time that this had been decided, the outbreak in the city, as we have already related, had occurred. The case seemed urgent and the greatest haste was made. Quṭb-ul-mulk sent his own master of the ceremonies, Qādir Dād Khān, and a number of the Jodhpur Rājah's personal attendants, or *Bhandāris*,[3] to bring out the prince selected. When these messengers arrived at the door of the prince's dwelling, where also were assembled the sons of Prince Rafī'-ush-shān, the women jumped to the conclusion that, having made Farrukhsīyar a prisoner, the Sayyads had now sent men to slay all the princes of the royal house, and thus make clear their own way to the throne. Under this impression, they barred the door, locked it on the inside, and hid the prince in a store-cupboard. In vain the messengers called out: "We have come to escort Prince Bedār Dil, and place him on the throne." Not a word was listened to, and the men were repelled with sticks and stones. As there was no possibility of searching or delaying longer, for the danger that the rioters in the street might get the upper hand increased every moment, the Nawāb ordered a band of men with hatchets to break in the door. On forcing an entrance, their first effort was to find the particular prince who had been named to sit upon the throne. But his mother wept and wailed beyond measure, nor could they find the key of the store-room. In despair, they turned towards the sons of Rafī'ush-shān, and out of them picked Rafī'-ud-darajāt. Although he was the youngest of the three, in intelligence

[1] The traditional account is that the idea was broached by Jalāl Khān of Jalālābād (Muẓaffarnagar district). But he was dead; it might have been suggested, however, by his second son, Dindār Khān, who was present at Dihlī.

[2] Kām Rāj, 67a; Gaḥyā Khān, 125a; Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 239; Khūshḥāl Cand, 413b; *Aḥwāl-i-Khawqīn*, 145b, 146a.

[3] *Bhandārī*, A house-steward, treasurer, purveyor (Shakespear, 411).

and judgment he was found to excel his brothers. This youth was brought as he had been found, wearing his ordinary clothes, his only ornament being a necklace of pearls, taken by Quṭb-ul-mulk from his own neck. The Nawāb holding one hand and Ajīt Singh the other, they seated him straightway on the jewelled peacock throne, which two days before had been brought out into the *Dīwān-i-'ām* for the celebration of the *Nauroz*, or vernal festival. Those present offered their gifts, as is usual upon a fresh accession. Then, under the supervision and control of Najm-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān, Rājah Ratn Cand, Rājah Bakht Mall and Dindār Khān, son of Jalāl Khān,[1] at the head of a number of Afghāns, were sent into the female apartments to arrest the deposed emperor.[2]

These men, some four hundred altogether, rushed tumultuously into the imperial apartments. A number of the women seized weapons and tried to resist; some were slain and some wounded. The weeping and lamentation of the ladies passed unheeded. The door of the small room where he was hiding having been broken in, the wretched Farrukhsīyar, despairing of life, came out armed with sword and shield, and dealt several blows at the stony-hearted ruffians. In that dire extremity these fruitless and untimely efforts availed him nothing His mother, his wife, his daughter and other ladies grouped themselves around him and tried to shelter him. The shrieking women were pushed on one side with scant ceremony. The men surrounded him and hemmed him in; they then laid hold of him by the hand and neck, his turban fell off, and with every mark of indignity he was dragged and pushed from his retreat. It is said that Ḥafiẓ-ullah Khān, (subsequently known as Murtaẓā Khān) and Murīd Khān,[3] in order to ingratiate themselves with Quṭb-ul-mulk, went with those hard-hearted men, thus in one moment wiping out the loyal services done to the line of Taimur, for more than a century past, by their grandfather and father, and at the same time oblivious of their having been themselves

[1] *i.e.*, Jalāl Khān of Jalālābād, parganah Thānah Bhawan. Khāfī Khān, II, 814, speaks also of one man (not named) "son of Ṣalābat Khān, Rohela." Possibly this is a copyist's mistake, صلابت having been written in place of جلال

[2] Khāfī Khān, 814, 816.

[3] Kāmwar Khān, p. 194. Ḥafiẓ-ullah Khān received the title of Murtaẓā Khān on the 29th Sha'bān 1131H, and was made deputy of the Mīr Ātash (Kāmwar Khān 206). He was a Husainī Sayyad, his name being Ḥafiz-ullah, son of Mīrzā Shakrullah, entitled Murtaẓā Khān (d. 1123 H. 1711-12). He died at Shāhjahānābād on the 6th Jamādi II, 161 H. (2nd June, 1748) aged 63 years T-i-Mḥdī. Murīd Khān was rewarded with the appointment of Dāroghah of the Mace-bearers on the day (29th Sha'bau).

the fallen man's companions and confidants. It was pitiful to see this strong man, perhaps the handsomest and most powerfully-built of Bābar's race that had ever occupied the throne, dragged bareheaded and barefooted, subjected at every moment to blows and the vilest abuse, into the *Dīwān-i-khās* to the presence of Quṭb-ul-mulk. The Nawāb opened his pen box, took out a needle used by him for applying collyrium (*surmah*) to his eyes, and giving it to one of the men, ordered them to throw down their prisoner and blind him. Whatever was found in the female apartments and storehouses, or on the people of the harem—cash, clothes, gold, silver and copper vessels, ornaments and jewels—all was taken, nay, even the slave girls and the concubines were appropriated.[1]

After the needle had been passed through his eyes, Farrukhsīyar was imprisoned in the room over the Tirpoliyā, or triple gate within the fortress. It was the place to which common malefactors were sent, and had already witnessed the death of Jahāndār Shāh seven years before. It was a bare, dark, unfurnished hole, containing nothing but a bowl for food, a pot of water for ablutions, and a vessel with some drinking water. On reaching it he is reported to have quoted the lines:

"Like a cypress in decay,
Such a king in such slavery."[2]

Section 40.—Death of Farrukhsīyar.

Although it involves a slight break in the exact chronological order, it seems better to carry on Farrukhsīyar's story to his cruel and dishonoured end. The captivity he was held in appears to have been unnecessarily strict, and many anecdotes connected with it have been handed down. A few days after his accession, the new emperor, Rafi'-ud-darajāt, sent a eunuch to inquire about his predecessor's condition. Farrukhsīyar invoked a blessing on his head, and sent back the lines—

Be not taken by the gardener's deceit, O nightingale,
Ere this I, too, had my nest in this garden.[3]

1 On this occasion Wārid has the following lines:—

Qādirā
Murd! qudrat tū dārī, harchih khwāhi ān kunī,
Murdah rā jān ham tū bakhshī, zindah rā murdān kunī.
Harth-i-shāhān tū sitānī, 'ajiz-i-yak nān kunī.

2 *Cunīn sarv rā dar sar-afgandagī,*
Cunīn shāh rā dar cunīn bāndagī. Mirzā Muḥammad, 461; Khāfi Khān, II, 814.

3 *Az fareb-i-bāghbān ghāfil ma-bāsh, ai 'andalīb:*

Other verses attributed to him during his imprisonment are:

A heart is mad with wine, give it wine,
It is consumed with fire, give it fire.
To him who asks the state of my heart,
Breathe but a sigh, give that as answer.[1]

Even the Sayyad soldiers who formed the guard set over him grieved to see how he was treated. For instance, during four or five days at a time, he would be deprived of water for necessary ablutions. Unsuitable food had brought on diarrhœa, and having no water, he was forced to tear off pieces from his clothes to cleanse himself. Day and night he had passed his time in reciting the Qurān, which he knew by heart. Even this distraction was denied him, for in his polluted state, it was unlawful to recite the words of the holy volume.

It is believed that, although a needle had been passed through his eyes, Farrukhsīyar was still able to see. In spite of all that had happened, he was still eager for power and believed his restoration possible. He made repeated overtures to the Sayyads, promising to leave all power in their hands, if they would only release him and replace him on the throne. Then he tried to win over 'Ābdullah Khān, Afghān, one of his jailors. He promised this man the rank of *Haft Hazārī* (7000) after he should have conducted him in safety to Rājah Jai Singh. The Afghān betrayed him to the Sayyads. People in the city spread about the story that Tahavvur Khān, *wālā shāhi*, Rūḥullah Khān (son of Khānahzād Khān) and many others were coming with Rāja Jai Singh at the head of a mighty army to deliver the captive. Popular rumour asserted that Farrukhsiyar could still see, and that in secret conclave the two brothers had repented, and would replace the deposed sovereign on the throne. After doing this, they would resign place and office, assume the garb of mendicants, and return to Bārhah, or make a pilgrimage to the holy places. This was openly spoken of. Then Hāshim 'Alī Khān, Dakhinī, said secretly to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, "I

Pesh az īn mā ham dar īn bāgh ashyāne dāshtem.

Wārid, 158b. But in B. M. Oriental 1823, fo. 28, the words are slightly different.

1 *Dil mast -i-sharāb ast, sharāb-ash ba dahed,*
Khū-kardah-i-ātash ast, ātash ba dahed.
Har kas kih sī aḥwāl-i-dil-i-mā pursad
Ahī ba-lab āred, o jawāb-ash ba-dahed.

Mirāt-i-āftāb-numā, B.M. Addl., 16,697, fol. 216a. In *Bayān-i-wāqi'*, p. 175, and Gladwin, p. 194, the words are different.

"salute your lordship: Disease is dealt with in one of two ways—you "either bear it, or remove the afflicted part. But once you have resort- "ed to treatment, there is no hope of recovery till the offending prin- "ciple is expelled." The Sayyads then made up their mind to remove Farrukhsīyar. They sent for Sīdī Yāsīn Khān (son of Sīdī Qāsim, Fūlād Khān, once *Koṭwāl* of Dihlī), and after promising him a reward said: "Farrukhsīyar took your father's life without cause, you have "a legal right of retaliation,[1] put your hand on your dagger and slay "him." The young man refused. Had not his father and his family been the slaves of that royal house? To kill a master who for some supposed fault took a slave's life, was not permissible.

As no one else was willing, they were forced to act themselves. They began by supplying Farrukhsīyar with bitter and oversalted dishes, but without effect. Slow poison was then tried for a time. Farrukhsīyar now made use of violent language, and cursed the Sayyads in the most virulent terms. Their patience being at an end, they sent executioners into the prison to strangle their victim. In spite of a violent resistance, these men effected their purpose, beating the ex-emperor on the hands till he let go the strap that they had tied round his neck. To make sure, he was stabbed several times in the abdomen. This happened on the night between the 8th and 9th Jamādī II, 1131 H. (27th-28th April, 1719). There is a somewhat apocryphal story told in the *Sīyar-ul-muta,akhkhirīn* as to the mode of Farrukhsīyar's death, by which the direct blame for it is removed from the shoulders of the Sayyads. Farrukhsīyar is supposed to have evaded his guardians and made an attempt to escape. He passed from one terrace roof to another, and was already at some distance before his absence was detected. The Afghān officer in charge searched for his prisoner, found him hiding in the shadow of a wall, and brought him back, ending by giving him an unmerciful beating. Farrukhsīyar, stung to the quick by this disgrace, ran at the wall, dashed his head against it, and fractured his skull. The evidence for this story seems insufficient, and the author's animus, as Sayyad and Shī'a defending other Sayyads and Shī'as, is sufficiently obvious here as elsewhere.[2]

On the following day, 10th Jamādī II, 1131 H. (29th April, 1719), the body was thrown down on a mat within the fort for purposes of

[1] *Qiṣāṣ.*

[2] Persian text, I., 42; "Seir," I., 150; Briggs, 187, Muḥammad Qāsim, 259, Khāfī Khān, II, 819. In the *Bayān-i-wāqi,'* 175, poison is alleged: the passage reads thus in Gladwin, 194: "A few days after, Farrukhsiyar was destroyed by poison: in order to be sure he was dead, they cut the soles of his feet, and then buried him."

identification, and the blackness of the face showed that Farrukhsiyar had been strangled; there were also several cuts and wounds to be seen. The body was then prepared for the grave and the bier brought out. Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, paymaster of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's household, and Sayyad 'Alī Khān, brother of 'Abdullah Khān's paymaster, were sent to carry out the burial rites. They were followed by all the eunuchs, some of the *manṣabdārs*, and a part of the state equipage. When the body was brought to the Akbarābādī mosque,[1] it was received by 15,000 to 20,000 men from the camp and bazars. After recital of the prayers over the dead, 'Abdul Ghafūr lifted the corpse and carried it out, to the accompaniment of weeping and wailing from the crowd. As the procession passed, lamentations arose from every roof and door. Men and women, old and yong, rich and poor, shed tears for the departed emperor and cursed his oppressors. The streets and lanes were rendered impassable by the crowds. The rabble and the mendicants, who had received alms from Farrukhsiyar, followed his bier, rending their garments and throwing ashes on their heads, and as it passed, the women on the roofs raised their cry of mourning, and flung stones and bricks upon the servants and officers of the Sayyads. The body was deposited in the crypt of Humāyūn's tomb, in the place where a few years before the body of Farrukhsiyar's father, 'Aẓīm-ush-shān, had rested before its departure for Aurangābād. The bread and the copper coins, brought for distribution to the poor, were rejected by the crowd with scorn; and on the third day, the rabble and professional beggars assembled on the platform where the body had been washed, and there cooked and distributed a large quantity of food, and until day dawned sang funeral laments.[2]

For many a day, no beggar deigned to appeal for charity to any passing noble who had been concerned in Farrukhsiyar's death. Ẓafar Khān's liberal gifts of bread and sweetmeats were far famed; but these, too, were refused. The beggars said that in their mouths was still the flavour of the kindnesses bestowed by the martyred Emperor, adding, "May he be poisoned who takes a morsel bearing upon it the mark of those men." They made collections from artisans and shopkeepers, and distributed alms of food every Thursday at Humāyūn's tomb. If any great noble passed along the roads or through the bazars, they pursued him with shouts and harsh reproaches. Especially was this the case with regard to Mahārājah Ajīt Singh and his followers, so that they were forced to reach *darbār* by the most out-of-the-way routes. The

1 It stands in the Faiẓ bāzār, that is, on the road from the Dihlī gate of th fort to the South or Dihlī gate of the city.

2 Khāfī Khān, II., 820; Kāmwar Khān, 200; Muḥammad Qāsim, 260.

Rajputs raged inwardly, and fiercely laid hand on sword or dagger But who can fight a whole people? At length, several spoon-sellers and bāzār touts having been killed by the Rāthors, the habit of abusing them was abandoned.[1]

Section 41.—The Conduct of the Sayyads Considered.

On few subjects does there seem to have been such violently contradictory views expressed as upon the conduct of the Sayyads at this juncture. Writers who are themselves Sayyads and Shī'as defend their action as the only course that could have been pursued. But, as the two brothers soon fell from power and lost their lives, the partizans of their rivals and successors have not hesitated to denounce them, and hold them up to the execration of mankind. The two extremes are even embodied by rival poets in chronograms composed for the occasion. Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir, *Bedil*, wrote :

> Didst thou see what they did to the mighty king ?[2]
> A hundred harsh and cruel deeds they did, unthinking :
> I asked Wisdom for the date. She answered :
> "The Sayyads behaved disloyally to their king."

To this Mīr 'Aẓmat-ullah, Bilgrāmi, *Bekẖabar*, using the same form and rhymes, replied :

> To the infirm monarch they did what they ought,
> What a physician should do, that they did ;
> By light of Wisdom's lamp this date was prescribed:
> "The Sayyads treated him as the case required."[3]

It is impossible, I think, to accept to the full either conclusion. To none but extreme believers in the divinity that doth hedge a king, will it seem wrong to have removed from power such a worthless thing as Farrukẖsīyar. But the way of doing what had become almost a necessity was unduly harsh, too utterly regardless of the personal dignity of the fallen monarch. Blinding a deposed king was the fixed usage ; for

1 Muḥammad Qāsim, 262.

2 *Dīdī kih cah ba shāh-i-girāmī kardand,*
Ṣad jor-o-jafā zi rāh-i-kẖāmī kardand ;
Tārīkẖ cū az Kẖirad ba-justam, farmūd :
"Sādāt ba-ūe namak-harāmī kardand." (1131)

3 *Ba shāh-i-sakīm ān cah shāyad kardand,*
Az dast-i-ḥakim har cah bāyad kardand ;
Ba qirāṭ-i-Kẖirad nuskẖah-i-tārīkẖ navisht :
"Sādāt dawā-sh ān cah bāyad kardand." (1131)

that the Sayyads are not specially to blame. But the severity of the subsequent confinement was excessive; and the taking of the captive's life was an extremity entirely uncalled for. As Shāh Nawāz Khān says, the Sayyads were forced into action by a regard for their own lives and honour. At the same time, as he points out, the nobler course would have been for them to have abandoned the struggle, and contented themselves with some distant government, or they might have quitted the service of the state and proceeded on a pilgrimage to Mecca. "But it is not in the power of mortal man to rise superior to that worst of evil passions, the love of power and place." The pious Mahomedan consoles himself by the reflection that God in his good purposes saw fit to impose expiation on the two brothers, by their own speedy death and the destruction of all their power; and thus in His mercy he allowed them to atone for whatever sin they had committed, and did not exclude them from final redemption. Their own violent deaths sufficed to save their souls.[1]

Section 42.—Character of Farrukhsīyar.

The most prominent element of Farrukhsīyar's character was weakness. He was strong neither for evil nor for good. Morally it may be indefensible to try and rid yourself, at the earliest moment, of the men to whom you owe your throne. But as a matter of practice and precedent it was otherwise. Many of his predecessors, including the greatest of them, Akbar, had been guilty of similar ingratitude Thus, according to the morality of his day and country, Farrukhsīyar would have committed no exceptional crime by dismissing, or even killing the Sayyads. Previous rulers, however, men of vigour and resolution, when they found the greatness of some subject becoming dangerous to themselves, acted with promptitude and decision. The crisis was soon over, and though the individual might be destroyed the State did not suffer. How different with Farrukhsīyar! Still, in spite of his inherent weakness, he might have shown himself amiable inoffensive; he might have left his powerful ministers to pursue peacefully their own way, contenting himself with the name, while they kept the reality of power. Instead of this, he was for ever letting "I dare not" wait upon "I would." For seven years the State was in a condition of unstable equilibrium, and it is not too much to say that Farrukhsīyar prepared for himself the fate which finally overtook him. Feeble, false, cowardly, contemptible, it is impossible either to admire or regret him. According to Khūshḥāl Cand, Farrukhsīyar

[1] *Miftāḥ*, 302-3, *Maʾāṯir-ul-amaru*, I; 321, 344, 345.

in the sixth year of his reign was forced, in consequence of the abscesses which troubled him, to submit to an operation that rendered him impotent. Physical degeneration, it is suggested, may have been one of the causes of the irresolution, and even cowardice, which he displayed during the final struggle with the Sayyads.[1]

His most amiable qualities were profuseness and liberality, which made him the darling of the lower orders. Among his personal habits two were especially marked—a fondness for fine clothes and for good horses. He loved gold-embroidered raiment edged with gold lace, such as the sovereign himself had never worn before. All the great nobles imitated him and began to wear what pleased their master. Thus he was at any rate mourned by the lace-sellers and the indigent. As for horses, he chose them with care, for their fine paces, their colour, and their great speed. Several thousand horses stood in his private stables, and a select number of them were tethered under the balcony window of the room where he slept. Thus he was able from time to time to see them from this window, or the roof of the palace. Even when in bed asleep, if a horse rose up and lay down two or three times, he would be roused and enquire the reason, calling both the animal and its groom by their names. The *Khānsāmān* or Lord Steward had strict orders about their food. Once Muḥammad Yār Khān, when holding that office, reported that the quantities issued were in excess of the regulations. Farrukhsiyar directed him to pay up to the amount of one gold coin[2] a day for each of these horses, and not to report until that amount was exceeded.[3]

In the *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn* is a passage describing the early intimacy between Farrukhsiyar and Khān Daurān (Khwājah 'Āṣim), where we are told that the prince was passionately fond of wrestling, archery, horsemanship, polo-playing, and other soldierly exercises. His devotion to hunting and the chase is shown by the regularity with which, throughout his reign, he left Dihlī to hunt or shoot in the imperial preserves situated at various distances round the city.[4]

The only well-known edifice constructed in his reign was a third arch of marble to the mosque at the Quṭb, added in 1130 H. It bears the inscription.

Murid-i-luṭf o 'ināyat shud wālā-janāb,
Khusrau, Farrukhsiyar, shāhanshah'ī, mālik-i-rikāb,

1 Khūshḥāl Cand, 410a.
2 About sixteen rupees.
3 Khūshḥāl Cand, 410a.
4 *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, fol. 49b.

Sākht az rūe irādat o zi rasūkh-i-i'tiqād
Masjid-i-zebā-binā o sijdah-gāhe shekh o shābb
Ba sarosh-i-ghaib hātif guft dar gosh-i-khirad
Sāl-i-tārīkh-i-bināesh ; "bait-i-rabbi-i-mustajāb."[1]
(1130)

APPENDIX I.

Reign of Farrukhsīyar.

A.—Farrukhsīyar's age.

Authorities differ much as to the year of Farrukhsīyar's birth, nor do they altogether agree in the month or the day of the month. The earliest year is 1093 H., the latest 1098 H. The correct year ought to be determined, I think, by the two chronograms composed by Jīwan Rām, father of Khūshḥāl Cand. It is only fair to suppose that a man would not sit down to compose one of these poetical memorials, and then deliberately import into it an erroneous date. I therefore accept the year 1094 H. as correct; while for the day and month, the best authority is the direct statement of Ījād, the court historian, namely, the 19th Ramaẓān. I cannot understand, however, how this writer came to give the year 1096 instead of 1094 H. Mīrzā Muḥammad, who is nearly always to be trusted, gives an age at death which confirms Kūshḥāl Cand's date (1094).[2]

[1] *Miftāḥ*, 303, *Aṯār-uṣ-ṣanādīd*, p. 53, No. 61. The inscription gives only the *maddah*. Carr Stephens 178, note, has a translation only, and a second inscription is also translated.

[2] The two chronograms referred to are :—

I. *Tā kih az ān jahān Farrukhsīyar āmad ba dīd*
"*Rūḥ-i-farrukh, rūḥ-i-farrukh*" *dar tan-i-'ālam rasīd.*
(1094) (1094)
"In order that Farrukhsīyar should come to light from that world,
"A joyous soul, a joyous soul, entered the body of this world."

II. *Gar sāl-i-tawallad-ash ba-umed*
Goyand, "Walīd-i-'Aẓīm-i-jāwed" (1094)
"If the year of his hopeful birth is sought,
"They say, 'Child of the Great Eternal.' (1094)
or, "Child of 'Aẓīm now in eternity." Khūshḥāl Cand, fol. 8b.

The conflicting authorities may be ranged thus :—

	Year.	*Month.*	*Day.*
Kāmwar Khān (38 years in 1131 H.) ...	1093 H.		
T-i Mḥdī (1131-5-8—36-8-2) = ...	1094	9	6
Khūshḥāl Cand, fol. 397a, (31 in 1125 H) ...	1094		

B.—Length of the reign.

Farrukhsīyār proclaimed himself emperor at Paṭnah on the 29th Ṣafar 1124 H. (6th March, 1712), soon after he had heard of his father's, 'Aẓīm-ush-shān's, defeat and death at Lâhor. The first day of the reign, according to the official calculation, was fixed from this coronation at Paṭnah, and Jahāndār Shāh's reign was treated as never having existed. The victory over Jahāndār Shāh took place near Āgrah on the 13th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah 1124 H. (10th December, 1712.) Counting from the first of these dates, the reign up to the 8th Rabī ' II, 1131 H., lasted 7 (lunar) years, 1 month, and 9 days; or from the latter date (13th Ẕu,l Ḥijjah), to the same day, 6 (lunar) years, 3 months, and 25 days.[1]

C.—Style and title in life, and after death.

His titles are nowhere given with completeness. He is called either Abû,l Muẓaffar Mu'în-ud-dîn, Mḥd Farrukhsîyar, Bādshāh,[2] or simply Mu'în-ud-dîn Muḥammad Farrukhsîyar, Badshāh[3]; some writers style him Jalāl-ud-dîn, Muḥammad Farrukhsîyar, Bādshāh.[4] After his death he is referred to as the *Shahîd-i-marḥûm*, "the Martyr received into mercy," although I know of no formal statement that this description had been officially assigned to him. As other sovereigns have claimed to be above grammar, so Farrukhsîyar asserted a similar right over the calendar by changing the name of Wednesday from Fourth Day (*chahār shambah*) to Auspicious Day (*Humāyūn shambah*, and that of Thursday from Fifth day to Fortunate Day (*mubārik shambah*). From the date of the victory over Jahāndār Shāh, these days are so referred to in Îjad's history of the reign.[5]

	Year.	*Month.*	*Day.*
Tārîkh-i-Muzaffarî, fol. 150	1095	6	3
Mirât-i-âftâb-numâ	1095	6	18
Jâm-i-jam	1095	7	18
Ijād, fol. 14a	1096	8	19
B. M. Addl. 16, 713	1098	8	18
B. M. Addl. 1690, fol. 163a (1125-26) ...	1098		
Blochmann, *'Â'în*, table	1098		

[1] Kāmwar Khān, f. 137, entry of 9th Jamādî, II, 1125 H., Khūshḥāl Cand, 397a, Khāfî Khān, II, 737. Khāfî Khān's year (1123) is wrong—it should be 1124.

[2] *Tārîkh-i-Mḥdî.*

[3] Wārid 148a, Beale's *Miftāḥ*, 300.

[4] *Tārîkh-i-Muzaffarî*, page 130, *Jām-i-jam.*

[5] Ijād, fo. 106a, 107b, Kāmwar Khān, p. 137.

D.—Coinage.

His coins bore the distich :—

Sikkah zad, az faẓl-i-Haqq, bar sīm o zar,
Padshāh-i-bahr-o-bar, Farrukhsīyar.

"By the grace of the True God, struck coin on silver and gold,
"The emperor of land and sea, Farrukhsīyar."

A parody of these lines was current at the time in Dihlī :—

Sikkah zad bar gandum o moth o mattar
Bādshāh-i-dānah-kash, Farrukhsīyar.

"Struck coin on wheat, lentils and peas,
The grain gathering emperor, Farrukhsīyar."[1]

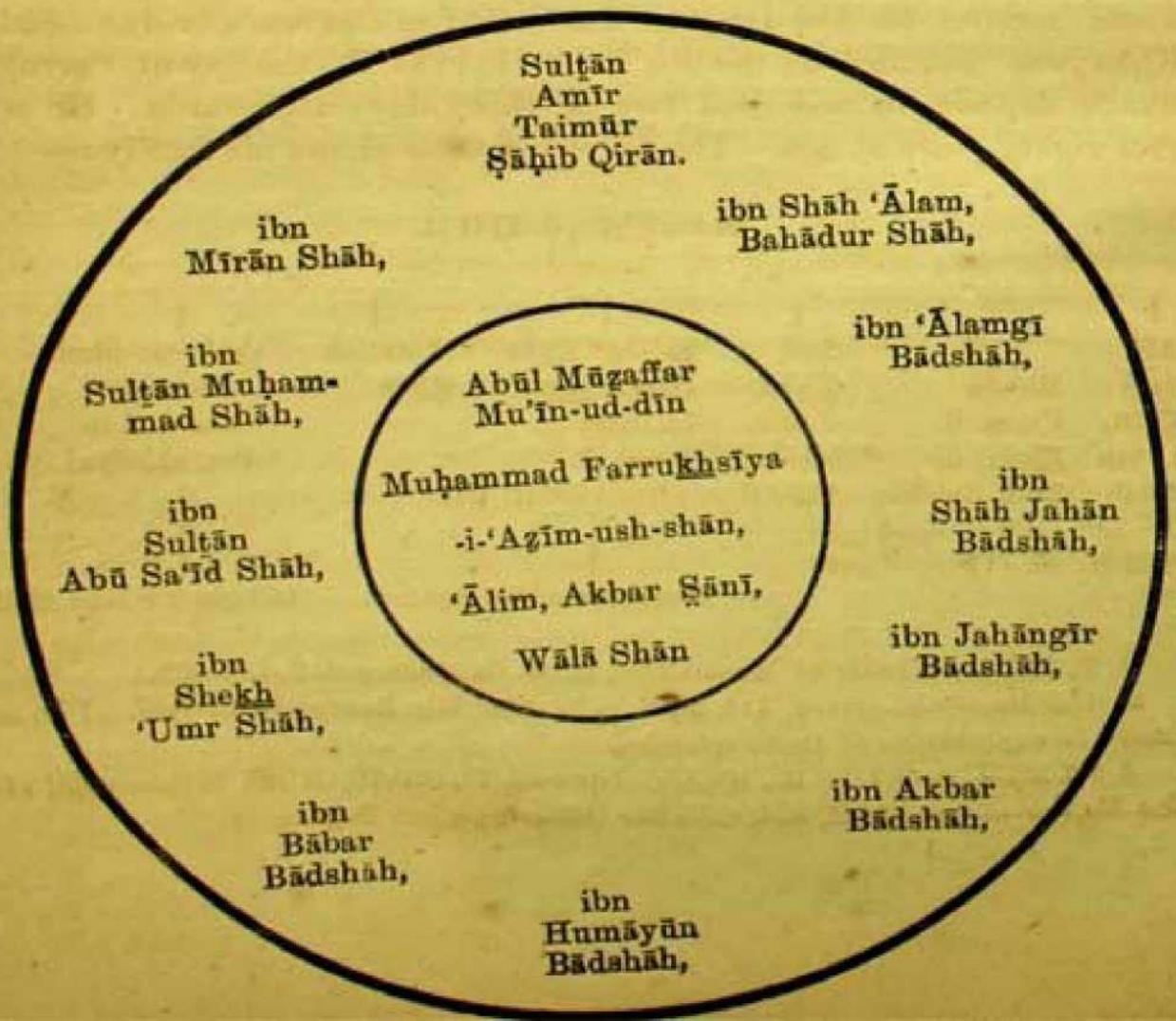
There are 116 coins of this sovereign in the three collections, at the British Museum, in Lāhor, and in Calcutta ; of gold, 18 (14 of the large and 4 of the small issue), and of silver, 98 (circular 97, square, that is, the *dirham-i-shara'ī* or legal *dirham*, 1). One hundred and twelve are dated by the regnal year. Each year of the reign is represented, 1st (8 coins), 2nd (17), 3rd (9), 4th (7), 5th (19), 6th (19), 7th (29), 8th (4). All except 6 coins (3 places not identified, 2 forged, 1 mint illegible) can be classed under the Ṣūbahs in which their mints were situated. These 110 coins belong to 23 mints in 15 out of the 21 Ṣūbahs—those unrepresented being Kābul, Kashmīr, Ajmer, Allahābād, Bīdar and Barār. The number of coins from each mint is Lāhor (16), Multān (7), Taṭṭah (1), Dihlī, 33 (Shāhjahānābād 27, Barelī 2, Sihrind 4), Gujarāt, 7 (Ṣūrat 7), Akbarābād, 11 (Akbarābād 6, Iṭāwah 3, Gwāliyār 2), Audh, 1 (Lakhnau 1), Mālwah, 2 (Ujjain 2), Bahār, 8 (Paṭnah 'Aẓīmābād 8), Bengal, 7 (Murshidābād, 6, Jahāngīrnagar Dhākah, 1), Orissa, 3 (Kaṭak 3), Khāndesh, 4 (Burhānpur 4), Aurangābād (1),

1 Sayyad Mahomed Latif, "History of the Punjab," 189, note, and *Kulliyāti-Ja'far*, Zaṭallī, p. 57 at end. The *Malāḥat-i-maqāl* of Rāo Dalpat Singh, B.M. Or. 1828, fol. 74a, attributes these lines to Mirzā Ja'far, Zaṭalī of Nārnol, and states that for writing them he was condemned to death (see Beale, 189). The first line has *māng* instead of *moth*, and the second line is given as *Bādshāh-i-tasmahkash*, (strap-stretching) Farrukhsīyar. "The Coins of the Moghul Emperors in the B. M.," 1892, p. 179-190, "Coins of the Mogul Emperors" by C. J. Rodgers (Calcutta, 1893) and "Coins of the Indian Museum" by the same (Calcutta, 1894). Mr. M. Longworth Dames "Some Coins of the Mughal Emperors," (Numismatic Chronicle, II, 275 or 309, London 1902), has added Aḥmadābād and Ajmer and Kambāyal to the unit towns. Khūshḥāl Cand, 396a.

Bijāpur (1), Ḥaidarābad, 8 (Arkāṭ 3, Adonī 1, Chīnāpatan 3, Gūtī 1). This distribution represents the facts fairly well: Kābul was practically lost, but the absence of coins from Kashmīr, Ājmer, Allahābād and two of the Dakhin Ṣūbahs, is difficult to account for.

The square silver "legal drachma" or *dirham-i-shara'ī* is a curious coin, and to all appearance unique. By its weight it holds the proportion to a rupee of about one-fourth (exactly it is ·23, or 3 annas and 8 pie, taking the standard rupee to have weighed 176 grains). From an analysis of the weights of the 97 circular rupees, I find more than half (54) range between 175 and 177 grains, the lowest weight (1) is 166·5 and the highest (4) is 187 grains. These latter coins come from the Kaṭak and Murshidābād mints, and are probably a local variation. The diameters range from ·80 of an inch to 1·1 inch; there are 60 of ·85, 34 of ·90, 11 of ·95 and 9 of 1·0. Judging from the above facts, it is probable that the standard rupee was 176 grains in weight, and 90 of an inch in diameter.

From a *farmān* dated the 5th Rabī' I. of the 4th year, we obtain the following details as to Farrukhsīyar's seals. There were two; the first one was round, with a diameter of $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the second square, $\frac{1}{2}$ inches each way.



The words in the centre are not in the above order on the seal. On the square seal the words appear on six lines, in the following order:—

1. Muḥammad
2. Mu'in-ud-dīn, Ghāzī, Ṣānī,
3. Akbar,
4. Wālā Shān,
5. h z ī
6. Farmān-i-Abūl Muẓaffar Bādshā ghā

E.—Farrukhsīyar's wives.

We hear of only two principal wives—(1) Fakhr-un-nissā Begam, daughter of Sādāt Khān; (2) the Rāthor princess, the daughter of Mahārājah Ajīt Singh, whose Hindū name seems to have been Bāe Indar Kuṇwar.[1] The father of the former was one Mīr Muḥammad Taqqī, entitled first Ḥasan Khān and then Sādāt Khān, son of Sādāt Khān. He is called a Ḥusainī by race, and the family came from the Persian province of Māzandarān, on the south shore of the Caspian Sea; it had emigrated to India after having been for a time settled at Iṣfahān.[2] He married a daughter of Ma'ṣūm Khān, Ṣafawī, and if this lady was the mother of Fakhr-un-nissā, this Ṣafawī connection would account for the daughter's selection as a prince's bride.[3] Ṣādāt Khān was wounded on the 9th Rabī' II, 1131 H., the day of Farrukhsīyar's deposition, and died two or three days afterwards. He was over eighty years of age. The following table shows his family:—

Sādāt Khān, d. 1131 H.

'Alī Naqī Khān, d. 9th Rabī' II, 1126 H.	Mḥd Mahdī, Farzand Khān, d. 28th Sha'bān 1128 H. aged 33. (1)	Saif Khān, d. 8th Muḥarram 1150 H. (1)	Ṣalābat Khān (Sādāt Khān Ẓū,lfiqār Jang) d. after 1166 H. (2)	'Aṭāullah Khān.	Fakhr-un-nissā Begam married to Farrukhsīyar
			Daughter = Mḥd Shāh.		Daughter = Mḥd Shāh.

1 *Tawārīkh-i-Mārwār* of Murārī Dās, B. M. Or. 5838, vol. 2, fol. 80b.

2 The *Ma,āṣir-al-umarā*, III, 524, calls him Mīr Buzurg-i-Mara'shī. I do not know the explanation of these epithets.

3 *T-i-Mḥdī*, year 1128 H., *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, II, 670-76, Mīrzā Muḥammad, 174. The *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā* III, 524, calls her Gūhar-un-nissā Begam.

(1) *T-i-Mḥdī* and Kāmwar Khān, 166.

(2) *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, II, 524.

The daughter of Ajīt Singh was married on the 29th Ramaẓān 1127 H. (27th September, 1715) in the fourth year of the reign. She seems to have had no issue. After Farrukhsīyar's deposition and death, she was brought out of the imperial harem on the 29th Sha'bān 1131 H. (16th July, 1719), and made over to her father with the whole of her property. She returned to Jodhpur and we hear no more of her.

Another wife or concubine, the daughter of the hill Rājah of Kashtwār, entered the harem on the 24th Rajab 1129 H. (3rd July, 1717.)[1]

F.—Farrukhsīyar's children.

The following table shows all the children that are recorded :—

Farrukhsīyar.

M. Farkhundah Sīyar, Jahāngīr Shāh. (1)	Jahān Murād Shāh. (2)	Bādshāh Begam. (3)

(1) Jahāngīr Shāh was born at Paṭnah on the 18th Ẕū,lqa'dah 1123 H. (27th December, 1711).[2] He died of smallpox a few months afterwards, on the 17th Rabī' II, 1125 (12th May, 1713).[3]

(2) Jahān Murād Shāh was born on the 16th Ẕū,lqa'dah 1129 H.[4] (October, 21st, 1717) and died on the 22nd Jamādī II, 1130 H. (May, 22nd, 1718.) The mother was Sādāt Khān's daughter.

(3) Bādshāh Begam. This child was also born of Sādāt Khān's daughter. She married the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh in 1133 H. (1720-1) and was known as *Malikah-uz-zamānī*, "Queen of the Age." She took a prominent part in securing the accession of Aḥmad Shāh in 1161 H. and died in 1203 H. (1788-9).[5]

G.—Note on Mirzā Ja'far, Zaṭalī, Nārnolī.

The poetical title of Zaṭalī, under which Mirzā Ja'far wrote, comes from *zaṭal*, Hindī, "chattering, quibbling, idle-talk," (Shakespear,

[1] Kāmwar Khān, 172-3, Thornton, 506, *Kishtwār*, a town on the southern slope of the Himalaya, situated in a small plain on the left bank of the Chenāb, 5,000 feet above the sea ; Lat. 33° 18', long. 75° 46'.

[2] B.M. Or. 1690, fo. 156b.

[3] Kāmwar Khān 135. The B.M. Or. 1690, fol. 164b says he died in Jamādī I.

[4] Mirzā Muḥammad, 328 and 358. Kāmwar Khān has 15th instead of 16th.

[5] Francklin, "Shah Aulum," 205.

1212). There are several printed editions of his works. A copy of the edition of 1853, now in the Königliche Bibliothek at Berlin, belonged to Dr. Sprenger (see his Catalogue, p. 8, No. 1638.) Beale, p. 189, says he was executed by Farrukhsiyar's orders for parodying the couplet on the coin of that emperor. The historians make no mention of this; but the fact is possible, when we remember that 'Abd-ul-jalīl, Bilgrāmī, *wāqi'ah-navīs* of Sīwistān was recalled, and deprived of his appointment, for a very innocent report. There are some further details about Zaṭalī in a little Urdū work *Zar-i-Ja'farī, ya'ni siwāniḥ-i-'umrī-i-Mīr Ja'far, Zatallī*, by "Hindustani Speculator" (published by Jān Muḥammad and Muḥammad Ismā'īl, Kashmīrī Bāzār, Lāhor, 1890, 36 pp. litho.). From this we learn that his ancestors came to India with Humāyūn, when that monarch returned to it and fought Hemū, They obtained a *jāgīr* and were in favour during Jahāngīr's reign, but in Shāhjahān's time the grant was resumed, and the poet's father Mīr 'Abās, was forced to open a shop. Ja'far is said to have been born about the time of 'Ālamgīr's accession (1658). The other children were two daughters and a son, Ṣafdar; the latter, the youngest of the family, being about five-and-a-half years younger than his brother. Their father died when all of them were young. One Mīr Sarwar sent Ja'far to school along with his own son, Akbar. In the end Sarwar embezzled the family property; and they were reduced to poverty again. Ja'far was over sixty when he died, but no year is given. In one of his *ruba'āt* in his *Kulliyāt* he says that when he wrote it he was over sixty. The following Persian lines in praise of tobacco are by him:—

Ṭurfah-i-shaghle shaghal-i-tambākū,
Kih z'īn shaghal gham farū gardad:
Ham-dam ast īn, ba waqt-i-tanhāī,
Ṭabā'i'-i-bādī az ū nikū gardad.

"Smoking tobacco is a rare pastime,
"An occupation decreasing gloom;
"A friend it is in time of solitude,
"It is a help to a bad digestion.

But his more characteristic style is a macaronic mixture of Persian and Hindī.

A language map of West Tibet with notes.—By A. H. Francke.

(With Plate vii.)

For the benefit of students of my Ladakhi Grammar, J. A. S. B. Part I, Extra No. II, 1901, I am now adding a language map of the ancient Ladakhi kingdom.

In the map special attention has been paid to the Tibetan dialects of the Indus valley. To distinguish the characteristics of the different dialects, it has been asked in which manner the following consonant combinations are pronounced in each single dialect : —

(1) sg, rg, sb, rb.
(2) sk, rk, sp, rp.
(3) by, py, phy.
(4) br, pr, phr.
(5) gr, kr, phr.

I. In the Rong-dialect the pronunciation is the following :—

(1) rg or sg = g̱h (like Urdu غ) ; sb or rb = v.
(2) sk or rk = g̱h or h (like Urdu خ or غ) ; sp or rp = f.
(3) by = j ; py = c ; phy = ch.
(4) br = dr ; pr = tr ; phr = thr.
(5) gr = dr ; kr = tr ; khr = thr.

Examples.

(1) sgam = قمر ; sbaste = vaste.
(2) skampo = hampo ; cospin = cofin.
(3) bya = ja ; phyogs = chogs.
(4) brag = drag ; phrugu = thrugu.
(5) grangmo = drangmo ; khrims = thrims.

II. Leh-dialect:

(1) rg or sg = g̱h (like Urdu غ) ; sb or rb = v.
(2) sk or rk = sk or rk ; sp or rp = sp or rp.
(3) by = j ; py = c ; phy = ch before a, o and u.

Before e and i the y disappears, and b, p, and ph retain their original sound.

(4) br = dr ; pr = tr ; phr = thr.
(5) gr = dr ; kr = tr ; khr = thr.

Examples.

(1) sgam=غمر; sbaste=vaste.
(2) skampo=skampo; cospin=cospin.
(3) bya=ja; phyogs=chogs; but byema=bema; phye=phe; phyila=phila.
(4) brag=drag; phrugu=thrugu.
(5) grangmo=drangmo; khrims=thrims.

III. Sham-dialect:

(1) rg or sg=rg or sg; rb or sb=rb or sb.
(2) rk or sk=rk or sk; rp or sp=rp or sp.
(3) by=by; py=py; phy=phy.
(4) br=br, pr=pr; phr=phr.
(5) gr=dr; kr=tr; khr=thr.

Examples.

(1) sgam=sgam; sbaste=sbaste.
(2) skampo=skampo; cospin=cospin.
(3) bya=bya; phyogs=phyogs.
(4) brag=brag; phrugu=phrugu.
(5) grangmo=drangmo; khrims=thrims.

IV. Purig and Balti dialects:

(1) rg or sg=rg or sg; rb or sb=rb or sb.
(2) rk or sk=rk or sk; rp or sp=rp or sp.
(3) by=by; py=py; phy=phy.
(4) br=br; pr=pr; phr=phr.
(5) gr=gr; kr=kr; khr=khr.

Examples.

(1) sgam=sgam; sbaste=sbaste.
(2) skampo=skampo; cospin=cospain (or byaspain).
(3) bya=bya; phyogs=phyogs.
(4) brag=brag; phrugu=phrugu.
(5) grangmo=grangmo; khrims=khrims.

Note: Examples for py, pr, and kr, have not been given. These combinations occur almost invariably with additional prefixes which make these cases more complicated and would take up too much space.

What has been said, only refers to the Indus valley. According to information received from natives the following may be added about other districts.

In the Shayog-valley a development from type No. I to type No. IV can be observed which is very similar to that of the Indus valley.

The dialect of Zangskhar is related to type No. I; only the north-western districts show traces of type No. III.

The dialect of Rubshu is of an entirely different character altogether; it is closely related to the Central Tibetan dialects and exhibits the Tibetan tone system in its full development (compare my article on Amundsen's and the native grammarian's tone system in Z. D. M. G., Vol. 57, p. 285.) But the tone system has not yet become quite extinct in the Indus valley, although the bad Tibetan of Indian and Yarkandi traders has done much harm to it.

Conclusion: From the above tables of dialects it becomes evident that the farther we advance towards north-west, down the Indus-valley, the more the pronunciation of the dialects is in agreement with the written language; or, in other words, the north-western dialects represent a more archaic state of the Tibetan language.

The Dard question of West-Tibet. Other researches have shown me that the north-western portions of Ladakh, at least as far up as *Saspola* in the Indus-valley, were once peopled by Dard tribes which have been tibetanized only recently. The reasons are: (1) the historical recollections of the people. (2) The Dard names of many *pha-spun*ships. (3) Remnants of the Dard language in those districts. (4) Dard customs in those districts.

Thus it can be shown, for instance, that Khalatse (Khalsi or Khalchi of the maps) used to be a Dard village in ancient times, although now-a-days at first sight it appears to be thoroughly Tibetan.

(1) According to the historical recollections of its present inhabitants Khalatse used to be a Dard colony from Gilgit.

(2) The *pha-spun*ships. *Pha-spun* means 'father-brothers.' The members of a *pha-spun*ship have to burn the dead in their own *pha-spun*ship. My explanation of this is the following: In the ancient times the near relatives (father, brothers, etc.) had to bury the dead. All the members of a *pha-spun*ship of the present day go back to one and the same family of ancient times.

The *pha-spun*ships of Khalatse are the following:

(*a*) Brushalpa: It comprises the following six families: Khrolepa, rGyamthsopa, Sherabpa, Ralupa, Gongmaṇa, bKrashis bsamphelpa.

(*b*) Pakorapa: It comprises the following nine families: Sabipa sNumpa, Bhandrepa, rKangchagpa, Grong dponpa, Dragchospa, Grambucanpa, Byabapa, rKyallupa.

(*c*) Mi dponpa: It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kadcanpa. (The Tingdzinpa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kadcanpa family.)

(*d*) Rab blonpa: It comprises the following three families: bSod rnams phelpa, Bragcanpa, Skamburpa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spun*ship: Mon, Bhedapa and Starapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. Pakor is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Bono-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spun*ships, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dponpa means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spun*ships may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bheda population? All this I cannot solve.

(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di zha nomo hla zhuni
Shuni bi zha nomo hla zhuni
Sinani bi zha nomo hla zhuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ང་ལ་ཟར་ཞིག་སྡུལ་ལུ་ཟླ་ལུ་ནི།
ང་ཐུག་པོ་ཆ་རྒྱུག་ལུ་ཟླ་ལུ་ནི།
ང་ལ་བྱ་ཞིག་སྡུལ་ལུ་ཟླ་ལུ་ནི།།

The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da:

Dargyassi de tija namo hla zhuni
Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni
Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation:

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

Notes on the Dard text:

Dar-rgyas is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tizha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *zha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god. *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' Also in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tizha* was lost in the preceding word. The *ni* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetan.

(4) *Dard customs.*—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held 1½ months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (mchod rtengyi sgang) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

I have tried to prove the Dard origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

to prove that the whole of Lower Ladakh was Dard before the Tibetan conquest, and I hope that in the next Census special attention will be paid to the *pha-spun*ships. The only colony, which has remained entirely Dard to the present day, is the colony of Da and its neighbourhood. The Dards of Dras are not Dard colonists apparently, but have always been in direct connection with the Dard population of Gilgit.

Now I shall repeat once more that it is interesting to note that the most archaic type of Tibetan pronunciation is found in territories where Tibetan was a foreign language for a long time.

From my limited knowledge of languages I may add two parallels: In Hanover where one of the purest Teutonic tribes is found in Germany, the development of the German language has been more rapid than in the southern mountainous districts, for instance, in Tirol or Styria, where there used to be a Celtic and Slav population before the advent of the Germans. The language of the Slav tribe of the Wends, between Berlin and Bautzen is in certain respects one of the most archaic Slav languages living. It is one of those few living Aryan languages which still make use of the Dual; and the Wends have been largely mixed with Germans.

On the other hand, I can give two examples, which would prove the contrary. French is one of the most advanced types of Roman speech (in the garb of its modern pronunciation); but here the Roman language was accepted by an originally Celtic population.—Hebrew is a far more advanced type of Semitic speech than Arabic, and yet the Jews were settlers among a partially non-Semitic population.

Thus apparently geographical and other questions will have to be taken into consideration; but it would certainly be an interesting task to examine those conditions which work for a speedy or a slow development not only of the Tibetan language, but of languages in general.

Numismatic Supplement. With plates VIII–IX.

Note.—The numeration of the articles below is continued from p. 244 of the Journal.

II. Mediæval India.

18. *On the Gadhaiyā Coins of Gujarāt.*

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A.D. 443-451. Yezdegerd II. (A.D. 438-457) carried on a long war against the Hūṇas on the north-eastern frontier of his kingdom. Almost every year from A.D. 443-451 witnessed a campaign against them.

Cir. A.D. 448. An offshoot of the Hūṇas invaded India, perhaps as early as A.D. 448, and made repeated invasions during the reign of Skandagupta (A.D. 455-480).

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A.D. 457-459. On the death of Yezdegerd II., in A.D. 457, his elder son Firūz and younger son Hormisdas contested the succession. After a civil war, lasting two years, Firūz gained the throne through the aid rendered him by the Hūṇas.

A.D. 465. Firūz invaded the country of the Hūṇas but with ill-success. A treaty of peace being concluded, Firūz agreed to strengthen the compact by a matrimonial alliance between his daughter and the Khāqān of the Ephthalites. Firūz, however, sent not his daughter, but one of his female slaves, whereupon the Khāqān killed, or mutilated, some 300 of the Sassanian officers. Hence the war was renewed.

A.D. 470. Firūz, captured with his army in a cul-de-sac, submitted to an ignominious treaty with the Hūṇa Khāqān, to whom he did homage by prostration and before whom he swore to a perpetual peace. The Sassanian provinces bordering on India now came under the dominion of the Hūṇas

The Hūṇas under their leader Lae-lih (perhaps identical with the Rājā Lakhana Udayādita) conquered the Kingdom of Gandhāra (the Kābul Valley and the Pānjāb), dispossessing the Little Kuṣanas, who about the year A.D. 425, had under Kidāra Shāh settled in that country.

A.D. 484. Firūz in violation of his oath again assailed the Hūṇas, but on a plain near Balkh his army suffered a crushing defeat. He himself and several of his sons, perished in the battle. Persia now acknowledged the Hūṇas as the paramount power, and Balas, the new Sassanian King (A.D. 484-487), paid tribute for two years. Kobād, a son of Firūz, advanced his own claim to the throne but without success, and accordingly, leaving Persia, he sought the assistance of the Hūṇas.

A.D. 487. The Khāqān of the Hūṇas eventually supplied a large army for the support of Kobād's claim. This force was on its way to Persia when news came that Balas had died without nominating any successor to the throne. No rival thus remained, and Kobād assumed the crown unchallenged. There can be little doubt that in acknowledgment of his obligation to the Hūṇas he had pledged himself to resume the subordinate position his uncle Balas had been content to hold for two years. He would thus pay tribute to the Khāqān and recognise him as lord paramount.

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Hūṇa Coinage.

It is specially noteworthy that the Hūṇas, as their territory increased, either adapted or imitated the coinage current in the countries that they conquered. Hence we find Hūṇa varieties of (*a*) Sassanian, (*b*) Gupta, and (*c*) Kuṣana coins.

(*a*) By the year A.D. 484 the Hūṇas had become the paramount power in Persia, and accordingly they struck coins after the pattern of the Sassanian money that Firūz had issued during the latter part of his reign, say from A.D. 470-484. It would

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seem, however, that Sassanian coins of a considerably later date were also imitated by the Hūṇas.

(*b*) Subsquent to the Hūṇa conquest of the Gupta Kingdom of East Mālwā, Toramāṇa caused small silver coins, hemidrachms, to be struck, resembling these of Budhagupta (A.D. 484-510).

(*c*) Mihirakula issued copper coins of the usual Kuṣana type.

The Gadhaiyā Coins.

The Gadhaiyā coins of Gujarāt are in all probability imitations of these Hūṇa coins which themselves were imitations of the Sassanian coins struck in the reign of Firūz or later.*

The first Hūṇa imitations—simply rude copies of the original Sassanian thin silver pieces—were probably made by the orders of Toramāṇa. Their presence in large numbers in Mārwār justifies the influence that the Lower Indus ranges and Western Rājpūtāna came under the sway of the Hūṇas.

Later imitations show "as they recede from the prototype a more degraded representation of the original types and an increasing thickness of fabric." Mewār, Mārwār, and all Rājpūtānā are the districts in which coins of this intermediate type are still found in large numbers.

The Gadhaiyā coins exhibit this degradation in stages even more and more advanced, till to the eye of the uninitiated they seem to

* That the Gadhaiyā coins are ultimately derived from coins of the Indo-Sassanian type has long been known to numismatists. Cunningham in the Eleventh Volume (pages 175-176) of his Archæological Survey Reports writes: "The silver coins found near the ruins of Vajrāsan Vihāra of Viradeva are all of the class known "as Indo-Sassanian. Similar coins are found in Mālwā and Gujarāt, but they are "never inscribed. The earliest coins of the class are of large size, and their imita- "tion of the Sassanian money is direct and obvious. But the latter coins depart "more and more from the original, so that it is not easy at first sight to trace "their descent. Several specimens selected by me from the Stacy collection were "published by James Prinsep in 1837 to illustrate this descent, with a graceful "acknowledgment that the fact had been previously pointed out by me in January, "1836 (Bengal As. Soc. Journal, VI. 295, Plate XIX, Figs. 7-14). 'It is,' he says, "'to Captain Cunningham that we are indebted for the knowledge of balusters, "parallelograms, and dots being all resolvable into the same fire-altar and its at- "tendants.' In 1876, or just one generation later, the same fact was proved over "again by Mr. Codrington, Secretary of the Bombay Asiatic Society. 'He select- "ed,' says Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indraji, 'a series of coins to show the gradual "change of the Persian head on the obverse, and the fire-altar on the reverse, of "the Sassanian coins into the oblong button and the series of dots and lines "found on the Gadhaiyā coins.' (Bombay As. Soc. Journal, Vol. XII, 325)."

present merely an oblong button or mace on the obverse, and on the reverse a medley of dots and lines. While, however, the Sassanian prototype of the reign of Firūz and the intermediate imitations are little more than thin laminæ of silver, these Gadhaiyā coins are distinctly thick for their diameter, so thick as to be almost dumpy.

Copper Gadhaiyā coins are not very uncommon, but all the specimens I have seen are of a particularly degraded type. They apparently issued from the mints long after remembrance of the original design had been entirely lost. The name Gadhaiyā Paisā still in vogue in Gujarāt applies to both the silver and the copper varieties of this type of coin.

Description of Coins.

A. Sassanian Coins of Firūz: Æ: Diameter 1·2 in.: very thin; weight 59 grains.

Obverse: within circle:

King's face in profile to right: pronounced nose: short beard: ear-ring with triple pendant: rose behind lobe of ear: tight-fitting necklace: sash over each shoulder: high crown with star on either side.

Legend: Kadi Piruzi (King Firūz)

Or Mazdisn Kadi Piruzi (the Ahura-mazda-worshipping Firūz).

Outside circle:

Above crown a crescent with star in its bosom (on some of the coins of Firūz the King's crown has two wings, one in front and the other behind).

Reverse: within circle:

Fire altar, narrow at middle, and surmounted by four rows of flame: a wing on each side of altar, near its centre: standing on each side an attendant with sword reaching to ground: to left of flame a star, and to right a crescent moon.

B. Hūṇa imitations of *A.* Æ: diameter reduced but thickness increased: average weight of five coins 57 grains.

Obverse: Original design crudely copied with much blurring and loss of detail: face recognisable but nose long and very attenuated: in front of lips a snake like wavy line: legend represented by mere strokes.

Reverse: Fairly clear outline of fire-altar, flame being represented by a pyramid of dots: attendants shrunk to curved lines.

C. Gadhaiyā Paisa imitations of *B*: Æ: diameter much reduced but thickness pronounced: average weight of twenty-one coins 62 grains.

Obverse: Face less and less discernible, resembling at last a mallet or globe-headed stud: ear much elongated and separated from head: wavy line still present.

Reverse: Arrangement of lines, parallelograms, and dots distantly suggestive of a fire-altar.

With the exception of the crescent above the crown, the latest Gadhaiyā coins in silver and all in copper have scarcely a trace remaining of the Sassanian prototype. They exhibit on one side a thick unwieldy mace in a field of dots and on the other mere rows of dots and lines.

The accompanying two Plates have been prepared from exquisite photographs taken from plaster casts of the coins by my kind friend Mr. H. Cousens, M.R.A.S., Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of Western India. On one Plate the obverse, and on the other the reverse, impressions have been so arranged as to exhibit their further and further departure from the original type.

Periods of Currency.

A. The Sassanian monarch Fīrūz reigned from A.D. 457-484, and the Hūṇa imitations followed the type of the coins of the latter part of this reign, say from A.D. 470-484.

B. The first Hūṇā imitations were current in Western Rājpūtānā during the reign of Toramāṇa in the first quarter of the sixth century. Subsequently throughout Mewār, Mārwār, and all Rājpūtānā the later Hūṇā imitations had a large circulation. They were also probably current in Gujarāt and even perhaps in Kāṭhiāwāḍ side by side with the Valabhī coinage. This latter ceased to issue after the fall of Valabhī about the year A.D. 766, and thereafter the Hūṇā imitations served as the currency for those provinces.

C. The Gadhaiyā coins, increasingly degenerate imitations of the Hūṇa imitations, were probably issued during the Chāvaḍa (A.D. 746-942), the Chālukya (A.D. 942-1243), and Vāghelā (A.D. 1244–1297) dynasties of Gujarāt, and continued to be the accepted coin of the realm till 'Alā-ul-dīn's conquest of the province at the close of the 13th century. Thus the period of currency for these Gadhaiyā coins covers more than five hundred years—a long period, but not too long if regard be had to the extreme degeneration, both in design and workmanship, exhibited by these coins.

Name.

The name Gadhaiyā or, as sometimes pronounced, Gadhiyā, is said

to be derived from the Sanskrit Gardabhīya, meaning "asinine," "of the Ass dynasty." How so strange a designation came to be attached to the coin is not very evident, but I venture to suggest the following as a possible explanation. For some twenty years after the settlement of the Hūṇas on the banks of the Oxus, the reigning Sassanian king was Varahrān V (A.D. 419-438), who from his devotion to the chase, and especially to the chase of the wild-ass, gained the nick-name of Varahrān Gur, or Bahrām the Ass[-hunter]. Now when the coins of this king began to circulate amongst his enemies, the Hūṇas, these by a very evident *jeu d'esprit* may have dubbed the thin insignificant-looking silver pieces "Ass-money," a name that would readily "stick." Later on when imitations of coins of the same Sassanian type were struck by the Hūṇas themselves in India, the name would fall to be translated by some Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit equivalent, Gardabhīya: and this designation, by a process of phonetic degeneration proceeding *pari passu* with the more and more degraded workmanship of the coins themselves, finally dwindled down to Gadhaiyā, the term in use to-day by the common people.

[Gardabhīya = Gaddahīya = Gādahīya
= Gādhaiya = Gadhaiya—ka.
= Gadhaiyā].

GEO. P. TAYLOR.

III. SULTANS OF DEHLI.

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19. *Muhammad bin Tughlak.*

Metal. Silver.
Weight. 167 grains.
Mint. Lakhnauti.
Date. *x* 33 A. H.

Pl. IX.

This coin has the same legends as coin No. 187 described by Thomas (*vide* Chronicles, Plate VI. Fig. 6), but instead of one of the legends being within a circle, both legends are arranged in square areas. This coin is unique so far as is known.

G. B. BLEAZBY.

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20. *Firoz Shāh III.*

Metal. Silver.
Weight. 93 grains. Mint and date absent.
This is the only coin of Firoz in silver so far as our information

goes. The legends are similar to those on coin No. 226 of the *Chronicles*, but that is a gold coin. The margin is too fragmentary to be read with any confidence. The coin looks perfectly genuine, but its weight is extraordinary. Could it possibly have been struck from the gold die by mistake, or was it intended for a "half-rupee"?

G. B. BLEAZBY.

21. *Sher Sháh.*

Metal. Silver.
Weight. 180 grains.
Mint. Agra probably.
Date. 948 A. H.
A square rupee, believed to be unique.

Pl. IX.

G. B. BLEAZBY.

IV. MUGHAL EMPERORS.

22. An important collection of Mughal coins changed hands during the early part of the year, when the Government of the United Provinces, aided by a grant from the Director General of Archæology, acquired for the cabinet of the Lucknow Museum the coins of Mr. R. W. Ellis, recently of Lahore and now of Jubbulpore. This acquisition brings the Lucknow Museum cabinet into the very front rank as regards the Mughal period, and it is to be hoped that the authorities will take an early opportunity of issuing a descriptive and fully illustrated catalogue of their fine collection. An abstract of the rarer coins in the Ellis cabinet (which included 84 gold, 1,670 silver and 533 copper coins) has been compiled by Mr. Burn for the annual report of the Lucknow Museum for the year ending 31st March 1904, and is given below.

Bābar.—Seven silver coins.

Humāyūn.—Three silver coins.

Akbar. N—Two coins weighing 7·7 and 5·5 grains, respectively. One is dated 964 and has no mint, while the other is of the Fatehpūr mint but is not dated.

R.—The early rupees are very fine. In the *Ilahi* series are two round rupees of Dehli, a dated coin (48 *Ilahi*) of Allahābād with the couplet, and some coins of Bairāt.

Æ.—The following rare mints are represented:—Kālpi, Hissār Sirhind, Ajmir Salemgarh(?), Akbarpūr, Mālpūr Mīrath, Atak, Sahāranpūr.

Jahāngir.—R. Elichpūr, Ahmadābād (the rare couplet of 1027

A.H.), 10 zodiacal rupees (5 signs), and a half rupee of Nūr Jahān and Jahāngir of the Sūrat mint.

Æ.—Ahmadābād coin struck in the name of Salim.

Shāh Jahān.—*N.* Daulatābād.

Ar.—Kashmir, Daulatābād, Ujain.

Æ.—Akbarābād, Bairāt, Dehli.

Two coins of the Multān mint (one in gold and one in silver) are dated 33 (julus) = 1069 (A. H.)

Aurangzeb.—Ar. Alamgīrpūr, Gwālior, Kābul, Nārnol, Chīnāpatan, Machhlīpatan, Makhsūsābād, Ahsanābād, and a Niṭhār of Shāhjahānābād.

Æ.—Multān, Hajdarābād, Bairāt and Akbarābād.

Shāh Alam Bahādur.—Ar. Multān, Chināpatan, Jūnagarh, Sirhind, Karimābād and Ahmadnagar.

Farrukh Siyar.—Ar. Murshidābād, Burhānpūr, Gwālior.

Æ.—Sūrat (?)

Rafi-ud-darjāt.—Ar. Ujain.

Muhammad Shāh.—*N.* Kora.

Ar.—Ujain, Islamābād, Elichpūr.

Æ.—Machhlīpatan.

Ahmad Shāh.—Ar. Mahindrapūr.

Alamgir II.—Ar. Balwantnagar, Baldat-i-Safa, Murādābād and Najibābād.

Æ.—Najibābād.

Shāh Jahān III.—Ar. Ahmadābād, Mahindrapūr.

Shāh Alam II.—Ar. Najibābād, Morādābād, Narwar, Deogarh, Srinagar, Gohad, Gokalgarh, Bhopāl, Muminābād Brindaban, Husainābād, Jammun, Islāmābād Mathura, Pānipat, Najibgarh, Krishnagar, Hardwār, Muzaffargarh and Sahāranpūr.

Æ.—Narwar, Najibābād, Sahāranpur, Islāmābād Mathura, Muminābād, Kachrauli, Baroda, Brindaban, Najafgarh.

Bedār Bakht. *N.*—Ahmadābād.

Akbar II. Ar.—Muzaffargarh, Dholpur, Sheopur, Braj Indrapur and Gohad.

Æ.—Ahmadābād, Baroda, Jodhpūr and Jaipūr.

Ed.

23. Rupees of Akbar of the Allahabad Mint.

A recent find of 21 silver coins in the Rai Bareli district of Oudh contained 9 rupees of Akbar struck at Allahābād, of which three were dated 46 *Ilāhi* and four 47 *Ilāhi*. These rupees, especially those of the former year, are very scarce. The coins were acquired by Government and are in the Lucknow Museum.

Ed.

24. On Two recent Mint Lists.

The current year (1904) has witnessed the publication of two noteworthy Lists of Mints—one prepared by Dr. Oliver Codrington, I.M.S., and forming not the least valuable portion of his invaluable "Manual of Musalmān Numismatics."; the other compiled by Mr. R. Burn, I.C.S., and communicated to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The former List is characterised in a marked degree by the special qualities that distinguish the "Manual" as a whole. In order to its preparation not only scholarship and skill, but, that much rarer qualification, the faculty for patient plodding was requisite, inasmuch as the entire range of literature on the numerous classes of coins bearing either Arabic or Persian legends would seem to have been placed under contribution. It is not strange then that the resultant Mint List has assumed somewhat formidable proportions. It comprises in all the names of no less than 1,067 mints ranging from Spain in the Far West to Malaysia in the Far East. Of the various coin-groups included in this aggregate List that of the Mughal Emperors of India—or, as the "Manual," in the effort after brevity, styles them, of the "Dehlī Emperors"—is not the least extensive. We find here registered 189 Indian Mughal Mints, a sufficiently remarkable advance upon the 80 recorded in the Coin Catalogue of the British Museum, or the 105 in the Lāhor Museum Catalogue. In a work covering so vast a range, yet all comprised within 240 pages, one cannot in fairness expect detailed information regarding the coin-issues from the individual mints. It is just this detail, however, that Mr. Burn's Mint List supplies in abundant measure. From it we learn not merely the names of the Mughal Mints in India, but the reigns during which each several mint was in operation, and—for coin-collectors most welcome information—a cabinet in which can to-day be found specimens, whether in gold or silver or copper, of the coins struck at the different mints in the different reigns. As to place, this List is restricted to Indian Mints; and as to time, to the three centuries preceding the Indian Mutiny: yet, notwithstanding this comparatively narrow range, no less than 204 mints fail to be

registered. Thus the two Lists, Dr. Codrington's and Mr. Burn's, will be found to supply material mutually complementary. Their almost simultaneous publication has placed coin-collectors, and especially those in this country, under a debt of more than ordinary obligation; and the two Lists together constitute quite the most valuable contribution of recent years to the study of (modern) Indian Numismatics.

The following notes on these two Lists may perhaps be of use for reference.

A. *Re Codrington's Lists.*

Mints of "Dehlī Emperors;" Total 189.

But Aṭak and Aṭak Banāras are merely variant names of one mint.

Similarly Aḥmadnagar Farrukhābād and Farrukhābād;

Akhtarnagar Awadh and Awadh;
Urdū, Urdū dar rāh-i-Dakhin, and Urdū Ẓafar Qarin;
Indrapūr, Braj Indrapūr, Maharandurpūr, and Mahapūr;
Aujan and Ūjain;
Banāras and Muḥammadabād Banāras;
Dāral taṣawwur and Jodhpūr;
Zīnat al Bilād and Aḥmadabād;
Sawā'ī Jaipūr and Jaipūr;
Sītāpūr and Sītpūr;
Shāhābād Qanauj and Shergaṛh Qanauj;
Mustaqirral Mulk and Akbarabād;
Mūminābad and Bindrāban;
Nāgpūr and Nāgor.

*Thus the total number of mint falls by 18, that is to say from 189 to 171.

Further, the following mint-names are too doubtful to be accepted for inclusion:—

Ajāyūr, Jalūnābad, Kānān, Kāndī, Kalkata, and Nagar.

Hence the total 171 falls now to 165.

However, in Codrington's List (but not in Burn's) "Hasanabad or Husainabad" is counted as only one mint. It seems safer to regard them as two, Ḥasnābād and Ḥusainābād: in which case the total rises

* In conformity with the prevailing practice both variants have been retained in the case of the following well-known doublets:—Āgra and Akbarābād, Dehlī and Shāhjahānābād, Aurangābād and Khujista Bunyād, Patna and 'Aẓīmābād, Makhṣusābād and Murshidābād.

from 165 to 166. Of these 166 mints 23 are not recorded in Burn's List.

B. *Re Burn's List.*

Mints of the Mughal Emperors of India: Total 204.

Here also each of the following groups contains merely variant names of a single mint:—

Aṭak and Aṭak Banāras;
Akhtarnagar Awadh and Awadh.
Urdū, Urdū dar rāh-i-Dakhin, and Urdū Ẓafar Qarīn;
Āṣafābād Bareli and Bareli;
Banāras, Muḥammadābād Banāras, and Banāras Sirsa;
Dār al Jihād and Ḥaidarābād;
Dār al taṣawwur and Jodhpūr;
Salīmgaṛh Ajmīr and Ajmīr;
Shāhābād Qananj, Shergaṛh Qananj, Shergaṛh and Qananj;
Braj Indrapūr and Maha Indrapūr;
Mūminābād and Bindrāban;
Nāgpūr and Nāgor;

and, as before, Ajāyūr, Būtān, Jalūnabād, Kānān, and Nagar scarcely justify their claim to admission.

Hence the total in this List falls from 204 to 183. Of this latter number 40 are absent from Codrington's List.

C. The following are the 143 mints common to both Lists:—

N.B.—In this sub-list a mint's variant names are indicated by letters (*b*, *c*, and *d*), and the rejected mint-names by brackets. These lettered or bracketed mints may, or may not, be common to the two Lists. They are not included in making up any of the totals.

1. Etāwa or Etāwā; 2. Aṭak, 2*b*. Aṭak Banāras; (Ajāyūr); 3. Ajmīr, 3*b*. Salīmgaṛh Ajmīr; 4. Aḥsanābād; 5. Aḥmadābād; 6. Aḥmadnagar; 7. Udaipūr; 8. Urdū, 8*b*. Urdū dar rāh-i-dakhin, 8*c*. Urdū Ẓafar Qarīn; 9. Arkāt; 11. Islāmābād; 14. Asīr; 16. A'ẓamnagar; 17. Akbarābād; 18. Akbarpūr; 19. Akbarnagar; 20. Āgra; 22. Ilahābād; 23. Imtiyāzgaṛh 23*b*. Imtiyāzgaṛh Adoni; 24. Amīrkoṭ; 25. Indrapūr, 25*b*. Braj Indrapūr, 25*c*. Maha Indrapūr, (Maharandurpūr), (Maharpūr); 26. Ānwlā; 27. Ūjain or Ujjain; (Aujan); 28. Awadh, 28*b*. Akhtarnagar Awadh; 29. Aurangābād; 30. Aurangnagar; 32. Elichpūr; 38. Burhānpūr; 39. Bareli, 39*b*. Āṣafābād Bareli; 43. Banāras, 43*b*. Banāras Sirsa, 43*c*. Muḥammadābād Banāras; 44. Bindrāban, 44*b*. Mūminābād Bindrāban; 45. Bandar Shāhi;

47. Bankāpūr; 48. Bangāla; (Butān); 49. Bahādurpattan; 53. Bharatpūr; 55. Bhakkar or Bakkar or Bhakkar; 57. Bhilsa; 58. Bijāpūr; 49. Bairāta; 60. Pānipat; 61. Pattan Dev; 62. Patna; 63. Panjnagar; 66. Peshāwar or Pēshāwar; 68. Tatta; 71. Jalālpūr; (Jalūnābād); 72. Jalair or Jālair; 73. Jammū or Jammūn; 74. Jodhpūr; 75. Jaunpūr; 76. Jūnagaṛh; 78. Jhānsī; 81. Jahāngīrnagar; 82. Jaipūr, 82*b*. Sawā'ī Jaipūr; 84. Chachhrauli or Chhachhrauli; 85. Chunār; 87. Chitor or Chaitaur; 88. Chīnāpattan; 89. Ḥāfiẓābād; 90. Ḥasnābād (perhaps Aḥsanābād); 91. Ḥusainābād; 92. Ḥiṣār, 92*b*. Ḥiṣār Fīroza; 93. Haidarābād; 94. Khārpūr; 95. Khujista Bunyād; 96. Khairpūr; (Dār al jihād); (Dār al taṣawwur); 99. Dāmlā; 100. Dilshādābād; 101. Dogām or Dogānw or Adogām; 102. Daulatābād; 103. Dehlī; 104. Dera; 105. Dīngaṛh; 107. Dewal; (Zīnat al bilād); 112. Sārangpūr; 115. Sironj; 116. Srīnagar; 119. Sūrat; 120. Sahāranpūr; 121. Sahrind or Sarhind; (Sītāpūr); 125. Shāhjahānābād; 126. Sholāpūr; 128. Sherpūr; 129. Ẓafarābād; 130. Ẓafarpūr; 131. Ẓafarnagar; 132. 'Ālamgīrpūr; 134. 'Aẓīmābād; 135. Fatḥābād Dhārūr; 136. Fatḥpūr; 137. Farrukhābād, 137*b*. Aḥmadnagar Farrukhābād; 138. Farrukhnagar; 139. Fīrozpūr; 140. Fīroznagar; 141. Qamarnagar; 142. Qandahār; 143. Qanauj; 143*b*. Shāhābād Qanauj, 143*c*. Shergaṛh Qanauj; 143*d*. Shergaṛh; 144. Kābul; 145. Kālpī; (Kānān); (Kāndī); 147. Kaṭak; 148. Kachhrauli (perhaps Chachhrauli); 151. Karīmābād; 152. Kashmīr; 153. Kalānūr; (Kalkata); 154. Korā; 155. Khanbāyat or Kanbāyat; 157. Gulburga or Kalburga; 158. Gulkanda; 159. Gangpūr; 160. Gwālīār; 161. Govindpūr; 162. Gūtī; 163. Gorakhpūr or Gorakpūr; 164. Gokalgaṛh; 165. Lāhor; 166. Lakhnau; 167. Lahri Bandar; 168. Mālpūr; 169. Mānikpūr; 172. Mathurā Islāmābād; 174. Machhlīpattan; (Muḥammadābād–Udaipūr or Champānīr or Kālpī or Muḥammadābād Banāras); 175. Muḥammadnagar; 176. Makhṣūṣābād; 178. Murādābād; 179. Murshidābād; 180. Muṣṭafa-ābād; 181. Muẓaffarābād; 182. Muẓaffargaṛh; 183. Mu'aẓẓamābād; 184. Multān; 185. Maliknagar; 186. Mulhārnagar; 187. Mumbai, 187*b*. Mumbai Sūrat; 188. Mandū; 189. Mahīsūr; 190. Mīrath; 191. Mailāpūr; 192. Nārnol; 193. Nāgpūr or Nāgor; 195. Najafgaṛh; 196. Najībābād; 200. Nuṣratābād; (Nagar); 206. Hardwār.

Undermentioned are the 23 mints present in Dr. Codrington's List but not in Mr. Burn's:—

10. Asfir?; 15. I'zābād?; 34. Budāun; 35. Badakhshān; 46 Binda; 51. Bhāwalpūr; 67. Tānda; 69. Jālandar; 70. Jalālābād; 77. Jahānābād; 79. Jahāngīrābād; 80. Jahāngīrpūr; 83. Chitrakūṭ or Chatarkoṭ or Chatarkoh; 86. Champānīr; 108 Rānajīn?; 117.

Sikandarābād; 122. Siyālkoṭ; 123. Sitpūr (perhaps Peshāwar); 126. Shikār al Gāh?; 133. 'Ālamgīrnagar; 146. Kālinjar; 170. Māughīr; 203. Hāpūr.

It is desirable that the coins represented by the entries in this sub-list be submitted anew to a careful scrutiny, inasmuch as some five or six of the mint-names stand in need of verification.

The following 40 mints are in Mr. Burn's list but not in Dr. Codrington's:—

12. Islāmbandar; 13. Isma'ilgarh or Isma'īlgarh; 21. Alwar (C); 31. Ausā; 33. Bālāpūr (C); 36. Baroda (C); 37. Burhānābād; 40. Bisaulī; 41. Baldat-i-Ṣafa; 42. Balwantnagar; 50. Bahādurgarh; 52. Bahrāich; 54. Bharūch (C); 56. Bhopāl (C); 64. Purbandar or Parbandar; 65. Pūnch; 97. Khairnagar; 98. Dādar; 106. Devgarh; 109. Ranthor or Ranthūr; 110. Rōhtās; 111. Zain al Bilād; 113. Sāmbhar; 114. Satgānw (C); 118. Sambhal (C); 124. Sevpūr; 149. Karārābād; 150. Krishnagarh; 156. Kīratpūr; 170. Māughīr; 173. Mujāhidābād; 177. Madan Koṭ; 194. Nāhan (C); 197. Najībgarh; 198. Narwar (C); 199. Naṣrullanagar; 201. Nūrgal; 202. Wālijābād?; 204. Hāthras; 205. Hānsī Ṣāḥibābād.

The nine mints beside which has been placed a bracketed (C) are indeed entered in Codrington's List, but not as mints of the "Dehlī Emperor." And it must be admitted that coins from several of these mints, though bearing the names of the later Emperors, were not struck under their authority. As Mr. Longworth Dames has well said, "They merely represent the desire of the Marāṭhā chiefs to take advantage of the prestige still attaching to the name of Bādshāh."

We thus arrive at a total of 206 mints, made up as follows:—

In Codrington's List *and* in Burn's	...	143 mints.
In Burn's List alone	40	„
In Codrington's List alone	23	„
Total ...	206 mints.	

Mention should here be made of four mints not registered in either of the two Lists. Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet contains—

(*a*) from the Jālnapūr mint a rupee of Jahāngir,
(*b*) „ „ Mandisor „ „ Shāh 'Ālam II,
(*c*) „ „ Jalālnagar „ fulūs of Akbar I;

and Mr. Bleazby possesses a copper coin of Akbar II's reign struck at Muẓaffarnagar. These four additional mints raise the total from 206 to 210. It is interesting to note that this Resultant Total is exactly

double the number of Mughal Mints (105) registered in the Catalogue which, till quite recently, was recognised as the highest authority, the Catalogue of the Lāhor Museum.

GEO. P. TAYLOR,
Aḥmadābād.

V. MISCELLANEOUS.

25. *Bengal.—Nāṣir-ud-dīn Maḥmūd I?*

Obverse. الدنيا و الدين
ناصر محمود
ابو المظفر
سلطان

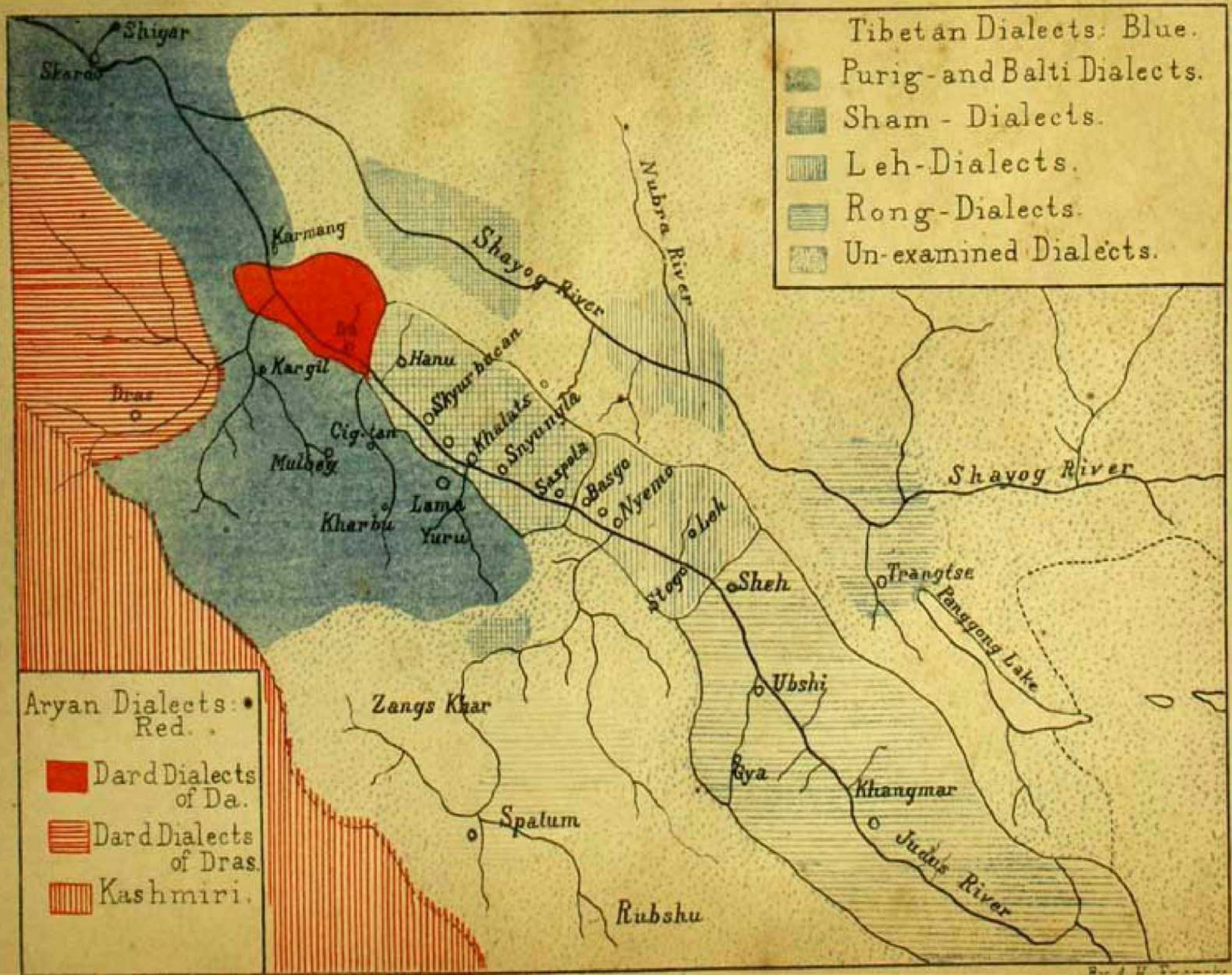
Reverse. المويد بتائيد
الرحمن خليفه الله
العجـــت والبـ– رهان

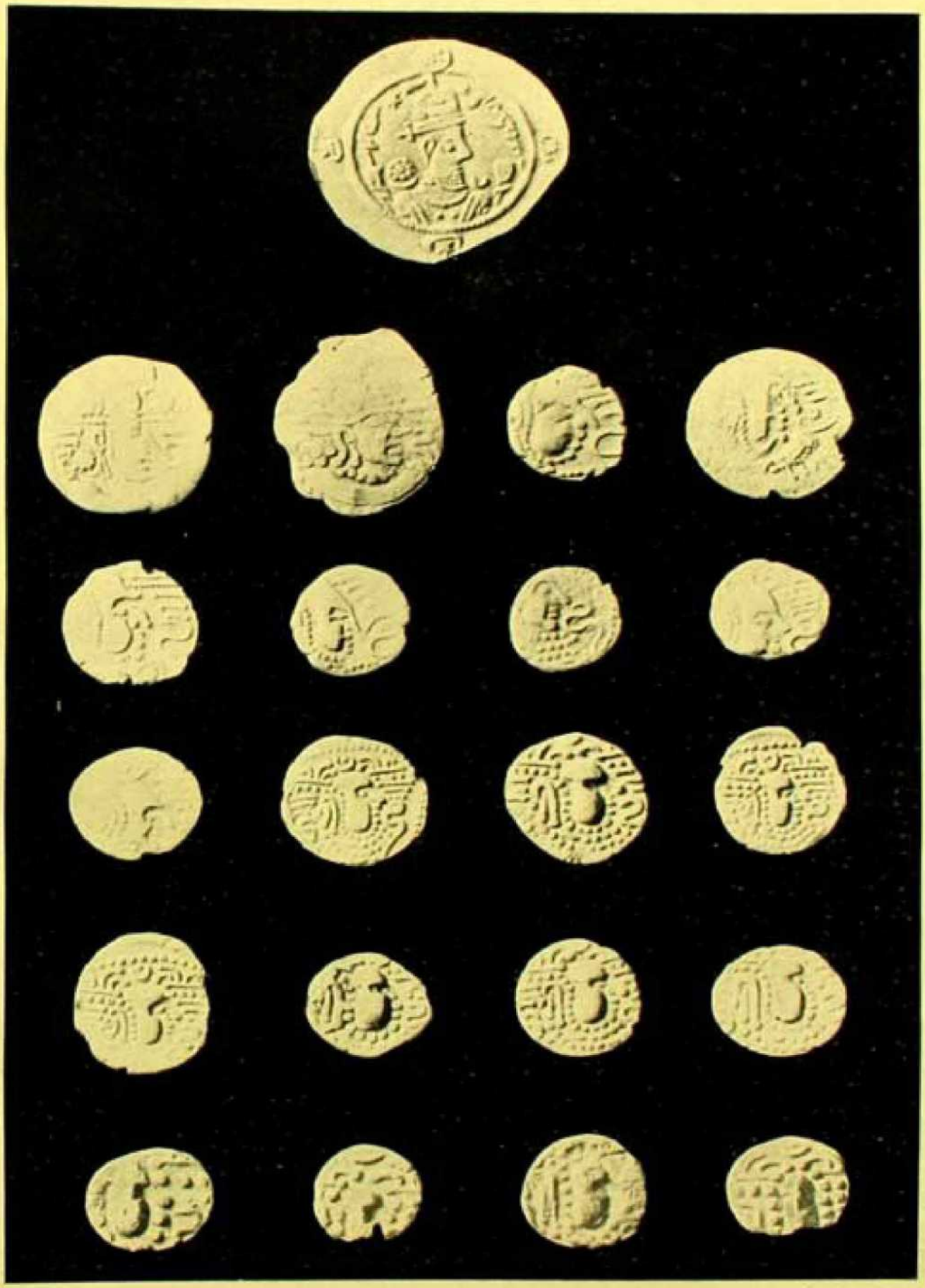
N. 166 grains. ·85″.

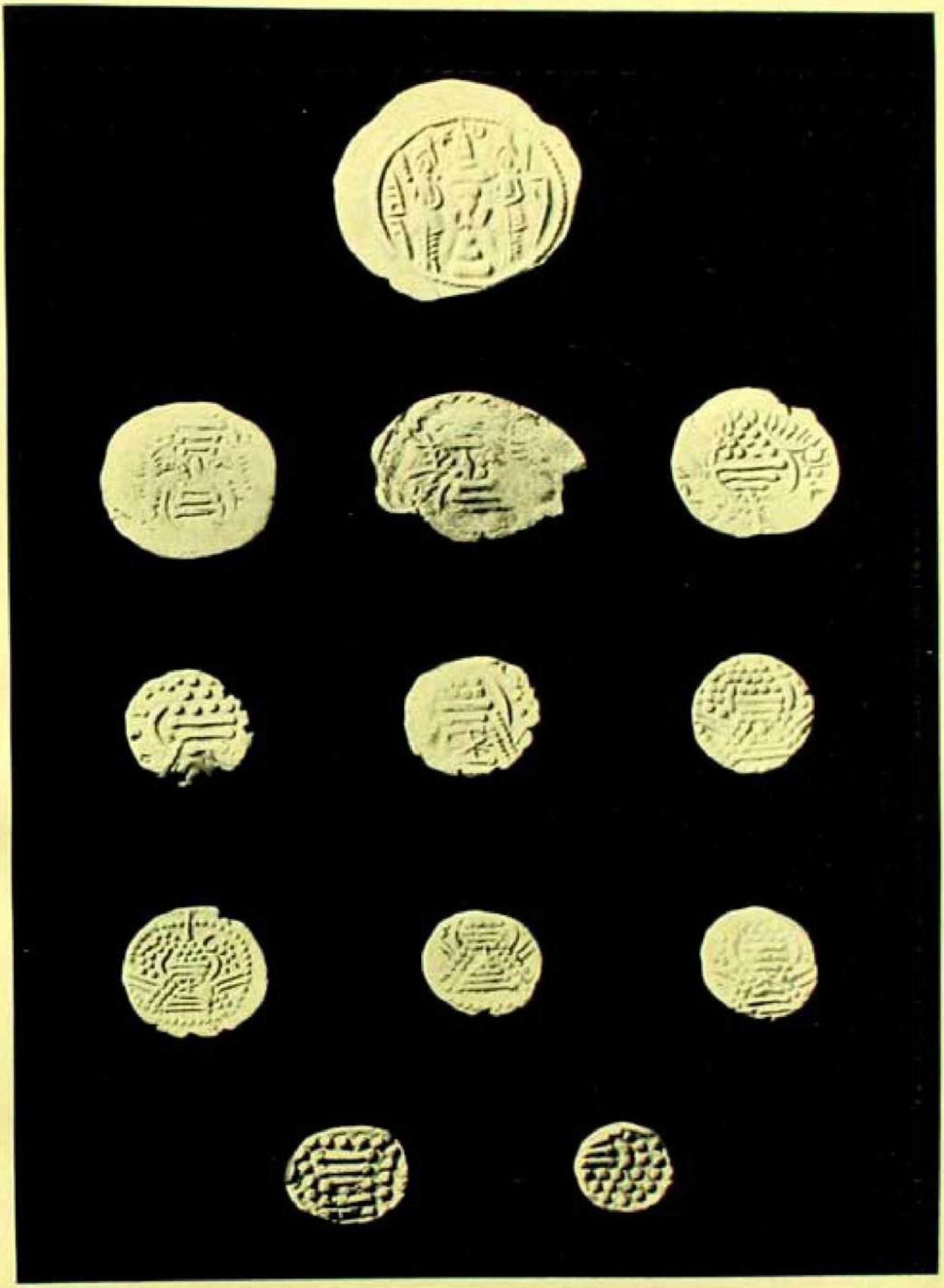
Pl. IX.

This interesting coin belongs to Mr. C. S. Delmerick. The reading of the inscription seems certain. Three Maḥmūd Shāhs reigned over Bengal. The latest was Ghiyās-ud-dīn Maḥmūd of the house of Ḥusain, and his coins are well-known and differ from this in style. The second is represented in the B. M. Catalogue by two silver coins, Nos. 103 and 104, page 42. In the footnote to the same page it is pointed out that this king used the pseudo-patronymic Abu-l-Mujāhid. There remains Nāṣir-ud-dīn Maḥmūd I. who used Abu-l-Muẓaffar, and it appears reasonable to attribute the coin to him. Though the reverse reading given above agrees entirely (except in arrangement) with the inscription on the coin of Maḥmūd II. referred to above, the obverse reading differs, and the use of the expression Abu-l-Muẓaffar seems conclusive. No other coins of Maḥmūd I. appear to have been published.

R. BURN.


Tibetan Dialects: Blue.
Purig-and Balti Dialects.
Sham-Dialects.
Leh-Dialects.
Rong-Dialects.
Un-examined Dialects.
Aryan Dialects: Red.
Dard Dialects of Da.
Dard Dialects of Dras.
Kashmiri.
Shigar
Skardo
Karmang
Shayog River
Nubra River
Kargil
Hanu
Shyurbacan
Khalats
Snyungla
Saspola
Basgo
Nyemo
Leh
Stogo
Sheh
Trangtse
Panggong Lake
Shayog River
Dras
Cig-tan
Mulbey
Kharbu
Lama Yuru
Zangs Khar
Ubshi
Rya
Khangmar
Spalum
Judak River
Rubshu
JASB Vol LXXIII Pt I
Plate VII





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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

Extra No.—1904.

Some Notes on the Bahmanī Dynasty.[1]—*By* Major W. Haig.

[Read 2nd November, 1904.]

(1) The Origin of the Cognomen Bahmanī.

The legends commonly related by historians regarding the origin of the cognomen *Bahmanī* connect it with the name of the priestly caste of the Hindus. The story preferred by *Firishta* and repeated by *Khāfi Khān* in the third volume of the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab* is that Ḥasan, the founder of the dynasty, was, in his youth, a servant of Kānkū, Gāngū, or Gangū, a Brahman astrologer who enjoyed the confidence of Muḥammad-bin Tughlaq before he ascended the throne. One day, as he was ploughing some waste land for the Brahman, his plough stuck fast. On digging it out of the ground he found that it had

[1] In this article the editions referred to are the following:—
Firishta—Bombay edition of 1832.
Badāonī—*Bibliotheca Indica* edition.
Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir and *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk*—translation by Major J. S. King, Luzac & Co., 1900.
Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb, Vol. III—MS. in writer's possession.
Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari—Newal Kishor Press edition.

caught in a chain and that to the chain was attached a chest containing *āshrafīs* and uncoined gold, which he took straight to his master. The Brahman was so pleased with Ḥasan's honesty that he brought him to the notice of the prince, Muḥammad-bin Tughlaq, by whose influence he obtained an appointment in the imperial service. Shortly after this the Brahman informed Ḥasan that he had cast his horoscope, and foretold that he would rise to the highest dignity. He asked him to promise that he would, when this prophecy should be fulfilled, take the name of his original benefactor as part of his title, and Ḥasan made the required promise and, when the time came, fulfilled it by styling himself, as king, "Ḥasan Kānkū-i-Bahmanī." In corroboration of this story Firishta records (i. 527) that Ḥasan, after being proclaimed king of the Dakan, made Kānkū the Brahman the controller of the finances of his kingdom, and that he was the first Muḥammadan ruler to employ a Brahman in so high a post.

The only authority which we have for this story is that of Firishta, for Khāfī Khān, being admittedly little more than a copyist so far as the affairs of the Dakan are concerned, cannot be accounted an authority. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, and the *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk* relate other legends, all more or less improbable, but do not commit themselves to Firishta's account of Ḥasan's servitude in the house of a Hindu. The predictions of his greatness are attributed variously to one Gangū, a Brahman, not said to be his master, Shaikh Niẓāmu-d-dīn Auliyā of Dihlī, and Shaikh Muḥammad Sirāj-i-Junaidī, in whose service he is said to have held some post.

The titles of Ḥasan, as king of the Dakan, are variously given by historians as follows:—In Firishta's history (i. 525), *'Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Kānkū-i-Bahmanī*, by Khāfī Khān in the third volume of the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb*, *'Alā'u-d-dīn Kānkū-i-Bahmanī*, *curt Ḥasan*, by Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, *'Ala'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Shāh*, by 'Alī-bin 'Azāzi-'llāh Ṭabaṭabā in the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, *'Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Shāh Gangū-i-Bahmanī*, and *'Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Shāh al Valī-ul-Bahmanī*, by the author of the *Tazkiratu-l-Mūlūk*, *'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh*, and by Badāonī in the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh* (i. 231) "the *Sulṭān* who is known as Ḥasan Kānkū and at last obtained the Kingdom of the Dakan under the title of *'Ala'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh*."

The title given by Badāonī and the author of the *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk* is correct. Ḥasan did not add to his title the epithet *Bahmanī*, but assumed the name of Bahman. There is in the fort of Gulbarga a contemporary inscription, bearing the date A.H. 754 (A.D. 1353) in which his titles are given as "'Alā'u-d-dunyā wa'd-dīn Abū-'l-Muẓaffar *Bahman* Shāh." The names Ḥasan and Kānkū, or Gangū, and the

epithet Bahmanī, which is used on the coins of his successors and is correctly applied to them only, are omitted. The inscription, which was cut while Bahman Shāh was still alive and reigning, and was placed over a mosque in his capital, is far better evidence of the style under which he reigned than any statements of historians. Other evidence, however, exists. I have a copper coin which bears the inscription "Aḥmad Shāh bin Aḥmad Shāh bin Bahman Shāh." This inscription needs some explanation—a question which will be considered hereafter—but there is no doubt that the words "Bahman Shāh" refer to the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty. There is also the *Bahman-nāma*, a versified history of the Bahmanī kings, the authorship of which is uncertain, but which is often quoted by Firishta. The title of this history cannot refer to the epithet *Bahmanī*, but can and evidently does refer to the name *Bahman*.

The question of the title under which the founder of the Bahman dynasty assumed the sovereignty of the Dakan is important as an indication of the derivation of the name by which that dynasty is known. It is conceivable that a Muḥammadan king might have distinguished himself, from gratitude to a Brahman benefactor, by the epithet *Bahmanī*, even though that epithet is never found in its uncorrupted form *Brahmanī*, but no Muḥammadan king would have styled himself "King Brahman." The derivation of the title *Bahman Shāh* must, therefore, be sought in Ḥasan's claim to descend from the Sāsānidise. His pedigree, as given by Firishta, is as follows:—'Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan, the son of Kaikāūs, the son of Muḥammad, the son of 'Alī, the son of Ḥasan, the son of Sahām, the son of Simūn, the son of Salām, the son of Ibrāhīm, the son of Naṣīr, the son of Munṣūr, the son of Rustam, the son of Kaiqubād, the son of Minūchihr, the son of Nāmdār, the son of Isfandiyār, the son of Kaiyūmarṣ, the son of Khurshīd, the son of Ṣa'ṣā, the son of Faghfūr, the son of Farrukh, the son of Shahryār, the son of Amīr, the son of Suhaid, the son of Malik Dā'ūd, the son of Hūshang, the son of Nīk Kardār, the son of Firūz Bakht, the son of Nūḥ, the son of Ṣānī', who was descended from Bahrām-i-gūr the Sāmānī, who was descended from Bahman the son of Isfandiyār. This pedigree is varied as follows by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*:—'Alā'u-d-dunyā wa-'d-dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, son of Kaikāūs Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, son of Ḥasan, son of Bahtām, son of Simūn, son of Salām, son of Nūḥ, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Naṣīr, son of Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ, son of Ṣānī', son of Bahrām, son of Shāhrin, son of Sād, son of Nūsin, son of Dāvād, son of Bahrām-i-gūr. Both historians express some doubts as to the authenticity of the pedigrees which they give, and there can be little doubt that both pedigrees are fictitious.

We are not concerned, however, with the genuineness of Ḥasan's claim, for this is a question which cannot now be decided. It is certain that he put forward the claim and that his title "Bahman Shāh" was an embodiment of its assertion. The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* says (King, p. 1) "in consequence of his descent the king was known as Bahman," and subsequently (King, p. 17) refers to him as "the cream of the race of Bahman."

I believe that I have shewn that the epithet "Bahmanī" applied to the great dynasty of the Dakan has no connection with the caste-name "Brahman," but is derived from the old Persian name Bahmani which was borne, as a title, by the founder of the dynasty.

(2) The Offspring of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh.

According to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*[1] Bahman Shāh had four sons of whom three, Muḥammad the eldest, Maḥmūd[2] and Aḥmad[3] are named. Firishta does not give the number of the sons, but names three, Muḥammad[4] the eldest, Dā'ūd,[5] who afterwards ascended the throne as the fourth king of the line, and Maḥmūd[6] the youngest. Khāfī Khān, in the third volume of the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb*, says that Bahman Shāh had four sons, but he mentions three only. Muḥammad the eldest, Maḥmūd and Dā'ūd. No list of Bahman Shāh's sons is given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and Muḥammad is mentioned as his son, without being distinguished as the eldest.[7] Elsewhere,[8] however, Muḥammad Shāh, the fifth king of the dynasty is referred to as "the son of Maḥmūd, the son of Ḥasan Shāh" (*sul.* Bahman Shāh). It is clear, from the general consensus of authorities, that Muḥammad, Bahman Shāh's successor, was his eldest son, and it is also clear that Bahman Shāh had a son named Maḥmūd. The statements of the authors of the *Burhan-i-Ma'āṣir* and the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb* as to the number of his sons may be accepted as correct, in spite of the fact that no one authority names more than three sons. We have, therefore, two sons to account for, *viz.*, Aḥmad, mentioned by the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, the *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk*,[9] and Dā'ūd, mentioned by Firishta and Khāfī Khān. There seems to be little doubt that Bahman Shāh had a son named Aḥmad, but this question will be considered in connection with that of the parentage of the eighth and ninth *Sulṭāns* of the dynasty. I cannot, however, find any sufficient reason for believing that Aḥmad was the youngest son, as stated by

[1] King, p. 22.
[2] Ibid, p. 31.
[3] Ibid, p. 36.
[4] Firishta, i. 527.
[5] Ibid, i. 533, 573.
[6] Ibid, i. 533.
[7] King, p. 108.
[8] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 410.
[9] King, p. 47.

Major King in the genealogical table given by him on p. xxxiv of his book. The author whom he translates nowhere says that Aḥmad was the youngest son, and Firishta, who, although not entirely trustworthy in questions of genealogy, should be followed when he cannot be proved to be wrong, distinctly says that Maḥmūd was the youngest. So far, therefore, we have Muḥammad the eldest, and Maḥmūd the youngest, with Aḥmad somewhere between them.

Authorities differ as to the parentage of Dā'ūd. Both Firishta and Khāfi Khān make him a son of Bahman Shāh, the only difference between them being that the former places the sons in the order—(1) Muḥammad, (2) Dā'ūd, (3) Maḥmūd; while the latter places Muḥmūd before Dā'ūd, without saying, however, that Maḥmūd was the elder. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*[1] Dā'ūd is described as the first cousin of Mujāhid Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh I, according to which statement he would be a grandson and not a son of Bahman Shāh. The author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* says in one place[2] that Dā'ūd was "a younger brother, or according to one history, a cousin of Mujāhid," but afterwards[3] says, "according to the most authentic accounts, Sulṭān Dā'ūd Shāh was son of Maḥmūd Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn Ḥasan Shāh Bahmanī (*sic.* Bahman Shāh). Although Firishta is generally an untrustworthy genealogist his account of Dā'ūd's parentage must be preferred to that of other authorities. It is possible that the word ابن ("son") in Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad's description of him as the first cousin (ابن عم) of Mujāhid is an interpolation. The statement in the *Burhān-i- Ma'āṣir* that Dā'ūd was the son of Maḥmūd Khān, the son of Bāhman Shāh, cannot be accepted. Firishta, who is not contradicted on this point, makes Maḥmūd, as has been said, the youngest son of Bahman Shāh. He says that at the time of Bahman Shāh's death (A.H. 759) Maḥmūd was a schoolboy, reading Sa'dī's *Būstān*. He was probably, therefore, thirteen or fourteen years of age at that time, and can hardly have been the father of Dā'ūd, who held an important command in the expedition against the Rāya of Vijayanagar in Mujāhid's reign (A.H. 776–779). For these reasons I am inclined to complete the tale of Bahman Shāh's four sons by adding to them Dā'ūd, and this assumption, supported by Firishta's authority, whatever that may be worth, not only fills the gap left by the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* and the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, but accounts satisfactorily for Dā'ūd's anger when he was rebuked by Mujāhid for neglect of his military duty. Dā'ūd might have borne a rebuke from a brother or a cousin older than himself who was also his king, but a rebuke

[1] King, p. 410. [2] King, p. 29. [3] King, p. 31.

from a nephew would have been harder to bear, and the assumption that Dā'ūd was Mujāhid's uncle explains his resentment, the result of which was the assassination of Mujāhid and the accession of Dā'ūd. Bahman Shāh's four sons, therefore, were Muḥammad, Dā'ūd, Aḥmad and Maḥmūd. The only question concerning them which cannot be settled is the order in which Dā'ūd and Aḥmad came.

(3) The Offspring of Muḥammad I.

Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Mujāhid. Firishta, Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, and Khāfī Khan mention no other son, but the author of the *Burhān-i-Maṣir*[1] says that Muḥammad had a younger son, Fatḥ Khān. The statement may be accepted as correct, but Fatḥ Khān is not again heard of, and is therefore unimportant. Mujāhid was assassinated after a reign of little more than a year, and his uncle and successor, Dā'ūd, was assassinated after a reign of little more than a month. The former left no issue. Dā'ūd, according to Firishta, left a son, Muḥammad Sanjar, who was blinded.

(4) Nāṣiru-d-din Muḥammad Shāh II.

Muḥammad Shāh II is described both by Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* as the son of Maḥmūd Khān, the son of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh. The latter authority also describes him, consistently but wrongly, as the younger brother of Da'ūd. Firishta, followed, of course, by Khāfī Khān, falls into a strange error regarding the name and the identity of this king, and asserts that his name was Maḥmūd and not Muḥammad and that he was the son of Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh. He is very positive on this point, as the following extract[2] will show:—

"The author of the *Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn* has made a mistake regarding the name of this king, saying that his name was Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, and mentioning him as Muḥammad Shāh in all his poems; and likewise some of the historians of Gujarāt and Dihlī, both ancient and modern, not having inquired into events in the Dakan as they actually came to pass, have made mistakes both in the names of the Bahmanī kings and in many of the stories which they relate concerning them, and all of them have wielded untrustworthy pens and have failed to verify their information."

Firishta, in spite of his assurance, was unquestionably wrong. In the first place he stands alone, his copyist Khāfī Khān excepted, in describing the fifth Bahmanī King as Maḥmūd. All other authorities

[1] King. p. 28. [2] Firishta, i. 576.

call him Muḥammad. In the second place he is contradicted by an inscription, dated A.H. 892, on the *Muḥammadī* gate of the fortress of Narnāla in Berar, in which Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, the fourteenth king of the Bahmanī dynasty is described as "the son of Sulṭan Muḥammad, the son of Sulṭān Humāyūn, the son of Sulṭān Aḥmad, the son of Sulṭān Muḥammad." The inscription is not necessarily a better authority than Firishta, and the account of Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd's descent which it gives is unquestionably wrong, but the Sultān Muḥammad to whom the descent is traced was evidently the fifth king of the Bahmanī dynasty, so that in this respect the inscription corroborates the mass of evidence against Firishta. Finally we have the evidence of the coins. All the known coins of the fifth king of the Bahmanī dynasty bear the name Muḥammad. None bears the name Maḥmūd. This fact alone is sufficient to decide the question. Even Firishta would have hesitated to assert that the officials of the mint did not know the name of the king whom they served.

It is, however, worth while to consider a possible source of Firishta's error. He may have seen this Sulṭān mentioned in some inscription, *sanad*, or other authentic document by his name Nāṣiru-d-dīn followed by his father's name, thus:—*Nāṣiru-d-dīn-i-Maḥmūd*, the *iẓāfat*, which would be omitted in Persian script, denoting the patronymic. Similar errors in nomenclature have occurred. Thus, the Arab conqueror of Sindh, Muḥammad-i-Qāsim or Muḥammad *bin* Qāsim, has been styled by historians who should have known better, "Muḥammad Qāsim," as though Qāsim were his own name instead of being his father's.

(5) The Offspring of Muḥammad II.

The fifth king had two sons. Sulṭan Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Muḥammad, or Bahman[1] and Sulṭān Shamsu-d-dīn Dā'ūd. The former succeeded him at the age of 17, according to Firishta,[2] or 12 according to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*,[3] and was deposed and blinded after a reign of little more than a month. His younger brother Shamsu-d-dīn was then placed on the throne, at the age of 15, according to Firishta,[4] or 6, according to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*.[5] His reign lasted, according to Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad[6] and Firishta[7] fifty-seven days, and according to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*[8] five months and seven days. The discrepancy may be due to a misreading.

1 King, p. 34.
2 Frishta, i. 581.
3 King, p. 34.
4 Firishta, i. 583.
5 King, p. 35.
6 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, 411.
7 Firishta, i. 586.
8 King, p. 36.

(6) The Parentage of Fīrūz Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh, the Eighth and Ninth Kings.

Firishta says[1] that Maḥmūd Shāh (Dā'ūd is evidently meant) had three sons: (1) Muḥammad Sanjar, who was blinded; (2) Fīrūz Khan; and (3) Aḥmad Khān; and that the uncle of these boys, Muḥammad Shāh II (whom Firishta calls Maḥmūd) before he had sons of his own, brought up Fīrūz and Aḥmad as his sons, married them to two of his daughters, and led Fīrūz to believe that he would be his heir, but that after the birth of his own sons he made Fīrūz and Aḥmad swear allegiance to Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn. This plausible story accounts for Fīrūz Khān's ambition, but for various reasons it cannot be accepted as true. In the first place the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, who is a better authority than Firishta in genealogical questions, makes[2] Fīrūz and Aḥmad the sons of Aḥmad Khān, the son of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh, and he is supported[3] by the author of the *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk*. Firishta does not explain why the two younger sons of Dā'ūd should have been brought up as princes in the line of succession to the throne when it was found necessary to blind their eldest brother, Muḥammad Sanjar. There is good evidence, of a negative nature, in favour of the statements of the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* and the *Tazkiratu-l-Mulūk*. Among Oriental rulers the pride of descent is more exacting than it is in the West, and descent from those who are merely members of a royal house is less highly regarded than a descent which can be traced through an unbroken line of actual wearers of the crown. This pride finds its expression in the common formula السلطان ابن السلطان ابن السلطان and, when a king can establish such a line of descent, he rarely fails to mention his father's name on his coins and in his inscriptions. So far as I know, neither Fīrūz Shāh nor Aḥmad Shāh ever mentions his father's name in such inscriptions. Aḥmad Shāh's name appears in the inscriptions in his fine tomb at Bīdar, but his father's does not. If the brothers had been sons of Dā'ūd, a king who actually reigned, they would certainly have mentioned the fact, either on their coins or in their inscriptions. As they have not done so it may be safely held, with the authors of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* and the *Tazkiratu-s-Salāṭīn*, that Fīrūz and Aḥmad were the sons of Aḥmad Khan, the son of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh.

I have referred above to an exceptional coin. This is the coin which I have already mentioned in the account of the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty. The reverse bears the inscription, "Aḥmad Shāh bin Aḥmad Shāh bin Bahman Shāh," but no date. I was inclined to

[1] Firishta, i. 583. [2] King, pp. 36, 49. [3] King, p. 47.

assign this coin to Aḥmad I, the younger brother of Fīrūz, and to assume that he had bestowed upon his father, Aḥmad Khān, the honorary title of "Shāh," but Maulavī Muḥammad 'Azīz Mīrzā, B.A., First Talukdar of Bīd in the Haidarābād State, has pointed out to me that the *kunya* on the obverse of the coin does not coincide with that on coins which can be assigned with certainty to Aḥmad Shāh I, and he is of opinion that the coin must be assigned to 'Alā'u-d-dīn Aḥmad Shāh II, the son and successor of Aḥmad I. His ascription of the coin is undoubtedly correct but an explanation of the line of descent as given on the reverse is necessary, for there is no reason or authority for believing that Aḥmad I (and consequently Fīrūz) was the son of Bahman Shāh the founder of the dynasty. We must therefore explain the inscription on the reverse, in view of the very strong reasons for believing that Fīrūz and Aḥmad I were the sons of Aḥmad Khān, by assuming that Aḥmad II traced his descent *per saltum* through Aḥmad I to Bahman Shāh.

Two errors concerning the descent of Aḥmad Shāh I call for notice here. The first is a mistake made by Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad in the heading[1] of his account of Aḥmad Shāh's reign, in which Aḥmad is described as the son of Fīrūz. This is merely a slip, for the same author elsewhere[2] mentions Ḥasan Khān as the eldest son of Fīrūz, and says that Fīrūz, when delivering the kingdom to Aḥmad, commended his *sons* to his protection. The other error is contained in the Narnāla inscription which makes Aḥmad (and consequently Fīrūz) the son of Muḥammad Shāh, evidently the fifth king of the dynasty. It has already been shown that Fīrūz and Aḥmad were not the sons of Muḥammad II, and the inscription is, independently of this inaccuracy, of very little value, for it omits altogether from the descent given, the name of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Aḥmad II.

There appears to be little if any doubt that Fīrūz Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh, the eighth and ninth kings of the Bahmanī dynasty, were the sons of Aḥmad Khān, son of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahman Shāh, the founder of the dynasty.

(7) The Offspring of Fīrūz Shāh.

According to the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* Fīrūz, who was deposed by his younger brother Aḥmad in A.H. 825, left several sons, for he speaks[3] of "Ḥasan Khān and all the other sons of the late king." In another passage[4] he mentions Makhdūma-i-Jahān, the wife

1 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 414.
2 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 413.
3 King, p. 47.
4 King, p. 89.

of Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī, as the daughter of Mubārak Khān, son of Sulṭān Firūz Shāh. Firishta[1] and Khāfī Khān mention this princess and describe her as a wise woman, but do not give her descent. Neither author mentions any sons of Firūz except Ḥasan Khān. Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad says[2] that Firūz commended his "sons" to Aḥmad's protection. We may conclude that Firūz had several sons, of whom the eldest was Ḥasan Khān, Mubārak being one of the younger sons. Ḥasan Khān was designated heir-apparent during his father's life-time, and married the beautiful daughter of the Sonār of Mudgal. He seems to have been an unambitious and pleasure-loving youth who readily acquiesced in his uncle's elevation to the throne.

(8) Offspring of Aḥmad Shah Valī.

The author of the *Burhān-i- Ma'āṣir* says[3] that Aḥmad Shāh had seven sons, and gives the titles of four—(1) Ẓafar Khān Khān-i-Khānān, (2) Maḥmūd Khān, (3) Muḥammad Khān, and (4) Dā'ūd Khān. Maḥmūd is described as the fourth son. Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad[4] mentions Ẓafar Khān by his name, 'Alā'u-d-dīn, and also mentions Muḥammad, Maḥmūd, and Dā'ūd. Muḥammad was entrusted to the care of his eldest brother 'Alā'u-dīn, while the other sons were placed in charge of provinces. This bears out Firishta's statement[5] that Muḥammad was the youngest of the sons and 'Alā'u-d-dīn the eldest. Firishta also mentions Maḥmūd and Dā'ūd. Aḥmad Shāh Valī had at least two daughters, for one of his daughters married Shāh Ḥabību'llāh, and another married Jalāl Khān and was the mother of Sikandar Khān, whom his father tried to raise to the throne.

(9) Offspring of Ẓafar Khān, 'Alā'u-d-dīn Aḥmad II.

'Alā'u-d-dīn Aḥmad had three sons: Humāyūn Shāh Ẓālim ("the tyrant"), who succeeded him, and Ḥasan Khān, and Yaḥyā Khān, both of whom were put to death by their brother.[6] He also had more than one daughter, for his eldest daughter[7] married Shāh Muḥabbu-'llāh, brother of the Shāh Ḥabību-'llāh already mentioned.

[1] Firishta, i. 663.
[2] *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 414.
[3] King, p. 50.
[4] *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 416.
[5] Firishta, i. 630.
[6] Firishta, i. 659, 661. King, pp. 81, 85, 87. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, pp. 424, 425.
[7] King, p. 74.

(10) Offspring of Humāyun Shāh Ẓālim.

Humāyūn Shāh married the daughter of Mubārak Khān, a younger son of the eighth king, Fīrūz, and by this princess, who received the title of Makhdūma-i-Jahān, invariably bestowed upon the principal wife of a Bahmanī king, had three sons—(1) Niẓām Shāh, who succeeded him, (2) Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad, who succeeded his brother Niẓām Shāh, and (3) Jamshīd[1] called by Firishta[2] Aḥmad.

(11) Offspring of Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Lashkarī.

Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad had, so far as is known, only one son, who is styled by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*[3] Aḥmad, and who succeeded his father under the title of Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd. No other writer styles this prince Aḥmad, and the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* does not explain why he should have changed his name on succeeding to the throne.

(12) Offspring of Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh.

Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd had three[4] sons—(1) Aḥmad, (2) 'Alā'u-d-dīn, and (3) Valī'-u-'llāh, all of whom were in succession raised to the throne as nominal sovereigns by Amīr Barīd. Firishta, in the heading of the chapter[5] devoted to the "reign" of 'Alā'u-d-dīn III, describes him as the son, not the brother, of his predecessor, Aḥmad Shāh; but this is an error, for he says afterwards[6] that Valī'u-'llāh, whom he describes as the son of Maḥmūd Shāh, followed the example of his "brother" in attempting to free himself from the influence of Amīr Barīd, so that Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad is evidently correct in describing[7] 'Alā'u-d-dīn III as the son of Maḥmūd Shāh.

Of the three brothers Aḥmad Shāh III died after a reign of little more than two years, not without suspicion of poison; 'Alā'u-d-dīn Shāh III was deposed after a reign which did not extend to two years; and Valī'u-'llāh Shāh was poisoned after a reign of three years.

(13) Aḥmad Shāh III.

Aḥmad III was, as has been said, the eldest son of Shahābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh. There is a discrepancy as to the date of his birth. Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad[8] gives the date as Rajab 27, A.H, 899, whereas

1 King, p. 89.

2 Firishta, i. 671.

3 King, p. 116.

4 Possibly four, if the last king of the dynasty, Kalīmu-'llah, be reckoned as one. See the account of Kalīmu-'llāh.

5 Firishta, i. 727.

6 *Ibid*, 728. 7 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 436. 8 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 434.

Firishta[1] has Rajab 27, A.H. 889. But Firishta also says that Aḥmad was born on the day on which Kh'āja Ni'matu-'llāh Tabrīzī, the envoy from the rebel Bahādur Gīlānī, arrived at court and discharged the duty entrusted to him. He had no sooner concluded an agreement with Maḥmūd Shāh than Bahādur Gīlānī broke it, and was defeated and slain in battle, according to the author of the *Burhān-i-Maāṣir*[2] on Ṣafar 5, A.H. 900. Again, according to Firishta, Maḥmūd Shāh was only twelve years of age at the time of his accession in A.H. 881, so that it is unlikely that his eldest son was born in A.H. 889; and we know, moreover, that Maḥmūd Shāh was for some time disappointed of male issue, so that it is evident that he was not, at 14 years of age, the father of a son. Firishta also says[3] that Aḥmad married Bībī Sata, sister of Ismā'īl 'Adil Shāh, in A.H. 920, and it is more probable that Aḥmad was 21 than that he was 31 years of age when this marriage was arranged. It appears, therefore, that the date of Aḥmad's birth, as given by Firishta, is a copyist's error, and that the correct date is that given by Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad.

(14) Kalīmu-'llāh Shāh.

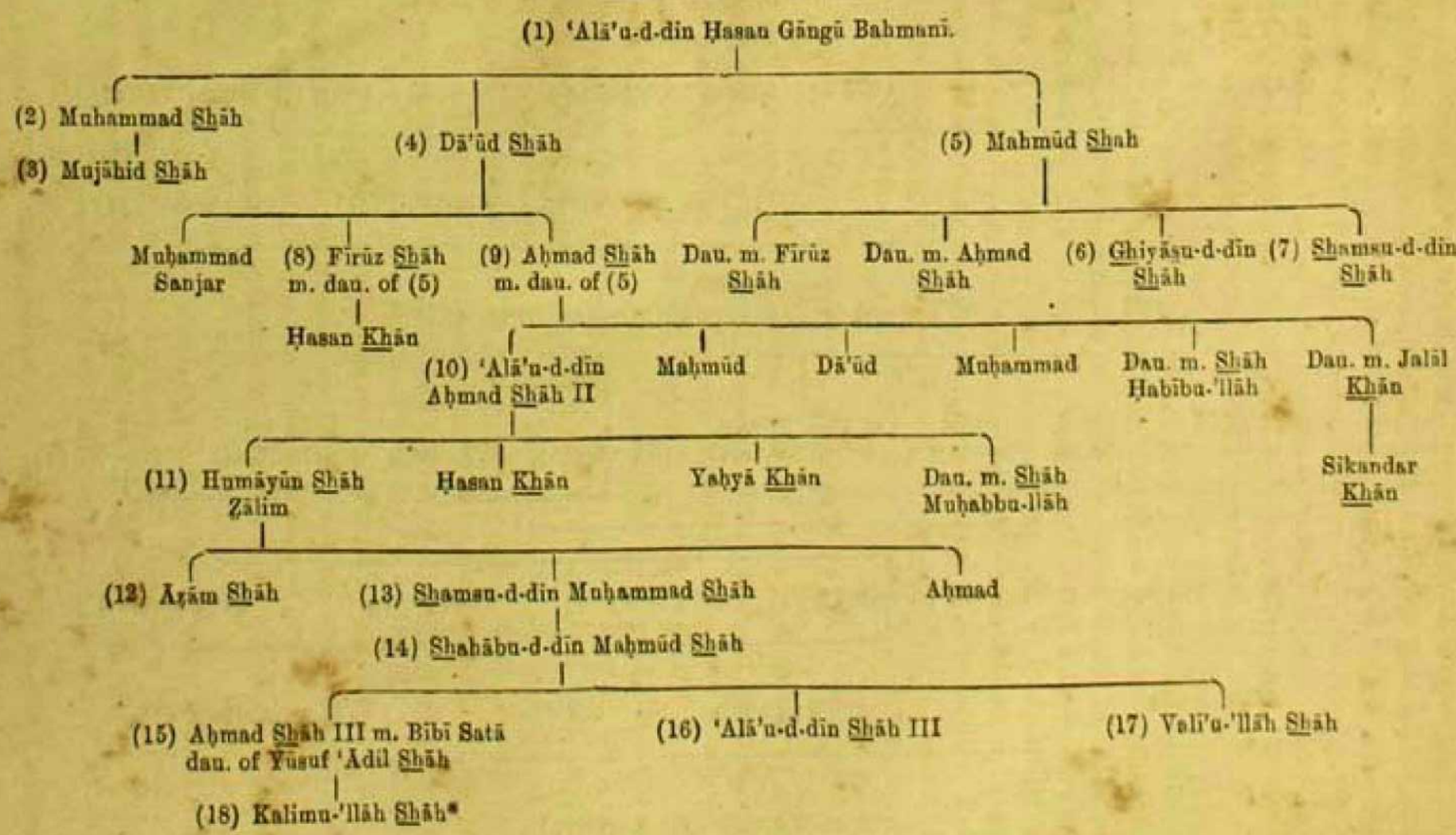
There is some doubt as to the parentage of Kalīmu-'llāh Shāh. Both Firishta and Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad describe him, in the headings of the chapters containing the accounts of his reign, as the son of Maḥmūd. But Firishta, in mentioning[4] his flight to Bījāpūr in A.H. 934, describes Ismā'īl 'Adil Shāh as his maternal uncle, and we have seen that Bībī Sata, Ismā'īl's sister, was married to Aḥmad, so that it would appear that Kalīmu-'llāh was a son, and not a younger brother, of Aḥmad. The principal difficulty in the way of this explanation is that it makes Kalīmu-'llāh, at the time of his flight to Bījāpūr, by which time he had already caused a letter to be written to Bābar, a boy of 13 years of age at most; but this difficulty disappears if we assume that the appeal to Bābar and the flight to Bījāpūr were managed by those who had the immediate care of the youthful *roi fainéant*. Nevertheless, the question cannot be said to have been satisfactorily decided. I have seen copper coins of Kalīmu-'llāh, and have a specimen, but unfortunately they do not bear his father's name.

Kalīmu-'llāh died at Aḥmadnagar in A.H. 934 or 935, probably from poison, and with him ended the Bahmanī dynasty.

The three genealogical tables appended give the pedigree of the Bahmanī family—(1) according to Firishta, (2) according to the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*, and (3) as described in this paper.

[1] Firishta, i. 716. [2] King, p. 133. [3] Firishta, ii. 32. [4] Firishta, i. 779.

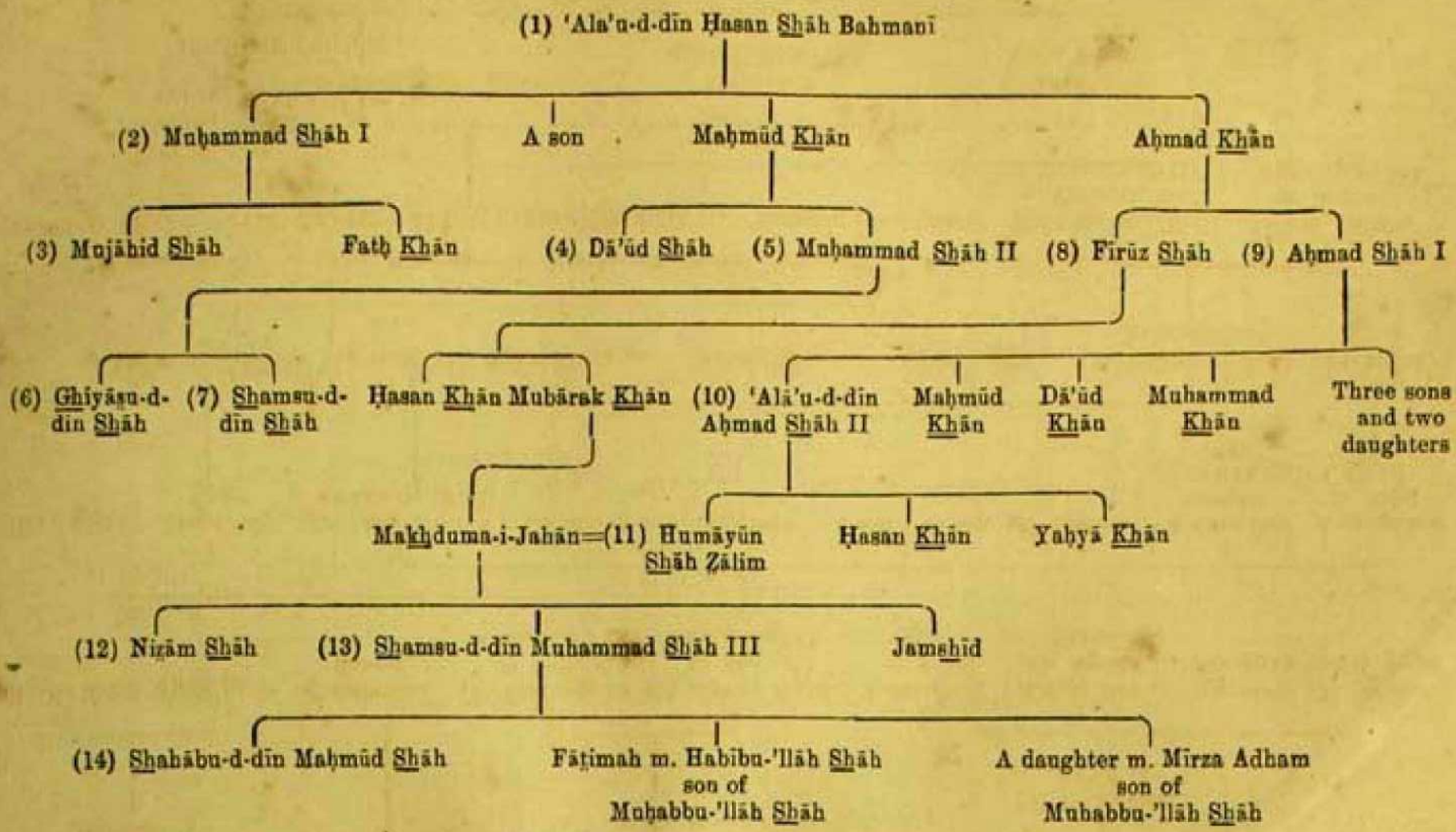
I.—Genealogy of the Bahmanī Kings according to Firishta.



Note.—The numbers in brackets indicate the order of succession to the throne.

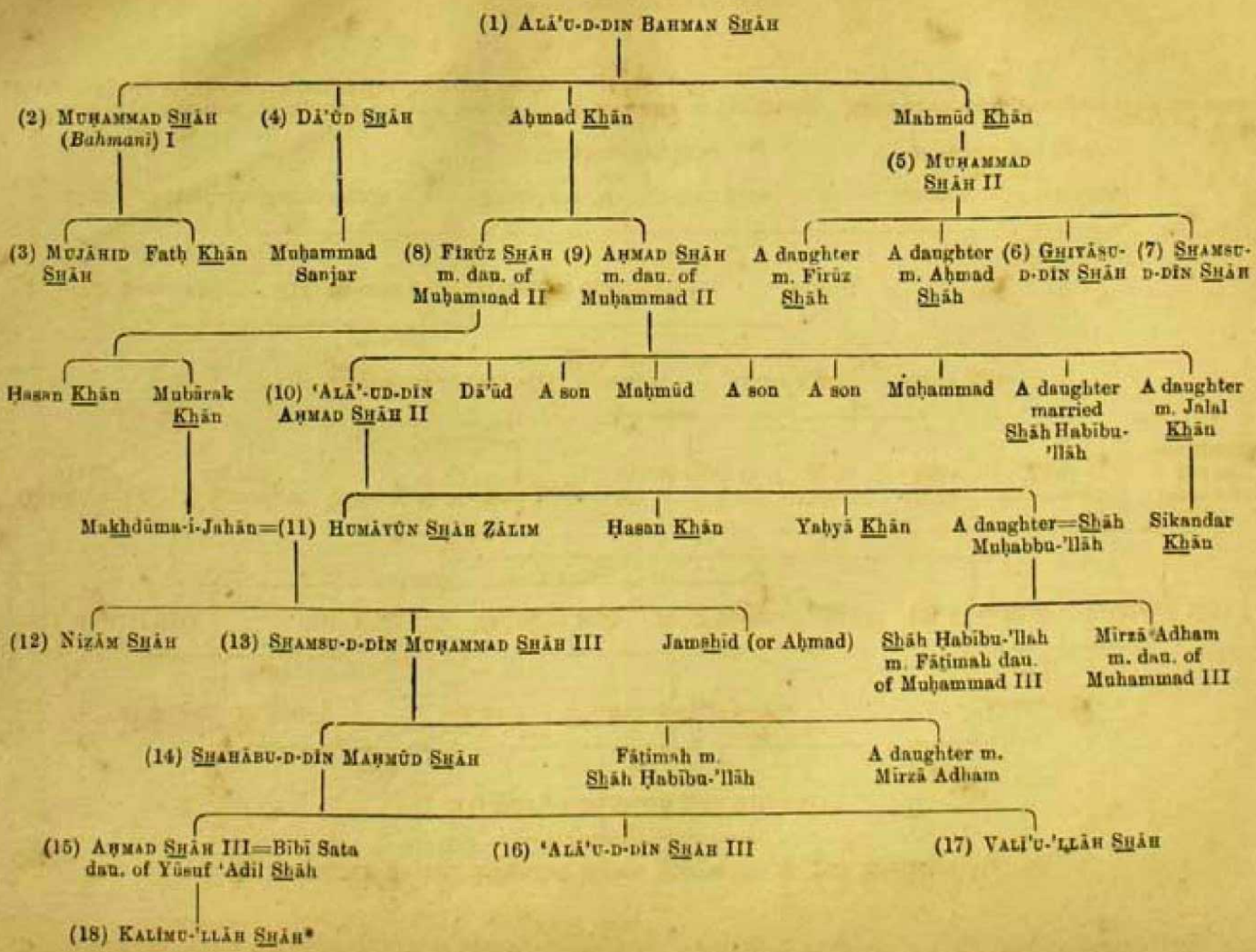
* It is doubtful whether Kalīmu-'llāh was a son or a younger brother of Aḥmad III.

II.—Genealogy of the Bahmanī Kings according to the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*.



Note—The numbers in brackets indicate the order of accession to the throne. Maḥmūd seems to be regarded by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir* as the last of the Bahmanī kings.

II.—Genealogy of the Bahmanī Kings, compiled from various sources.



Note.—The numbers in brackets indicate the order of accession to the throne.

On Some Archæological Remains in Bishnath.—By W. N. Edwards.

[Read November, 21st 1904.]

Bishnath, or Visvanatha, as it was originally called, is one of the most interesting towns in the Assam Valley on account of its archæological remains and sacred Hindu traditions. At one time it was a large and populous town, as can be seen by the immense earthworks that surround the place, and in the 13th century it was in close communication with Pratappur, the capital of *Arimutta* Raja who appears to have ruled over the tract of country lying between Visvanatha on the east to the Subonsiri River on the west[1] about that time. There are still a large number of tanks on the Bishnath plain and in Behali and Gomiri mouzas that are ascribed to him. Another interesting discovery lately made is that the large earthen "bund" known now as the Majulighur, which runs almost straight from the old city Pratappur, to the low hills in the Duffla Range, a distance of about 12 miles, is nothing more or less than a fortification evidently thrown up as a protection against the people of the west. Deep in the heart of the forest where the "ghur" has been less disturbed, on the west, is a deep ditch running parallel to the "bund" for the whole of its length, and from the ditch the "ghur" rises very abruptly with a parapet on the western edge, and falling to the east in a gentle slope; furthermore, at intervals of about 80 yards there are bastions thrown out on the west face which command the rampart both to the north and south. There seems now little doubt from these facts that there being no natural boundary to the west of the kingdom as there was on the east (the Subonsiri) the fortification was made as a protection against aggression.

The Brahmins say that before Visvanath was built the place was called *Viswagiri Porbot*, and the present town and the island known as Oomatoomoni were joined in one large hill, which sunk under a severe volcanic disturbance leaving the place in its present form. It was renowned from time immemorial as the spot where Visnu lopped off the upper arm and chest of the dead body of Sati which Siva in his grief was carrying about, and the spots on which these portions of Sati's body fell are held sacred to this day. There are now the following

[1] This information is derived from an old Buranji in the possession of Srijut Rajoni Kanta Burdolai of N. Lackimpur.

temples in Bishnath :—Visvanath, Uma Dewal, Chandi Dewal, Sibanath Dewal, Komoleswar Dewal Basdeo Dewal and the Bordhol Dewal. Of these, there are now only two *mandirs* actually standing, and both are fine specimens of the architecture of the Ahoom kings, but both are abandoned as far as worship is concerned, the Thakurs having built small *cutcha* houses near them where "Puja" is carried on.

The Bor Dhol mandir, the larger of these, was built by the order of Gaurīnātha Siṃha who reigned from 1780 to 1795, while the smaller one called "Sibanath Dewal" was built some 50 to 60 years previously in the reign of Sibasing. This is a somewhat smaller structure, and of less handsome design, and was constructed from the materials taken from the old temple of Visvanatha; which was dismantled owing to the depredations of the Brahmaputra river.

The Visvanath temple was built by Godādhara Siṃha or, as he was known to the Ahooms, "Chupatpha." There is a copper plate still in existence which sets forth that in the year A.D. 1685 Godādhara Siṃha granted for the upkeep of the temple :—"Certain ornaments, four Brahmans, 40 Sudra Paiks, eight dancing girls, and also 20 puras of Brahmattar Land." There is also a second "*Phuli*" granting 24 Puras of Devottar Land and servants to the same temple dated 1815 A.D. This was in Chandrakant's reign.

The temple, however, has long since disappeared and the Linga is now only exposed for six months in the year when the river falls; for the rest of the time it is buried by the water.

Of the remaining temples, that of "Caṇḍi" and "Umā" are the most important. The former is a square brick building, built on the rocks, at the edge of which, the new channel of the Brahmaputra flows. This was built from public subscriptions, some 60 years ago, by a religious mendicant named Brahma Chari Fakir, and covers the spot where Sati's chest fell. To the right of the temple there is a *Linga* carved out of the rock. The out-buildings attached to this temple have fallen into decay, though the temple itself commands worshippers. It is evident that the rents received by the owners of these temples from the Bramatta and Devottor lands are no longer utilized for the purpose for which they were intended. The last temple of importance is that of "Umāmāi" which is situated on the Island, and the Brāhmin ministering there shows one the spot where Sati's arm fell. Here there is no brick building; merely a shed roofed with corrugated iron, built over the sacred rock. Close to this shrine is a rock on which the following inscription has been deciphered :—

"Written by Holodhar, son of Laksimidhar Sarmah, Commander of the army of the king of Pratappur." There is no date. There are

other inscriptions on the rocks on the island, but they have not been deciphered.

Buroi Fortification.—This is a most interesting ruin situated at the foot of the Duffla hills, where the Buroi river debouches into the plain; and was found by the writer some few years ago. The fortification consists of two stone walls, one on each side of the river—and it is assigned to the Pretappuria Raja who, the Dufflas say, entrenched himself in the hills with a considerable following. The stones bear distinct builders' marks on them, similar to those found by Capt. Hannay on the Copper temple of the *Sutias* beyond Sudiya, some 70 years ago. Hence we may suppose that the *Sutias* are responsible for these walls also. A detailed account of these ruins is given by the writer in a paper to the A. Soc. of Bengal. They appear to date back as far as the 13th Century.

Behali Mandir.—The remains of another small temple I was fortunate enough to discover in 1892, situated at the edge of an old tank in the Behali garden. All that remained was the plinth which was some 18″ to 2′ below the surface of the ground. The building had evidently been a small one, not more than 12′ × 12′, but was exceedingly well built with brick—the base had a projecting plinth with decorative mouldings; while the foundation of the structure, which was some 5′ below the plinth, rose from a small base gradually widening on all sides until it acquired the area of the plinth—a curious and uncommon method of building, which I think is never seen now-a-days.

Pertabghur.—This is the site of the ancient city of Pretappur which, in the middle ages, had acquired renown as "the Splendid City" the capital of the Pratappuria Raja. Captain Westmacott, in an article to the A. Soc. of Bengal, written in 1835, imagines that the city was situated on the present site of Tezpur, for he says:—

"In the M.S. of the Assam Kings the city is stated to have been "placed on the North Bank of the Brahmaputra, *a little below Bishnath*,[1] "and as the entire country bordering the river from Pora (Tezpur) "eastward to Bishnath * * * is covered with swamp to the extent of "several miles inland, there are strong grounds for supposing that "'Pretappur' and 'Pora' are the same."

From the present configuration of the country there is now no doubt that the Brahmaputra at one time flowed at the foot of Pertabghur, as there is a drop of some 30 feet from the red deluvial lands of that part to the low alluvial swamps that Captain Westmacott describes. And this being the case, Pretappur *would* be "a little below

[1] The italics are mine.

Bishnath," the distance round the curve of the high land being only some six miles between the two places.

The large earthworks that surround the old city are extant to this day and measure roughly 2 miles 1½ furlongs long, by 1 mile 2 furlongs broad, and comprise all that land lying between the Ghiladari river on the west, to the Sadhara river on the east. These entrenchments consist of double "Bunds" about 60 feet apart from the apex, with a deep ditch between, which was probably kept full of water from the rivers. Almost in the centre of this enclosure, of about 2½ square miles, is a large fort consisting of exceedingly high earthern walls, which were at one time lined with brick; and surrounded by further outworks thrown up 50 to 60 yards away from the main fort, and protected by a ditch all round. It would appear that this was the citadel of the town. There are also several large tanks full of water to this day scattered throughout the enclosure. To the N.E. of the citadel is a clump of trees by the side of a tank, known to the natives as the "Burra-Gosai Jharoni," and here the Assamese worship once or twice a year coming from all parts of the district. On examination, I found a walled enclosure 100 feet square, but now almost hidden under earth and jungle, laid with old Assamese bricks; and scattered about inside this a good deal of carved stone work. One slab had some inscription on it, but this has yet to be deciphered. There was also a curious granite vase standing about 2 feet high and solid, but for a circular hole running from mouth to base 2 inches in diameter. It was unbroken, and had evidently been used for ornamentation. By native tradition this spot is said to have been the tomb of a holy man of a bygone age, and there is a *murti* attached to the place, of old Hindu design, which the Thakur keeps hidden, until required at the festivals.

From these interesting remains it seems that Pretappur was a large and populous city about the 13th century, but its actual age was probably considerably greater than this, for the capital of Nagsonkor, A.D. 378, was situated in or about this place.

Vidyāpati Ṭhākur.—*By* Nagendra Nath Gupta.

[Read 7th December, 1904.]

Twenty-two years ago Dr. G. A. Grierson edited a collection of Vidyāpati's poems. These appeared as an extra Number, Part I, for 1882, of the *Journal* of this Society. Since then a great many more facts relating to this famous Maithil poet have come to light. Dr. Grierson's collection contained in all 82 poems, and he believed these were very nearly all that are known in Tirhut. This is not to be wondered at, since the collection was mostly made from the mouth of singers. Besides these, however, a great number of poems and songs, some of great poetic power and beauty, are to be found in Mithilā in old palm-leaf and other manuscripts, scattered about in different households and villages. People are unwilling to part with these valuable manuscripts, and it requires a great deal of time, patience and labour to collect these poems and transcribe them from the old manuscripts. There is one palm-leaf manuscript, said to be in the handwriting of Vidyāpati's great grandson and believed to be genuine, containing no less than 400 poems. Most of these have been copied out and are at present in my possession.[1] They have been closely examined by the best Paṇḍits and scholars of Mithilā and have been pronounced to be genuine. The internal evidence as regards poetic merit, form of language and verse and the unmistakeable individuality of Vidyāpati, is also complete.

Most of Vidyāpati's poems current in Bengal were pronounced to be spurious by Dr. Grierson. This is so far true that the language, rhythm and even the sense of the Maithil poet have been frightfully corrupted in Bengal, but the intrinsic poetic value is undeniable. It now transpires that most of these poems may be found in Mithilā in old manuscripts, and it will not be difficult to restore them to their original shape and meaning. Besides writing under his own name Vidyāpati wrote under several literary titles, and sufficient evidence is forthcoming to establish this fact satisfactorily. Up to now the titles that have been ascertained to be his are :—कविशेखर, कवि कण्ठहार, सिंह भूपति, नव जयदेव, दशावधान. In the Bengal collection the title

1 Since reading this paper I have obtained possession of the original palm-leaf manuscript. The number of poems is about 350.—*Author.*

of कविरञ्जन is also found, which is the same as कविरतन in the Maithil poems. The title of कविकण्ठहार is to be met with in Dr. Grierson's collection. There is a large number of poems bearing the title of कविशेखर. The title of सिंह भूपति does not belong to Vidyāpati himself but to Raja Śiva Simh, or some other member of the family. Some poems have been composed under the name of सिंह भूपति. In the भणिता of one poem of this class the word राजपण्डित also occurs :—

वइरिओ एक्क अपराध खेमिय
राजपण्डित भान ।
रमनि राधा रसिक यदुपति
सिंह भूपति जान ॥

"Even an enemy forgives one (*viz.*, the first) offence, saith Rāj Paṇḍit: Simha King knoweth Rādhā is only a woman and Yadupati (Kṛṣṇa) is amorous."

In the deed of gift of the village of Bisṣpi Vidyāpati is spoken of both as महाराजपण्डित and नव जयदेव. I have found दशावधान in only one poem, of which the concluding lines are of great historical value :—

दश्च अवधान भन पुरुष पेम गुनि
प्रथम समागम मेला ।
आलम साह पहु भाविनि भजि रहु
कमलिनि भमर सुलला ॥

"Saith Daśāvadhān (*viz.*, one who can attend simultaneously to ten different subjects),—This first meeting is due to the memory of old love; O beauteous one! love Lord Ālam Shāh even as the lotus loves the bee."

The expression Ālam Shāh, or Lord of men, must have reference to the Emperor of Delhi at the time, or the Paṭhān king of Bengal. कविकण्ठहार is found with as well as without Vidyāpati's name :—

भनइ विद्यापति कवि कण्ठहार ।
रस बुझ शिवसिंह शिव अवतार ॥

"Saith Vidyāpati, the Necklace of poets,—Śiva Simha, the incarnation of Śiva, knoweth the taste (of this song)."

विमुखि चलल हरि बूझि वेवहार ।
आवे को गाओत कवि कण्ठहार ॥

"Understanding this treatment Hari turned his face and went away. What will Kavi-kaṇṭhahār now sing ?"

कविशेखर invariably occurs by itself and is never coupled with the poet's name :—

कविशेखर भन अपरूव रूप देखि ।
राय नसरद साह भजलि कमलमुखि ॥

"Saith the Crown of poets,—Seeing her wondrous beauty King Nasarad Shāh fell in love with the lotus-faced one."

नव जयदेव is found in a spirited account of a battle between Siva Simha and the Mahomedan army :—

रामरूपे स्वधम्म रखिअ
दान दप्पे दधीचि खखिअ
सुकवि नव जयदेव
भनिओ रे ।
देवसिंह नरेन्द्र नन्दन
शत्रु नरवइ कुल निकन्दन
सिंह सम शिवसिंह राजा
सकल गुनक निधान ओरे ॥

"The good poet, New Jayadeva, saith,—The son King of Deva Simha, the uprooter of the dynasties of hostile kings, the essence of all virtues, the lion-like Rāja Siva Simha defended and preserved his own faith like Rāma, and in charity rivalled Dadhīci."

All these extracts are from poems not yet published.

It is impossible to state with any degree of accuracy the precise number of poems and songs composed by Vidyāpati. I have collected between six and seven hundred poems of which over three hundred have been collected in Mithilā by Paṇḍit Chunda Jha, the best authority living on Vidyāpati. Each one of these poems has been submitted to a careful test to ascertain its genuineness, and every poem of doubtful authorship has been rejected. These poems are being put together for publication. When published they will not merely establish Vidyāpati's position, which is not disputed even now, as the greatest poet of Mithilā, but also as one of the master-singers of the world, with a width of range and sweep of song worthy of a poet of the first rank. The poet lived not only to a very great age, but displayed incessant and extraordinary literary activity. He was appointed Rāj Paṇḍit in an age of Paṇḍits. In a book called *Rāg Taraṅginī* and composed in Mithilā about two hundred years

ago, he is spoken of as पण्डितवर कविशेखर विद्यापति. Dr. Grierson does not mention that Vidyāpati, besides being the first Maithil poet, wrote a great many books in Sanskrit. Of these *Puruṣa Parikṣā* is well known, and a Bengali translation of this work was a text-book in Bengal some time ago. Three other Sanskrit books composed by him have been printed—Durgābhakti Taraṅginī, Likhanābali and Danbakyābali. Among the other known books are Saivasarvāśwāsar Kīrtī-latā, Kīrti Patākā and Gaṅgā Pattal. He also composed some Sanskrit poems, in which the influence of Jayadeva is plainly discernible. In the village of Taraoni, or Taruban, about fourteen miles from Darbhanga, there is a large palm-leaf manuscript in Vidyāpati's own handwriting containing the whole of the *Srimad Bhagavad-gītā*, notes and all. It is in the possession of an old lady, a widow belonging to a collateral branch of Vidyāpati's family, who refuses to part with it on any account. I have seen the book myself and there can be no question as regards its authenticity. The concluding words are :—ल ष ३०९ श्रावण शुदि १५ कुले रजा बनौलि ग्रामे श्री विद्यापतेर्लिपिरियमिति.

"L. S. 309, Tuesday, the 15th Śrāvaṇ, in the village of Raj Banauli. This is the writing of Śrī Vidyāpati."

The year 309 of the Lakṣmaṇ Sen era corresponds with 1416 A.C. according to the accepted calculation. According to the Maithil calculation it corresponds with 1618 A.C. Banauli is a village about 30 miles north of Darbhanga. The character of the script is Maithil and the modern Maithil alphabet has scarcely undergone any change since the days of Vidyāpati. There is hardly any room for reasonable doubt that the Bengali alphabet, old and modern, is the same as that of Mithilā. No trace can be found of the poet's manuscripts of his numerous original writings.

There is a tradition current in Mithilā that Rāja Śiva Siṁha was taken as a prisoner to Delhi. Vidyāpati accompanied him and helped in obtaining his release from the Emperor. This story would appear to be borne out by the following lines in one of Vidyāpati's poems :—

भन विद्यापति चाहथि जे विधि
करथि से से भेला।
राजा शिवसिंह बन्धन मोचन
तखन सुकवि भेला॥

"Saith Vidyāpati,—Vidhātā does what he pleases. When the bonds of Rāja Śiva Siṁha were removed, then the good poet lived (felt relieved)."

The dates of Vidyāpati's birth and death cannot be ascertained, but the day and month of his death are stated in the following couplet :—

विद्यापतिक आयु अवसान ।
कातिक धवल त्रयोदशि जान ॥

"Know that the termination of Vidyāpati's life was on the white thirteenth day of Kārtik."

This shows that the poet died on the thirteenth day of the full moon in the month of Kārtik.

A note on Mahāmahataka Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura of Mithilā.—*By* Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra.

[Read 7th December, 1904.]

Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura is known to Anglo-Indian lawyers as the author of the Vivāda-Ratnākara, which and the Vivāda-Cintāmaṇi are the leading authorities of the Mithilā school of the Mitākṣarā system of Hindu Law. But to Sanskrit scholars Caṇḍeśvara is known as the author of the *Sapta-Ratnākara* of which the Vivāda-Ratnākara is only a part. As the name implies, the Ratnākara consists of seven parts. The duties and obligations of man in their widest sense are divided by the author into seven parts, and those regarding property form the subject of the Vivāda-Ratnākara. The other parts of the Ratnākara are Kṛtya, Dāna, Vyavahāra, Śuddhi, Pūjā and Gṛhastha.

Of the seven Ratnākaras, the Vivāda only is now accessible in translation in English. Babus Golapa Chandra Sarkara Sastri, M.A., B.L., and Digambara Chattopadhyaya, M.A., B.L., Vakils of the Calcutta High Court, published in the year 1899, in Devanāgarī, the original text of the Vivāda with a translation in English. The learned gentlemen have not been able to give us much information regarding Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura or his family. He was himself a minister of a Raja of Mithilā named Hara Siṁh or Hari Siṁh of the Karṇāṭa Kṣatriya family; he was a son of Vireśvara Ṭhakkura who was also a minister; he was living in the year 1314 A.D=1236 (Śāka Era) when he performed the *tulā* ceremony. These are facts which appear from the concluding passage of the Ratnākara, in which Caṇḍeśvara is called the Somnāth of the North.

रसग्निखिभुजचन्द्रे सम्मिते शाकवर्षे
सहसि धवलपक्षे वाग्वती सिन्धुतीरे ।
यदित तुलितमुच्चैरात्मना स्वर्णराशिं
निधिरखिलगुणानामुत्तरः सोमनाथः ॥

These were the only facts known about the author of the Sapta-Ratnākara in the year 1899.

During my recent travels in the Mithilā country, I have with the help of the Honorable Maharaja Rameswara Singh Bahadur of Darbhanga, who is not only the chief of all Mithilā Brahmans but is also a great patron of Sanskrit learning, been able to collect some

information regarding Caṇḍeśvara and his family. In this as well as in other matters regarding my investigations into the ancient literature of Mithilā to which Bengal owes much, I have also derived considerable assistance from my friend Mr. N. Gupta who kindly accompanied me.

Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura belonged to an ancient and learned family of Mithilā Brahmans. They came originally from a village called Visai and were known as Viṣaibar Brahmans. The village Viṣai cannot now be identified. It is very probable that Caṇḍeśvara was born at Viṣai. Some of the members of the family now reside at Saurāṭ (Saurāṣṭra), and it is said they shifted there from their original place of residence. They cannot give us any information when the family migrated.

Caṇḍeśvara's grand-father, Devāditya, was the prime-minister of a Raja of Mithilā—probably Raja Hara Siṁh's father whose name was Śakra Siṁh. The Raja was a feudatory of Alāuddīn Khiljī, the Afghan Sultan of Delhi, who reigned from 1295 to 1315 A.D. The Raja and his prime-minister are said to have taken a leading part in 1295 A.D. against Hamvira Deva of Raṇstambha which was besieged and taken in that year. These facts are borne out by a passage in the Kṛtya-Cintāmani by Caṇḍeśvara himself.

Raja Hara Siṁh, as appears from the Pañji caused to be compiled and first introduced by him, was born in the year 1216 (Śāka Era), and the Pañji was first introduced 32 years later, *i.e.*, 1348 A.D. Caṇḍeśvara performed the Tulā ceremony in 1314 A.D. Raja Hara Siṁh must have been young at the time, having succeeded his father at an early age.

Devāditya had seven sons—Vīreśvara, Dhīreśvara, Guṇeśvara, Jaṭeśvara, Haradatta, Lakṣmīśvara and Śubhadatta. The eldest Vīreśvara, was one of the ministers of the Raja of Mithilā, but whether of Raja Śakra Siṁh or Raja Hari Siṁh does not clearly appear. He is known to Sanskrit scholars as the author of Chāndoga-Paddhati, also called Daśakarma-Paddhati. This book has been recently published with notes by Paṇḍit Parameśvara Jha, a learned scholar of Mithilā attached to the Darbār of the Mahārāja of Darbhanga. Amongst other works, Vīreśvara caused a big tank to be excavated in village Dahibhata which is still called "Vīrśawara" after his name. This tank is in the vicinity of the Pandoul Factory.

Caṇḍeśvara was the eldest son of Vīreśvara and was one of the famous men of his time both as a minister and as a scholar. As prime minister he held a position next to the Raja and was celebrated for his diplomatic talents. It is said that Raja Hara Siṁh on one occasion declined to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Afghan Emperor of Delhi who advanced against him with a large army. The Raja

fled to Nepal. Babu Prasanna Kumar Tagore says in his preface to the Vivāda Cintāmaṇi that Hara Simh became Raja of Simroon in 1323 A.D. after it had been taken by Tughlak Shāh. The big tank at Darbhanga near the Railway Station known as Harari or Harsayar is said to have been excavated at the instance of Hari Simh's minister.

The name of Caṇḍeśvara has, however, come down to us for his great works, the Ratnākara and Kṛtya Cintāmaṇi. Mr. Colebrooke in his preface to the Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions (1798 A.D.) says, 'The Vivāda-Ratnākara was compiled under the superintendence of Caṇḍeśvara' and so it bears the latter's name in the same way as Trebonian's great work that of Justinian. But the learned scholars of Mithilā have always ascribed the work to Caṇḍeśvara himself who was undoubtedly a scholar of great repute. I may quote the following *śloka* on the point:—

श्रौतस्मार्तदानव्यवहारशुद्धि-
पूजाविवादेषु तथा गृहस्थे।
रत्नाकरा रत्नभुवो निबद्धाः
कृतास्तुलापुरुषदेन सप्त॥

Instances of Rajas and their ministers having been authors or commentators of great reputation are not rare in India. It seems to me that there is no inherent improbability in the widely accepted belief that Caṇḍeśvara was the actual writer of the books that bear his name.

Vīreśvara's second son Dhīreśvara was also a great Paṇḍit. Vidyāpati Ṭhakkura the great bard of Mithilā and the author of the Puruṣaparīkṣā and Durgābhaktitaraṅginī was his great-grandson. One of their living descendants is Badri Nath Ṭhākur who is sixteenth in descent from Dhīreśvara and thirteenth from Vidyāpati. He and his collaterals now live at Saurāṭ.

Vīreśvara's third son, Guṇeśvara, was also a minister, and his son Rāmadatta was known as a learned writer.

The Later Mughals (1707–1803).—*By* William Irvine, *Bengal Civil Service* (Retired).

In continuation of the articles in Part I of the *Journal* for 1896, Vol. LXV, pp. 136–212, for 1898, Vol. LXVII, pp. 141–166, and 1903, Vol. LXXII, pp. 33–64.

Chapter V.—Rafi'-ud-darajāt (1719).

Section 1.—Events Connected with the Accession.

The new emperor, a consumptive youth of twenty years of age, was proclaimed under the style and titles of Abū, l-barakāt, Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn, Muḥammad Rafi'-ud-darajāt, Bādshāh, Ghāzī. Within and without the palace, in every audience-hall and at every door, the Sayyads placed men of their own. A chronogram for the accession was found:

"When Rafi'-ud-darajāt ascended the throne
"The sun appeared in the heavens out of 'Arafāt:
"The sage, seeing the lustre and strength of his wisdom,
"Brought forth the date, 'His title is High of Dignity'."[1]

At the first audience, on the prayer of Mahārājah Ajīt Singh, Rājah Bhīm Singh of Koṭah, and Rājah Ratn Cand, the *jizyah* or poll-tax, was again abolished. In other respects as few changes as possible were made, even the *wālāshāhīs* or personal troops of the late sovereign being retained in the service. The object was to dispel anxiety and restore order without delay. Muḥammad Amīn Khān was maintained in his post of second Bakhshī, Ẓafar Khān, Roshan-ud-daulah, replaced Saifullah Khān in that of third Bakhshī, and the office of fourth Bakhshī was left in abeyance. For seven days there was much confusion, and few men attended the imperial audience-hall; the people generally stood aloof, and also many of the officials. Niẓām-ul-mulk kept close at home,

[1] *Nishist ba-takht cūn Rafi'-ud-darajāt*
Goī bar 'arsh sar kashīd az 'Arafāt:
Pir-i-khirad cū did ba farr-o-shukoh
Tārīkh āmad, "Laqb-i-rafi'-ud-darajāt." (1131).
A second is:
Kih nāgāh Wāziḥ raqm kard o guft;
"Mūbārik jalūs-i-shāhānshāh-i-ḥaqq." (1131).
"The morning star seized the pen and said;
"'Blessed be the righteous king's accession.'"
Jām-i-jam, and *Miftāḥ* 304, Khāfī Khān, II, 816, Mirzā Muḥammad, 462.

but his cousin Muḥammad Amīn Khān was, in a way, friendly to the Sayyads; and Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah "resorting to fox-like tactics" came over to their party.[1]

The distant *ṣūbahs* were left in the same hands as before, with a few exceptions, special arrangements being made for Mālwah and Kābul. Sarbuland Khān had been nominated to the latter province some months before, and had gone one or two stages on his journey. On learning that Farrukhsīyar had been deposed, he returned by himself to Dihlī, and his appointment having been confirmed, he left again on the 19th Rabī' II (10th March, 1719). There remained Niẓām-ul-mulk, and it was urgent that he should be induced to quit the capital. The Sayyads feared mischief from the Mughals, the strongest in numbers and influence of any of the numerous groups into which their opponents were divided. At the last moment Muḥammad Amīn Khān had elected to take their side against Farrukhsīyar; but Niẓām-ul-mulk, as his habit was, had declined to declare himself. The government of Paṭnah had been assigned to him on the 18th Rabī' (7th February, 1719); but apparently he was not anxious to proceed there. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, as usual, was for the employment of violent measures; he thought Niẓām-ul-mulk should be assassinated. Quṭb-ul-mulk preferred to detach him from his friends, believing that when thus weakened, he could more easily be got rid of. Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah adhered to the latter view. The Sayyads, though good soldiers, were poor politicians; and "since a leader without wisdom is no better than a common soldier," they thus made ready the way for their own downfall.

Niẓām-ul-mulk was offered Mālwah. At first he declined it; and it was only upon a solemn promise of non-revocation that he accepted. He left the capital on the 24th Rabī' II (15th March, 1719), taking with him all his family and property; and although repeatedly urged to do so, he would not leave even his son to represent him at court. He was followed by all the Mughals who had been out of employ since the fall of Mīr Jumlah, and he reached his headquarters in about two months. Another change which led to future difficulties was the removal of Maraḥmat Khān, son of Amīr Khān, from the charge of Māndū. He had given dire offence to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān by neglecting to pay his respects, when the Amīr-ul-umarā had passed near that fortress on his way from the Dakhin to Dehlī.[2]

[1] Khāfī Khān, II, 817, Kāmwar Khān 197, *Aḥwāl-i-Khawāqīn*, 146*a*, 152*b*.

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 188, *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, 152*a*, Shiū Dās, 26*b*. The form of *farmān* to the governors can be seen from a translation of that to Ja'far Khān, governor of Bengal, in C. R. Wilson, "Early Annals," III, entry No. 1269 (consultation of March 19th, 1719 O. S.).

The faujdārship of Murādābād was given to Saif-ud-dīn 'Alī Khān, younger brother of the *wazīr*; Muḥammad Riẓā became chief *qāẓī*, Mīr Khān, 'Ālamgīrī, was made *Ṣadr-uṣ ṣudūr* or Grand Almoner, Diyānat Khān, Khwāfī (grandson of Amānat Khān)[1] was appointed *Dīwān* of the *Khāliṣah*, and Rājah Bakht Mall made *dīwān* of the *Tan*. Himmat Khān, a protégé of Quṭb-ul-mulk's, was given a subordinate post connected with the audience-chamber, and entrusted with the care of the young Emperor as his tutor and guardian.

The next task was to proceed against the persons and property of Farrukhsīyar's chief adherents. I'tiqād Khān (Mḥd. Murād) was sent as a prisoner to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's house, his *jāgīrs* were resumed, and all his property confiscated. He had managed to make away with a great deal, but much was recovered. By one account, it took ten to fifteen days to remove the immense store of valuables that he had obtained through the unwise liberality of Farrukhsīyar. I'tiqād Khān now disappears from our story, and ending his days in obscurity, he died at Dehlī on the 12th Ramaẓān 1139 H. (2nd May, 1727) at the age of seventy-two years. The *jāgīrs* of the late Sādāt Khān, father-in-law, and of Shāistah Khān, maternal uncle of the late Emperor, were resumed; as were also those of Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān, late general of the artillery, and of Afẓal Khān, the late *Ṣadr*. The allowances and lands of Farrukhsīyar's wife, the daughter of Mahārājah Ajit Singh were not interfered with.[2]

A few days after the accession of the new sovereign, the Mahrattas under Bālā Jī, the *peshwā*, who had come in Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's train, received their dismissal for the Dakhin (29th Rabī' II, 1131 H., 30th March, 1719), taking with them Madan Singh, the younger son of Sambhā Jī and some female members of his family who had been prisoners since the days of 'Ālamgīr. The Mahrattas also took with them at this time three important documents, a grant of the *chauth* of the Dakhin provinces, one for the *sardeshmukhī* of the same, and one for the *swarāj* or hereditary states.[3] The first dated the 22nd Rabī' II, 1131 H. (13th

[1] 'Alī Nakī (Diyānat Khān), d. 1151, H., 1738 A.D., *Ma'āṣir-ul-umarā*, II, 70, was the son of 'Abd-ul-qādir (Diyānat Khān) d. 1124 H., 1712-13, *id.* II, 59, son of Mu'in-ud-dīn Aḥmad (Amānat Khān) d. 1095, H., 1683-4, *id.* I, 258.

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 199, Khāfī Khān, II, 817, Mḥd. Qāsim Lāhorī, 253, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, year 1139 H. Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān (afterwards Sādāt Khān, Zu,lfiqar Jang) was the eldest son of the Sādāt Khān above named. He died *after* Muḥarram 1170 H. (September-October 1756), see *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, II, 524. Sayyad Afẓal Khān, Ṣadr Jahān, died late in Rabī' II, or early in Jamādī I, 1138 H. (Jan. 1725) at Shāhjahānābād (*T-i-Mḥdī*).

[3] *Chauth*, literally "one-fourth," ¼th of the revenue collections; *sardesh*,

March, 1719), gave them one-fourth of the revenue of all the six *ṣūbahs* of the Dakhin, including the tributary states of Tānjor, Trichinoply and Maisūr. The second dated the 4th Jamādī I, (24th March, 1719) was for 10 per cent. of the remaining three-fourths of the same revenues. The *swarāj* were the territories in Shivā Jī's possession at the time of his death in 1681, now confirmed to his grandson with certain modifications.[1]

Section 2.—Quarrel over the Spoils.

'Abdullah Khān, making use of his position within the palace and fort, had taken possession of all the buried treasure, the jewel-house, the armoury, and all the imperial establishments. He had also resumed the *jāgīrs* of over two-hundred of Farrukhsīyar's officers, and of the relations of Bahādur Shāh and 'Ālamgīr. Within two or three days' time these were all granted afresh to his own officers and dependants. This procedure was greatly objected to by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān; and the two brothers almost came to drawing their swords upon each other. Ratn Cand, who is described as the "key of 'Abdullah Khān's wits," intervened with smooth words, caused the *jāgīrs* of the dismissed nobles to be granted to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's followers, and thus put an end to the strife. He reminded the brothers that they had lately behaved in a way to anger both God and man, and if they wished for their own preservation from the clutches of rival nobles, it was absolutely necessary for them to suppress all differences and act heart and soul together. If they did not act in agreement, the Mughal leaders would rend them to pieces.[2]

Section 3.—Popular Outcry against Ajīt Singh.

As already mentioned, Ajīt Singh when he passed through the bazars was followed by cries of "Slayer of his son-in-law" (*dāmād-kush*). Insulting words were written on pieces of paper and stuck upon the door of his house, and one day cow bones were thrown down among the vessels he used in daily worship. The *Wazīr* seized two or three

mukhī, the allowances of a *sardeshmukh*, [*Sar*, "chief," *des*, "country," *mukh*, "head"]; *Swa*, "own," *rāj*, "territory."

[1] Kāmwar Khān, 199. Grant Duff (Bombay edition), 199 and note, where he says that these grants were made out in the name of Muḥammad Shāh. No doubt, the above dates fall in the 1st year of that reign by the official reckoning; but if the deeds were actually issued on the dates they bear, they must have been made out in the name of Rafī'ud-darajāt, for Muḥammad Shāh's accesion being then hidden in the future, the fact that at a subsequent date that accession would be ante-dated could not be known to anyone.

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 196, Khāfī Khān, II., 822.

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A few days after the accession of the new sovereign, the Mahrattas under Bālā Jī, the *peshwā*, who had come in Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's train, received their dismissal for the Dakhin (29th Rabī' II, 1131 H., 30th March, 1719), taking with them Madan Singh, the younger son of Sambhā Jī and some female members of his family who had been prisoners since the days of 'Ālamgīr. The Mahrattas also took with them at this time three important documents, a grant of the *chauth* of the Dakhin provinces, one for the *sardeshmukhī* of the same, and one for the *swarāj* or hereditary states.[3] The first dated the 22nd Rabī' II, 1131 H. (13th

[1] 'Alī Nakī (Diyānat Khān), d. 1151, H., 1738 A.D., *Ma'āṣir-ul-umarā*, II, 70, was the son of 'Abd-ul-qādir (Diyānat Khān) d. 1124 H., 1712-13, *id.* II, 59, son of Mu'in-ud-dīn Aḥmad (Amānat Khān) d. 1095, H., 1683-4, *id.* I, 258.

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 199, Khāfī Khān, II, 817, Mḥd. Qāsim Lāhorī, 253, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, year 1139 H. Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān (afterwards Sādāt Khān, Zu,lfiqar Jang) was the eldest son of the Sādāt Khān above named. He died *after* Muḥarram 1170 H. (September-October 1756), see *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, II, 524. Sayyad Afẓal Khān, Ṣadr Jahān, died late in Rabī' II, or early in Jamādi I, 1138 H. (Jan. 1725) at Shāhjahānābād (*T-i-Mḥdi*).

[3] *Chauth*, literally "one-fourth," ¼th of the revenue collections; *sardesh*,

March, 1719), gave them one-fourth of the revenue of all the six *ṣūbahs* of the Dakhin, including the tributary states of Tānjor, Trichinoply and Maisūr. The second dated the 4th Jamādi I, (24th March, 1719) was for 10 per cent. of the remaining three-fourths of the same revenues. The *swarāj* were the territories in Shivā Jī's possession at the time of his death in 1681, now confirmed to his grandson with certain modifications.[1]

Section 2.—Quarrel over the Spoils.

'Abdullah Khān, making use of his position within the palace and fort, had taken possession of all the buried treasure, the jewel-house, the armoury, and all the imperial establishments. He had also resumed the *jāgīrs* of over two-hundred of Farrukhsiyar's officers, and of the relations of Bahādur Shāh and 'Ālamgīr. Within two or three days' time these were all granted afresh to his own officers and dependants. This procedure was greatly objected to by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān; and the two brothers almost came to drawing their swords upon each other. Ratn Cand, who is described as the "key of 'Abdullah Khān's wits," intervened with smooth words, caused the *jāgīrs* of the dismissed nobles to be granted to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's followers, and thus put an end to the strife. He reminded the brothers that they had lately behaved in a way to anger both God and man, and if they wished for their own preservation from the clutches of rival nobles, it was absolutely necessary for them to suppress all differences and act heart and soul together. If they did not act in agreement, the Mughal leaders would rend them to pieces.[2]

Section 3.—Popular Outcry against Ajīt Singh.

As already mentioned, Ajīt Singh when he passed through the bazars was followed by cries of "Slayer of his son-in-law" (*dāmād-kush*). Insulting words were written on pieces of paper and stuck upon the door of his house, and one day cow bones were thrown down among the vessels he used in daily worship. The *Wazīr* seized two or three

mukhī, the allowances of a *sardeshmukh*, [*Sar*, "chief," *des*, "country," *mukh*, "head"]; *Swa*, "own," *rāj*, "territory."

[1] Kāmwar Khān, 199. Grant Duff (Bombay edition), 199 and note, where he says that these grants were made out in the name of Muḥammad Shāh. No doubt, the above dates fall in the 1st year of that reign by the official reckoning; but if the deeds were actually issued on the dates they bear, they must have been made out in the name of Rafi'ad-darajāt, for Muḥammad Shāh's accesion being then hidden in the future, the fact that at a subsequent date that accession would be ante-dated could not be known to anyone.

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 196, Khāfi Khān, II., 822.

Kashmīrīs who had been guilty of calling out abusive words when the Rājah passed them, and caused them to be paraded with ignominy seated upon asses. But the Kashmīrī boys followed, and shouted that this was the fitting punishment of the faithless and evil-minded, (meaning, of Ajīt Singh himself). The Rājah to escape these insults was in haste to quit Dehlī. After receiving large gifts in cash and jewels, he obtained an order for returning to his government of Gujarāt (17th Jamādi II., 6th May, 1719). Within a few days, however, events occurred which hindered him from carrying out his intention.[1]

Section 4.—Nekūsīyar Proclaimed at Āgrah.

During the weeks which followed the deposition of Farrukhsīyar, rumours of many sorts were prevalent. Suspicion chiefly rested on Rājah Jai Singh, Sawāe, Rājah Chabelah Rām, governor of Allahābād, and Nawāb Niẓām-ul-mulk, the new governor of Mālwah. A combination of these three nobles was supposed to be imminent. As to the last of them, it may be doubted whether there was any sufficient ground for these assertions. The other two men were, however, notorious partizans of Farrukhsīyar, Chabelah Rām and his family owing their elevation entirely to that emperor and his father, 'Aẓīm-ush-shān. In the case of those two nobles, there was undoubtedly some foundation for the popular belief. The centre of danger appeared to be Akbarābād, where Nekūsīyar and other members of the imperial house were in prison. A pretender might be set up from among these princes; and against this possibility special precautions must be taken. Ghairat Khān, the Sayyads' nephew, was hurried off to his new government, so that he might reach Āgrah before Niẓām-ul-mulk passed through it on his way to Mālwah. A new commandant, Samandar Khān, was appointed (16th Jamādī II, 1131 H., 5th May, 1719) to take charge of the fort at Āgrah. Much treasure was still in the vaults of that stronghold, and the new government was anxious to obtain control of this money themselves, and prevent its falling into anyone else's hands. To take charge of these hoards Dāwar Dād Khān accompanied Samandar Khān; but in addition to this ostensible errand, everyone believed that he had been commissioned to blind Nekūsīyar and the other princes. On the 1st Rajab 1131 H. (19th May, 1719) word was brought to Dihli that the new commandant had been refused admission by the Āgrah garrison, who had set up a rival emperor in the person of Prince Nekūsīyar.[2]

[1] Khāfī Khān, II, 823, Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 263, 264, Kāmwar Khān, 202, *Siwānih-Khiẓrī*, f.

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 202, Shiū Dās, 26 *b*. Khāfī Khān, II, 827.

Nekūsiyar, eldest surviving son of Prince Muḥammad Akbar, the fourth son of the Emperor 'Ālamgīr, was born in Sha'bān 1090 H. (September, October 1679)[1]. Early in Muḥarram 1092 H. (January 1681). Prince Akbar fled from his father's camp, and joining the Pāthors, laid claim to the throne. His property was at once confiscated by 'Ālamgīr, and his wife, two sons, Nekūsiyar and Mḥd. Asghar, and two daughters were made prisoners. A few days afterwards Prince Akbar's family was sent off from Ajmer to Akbarābād.[2] Here Nekūsiyar had been a state prisoner ever since, and although now over forty years of age had never set foot outside the fort. His ignorance is described, no doubt with some exaggeration, as so great that when he saw a cow or horse, he asked what sort of animal it was and what it was called.[3]

Accounts vary as to the part taken in the plot by Ṣafi Khān, the displaced qila'hdār.[4] Some describe him as a willing agent, or even the originator of in the conspiracy; others make him out to have acted under compulsion from the mutinous garrison. He had been transferred by the Sayyads from Kālinjar to Āgrah only a short time before (17th Sha'bān 1130 H., 15th July, 1718), and in those few months could not have acquired such influence over the garrison as to induce it to follow him in such an ambitious undertaking. Moreover, he was by this time nearly seventy years of age and thus not very likely to be a willing sharer in such a revolt. Some say that among the men mixed

[1] His birth was reported to his grandfather on the 1st Ẓū,l Qa'dah 1090 H. (4th December, 1679), *Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīri*, 182. He was the third son.

[2] The wife and family were despatched on the 16th Muḥarram 1092 H. (5th February, 1681), *Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīri* 204. Another son, Buland Akhtar, and two daughters were born to Prince Akbar after his rebellion, and were left with the Rāthors upon his flight to the Dakhin. The boy was surrendered to 'Ālamgīr on the 20th Ẓū,l Qa'dah 1109 H. (30th May, 1698) by Durgā Dās, Rāthor, as a peace-offering: he died in prison at Aḥmadnagar on the 29th Rabī 'II, 1118 H. (9th August, 1706) and was buried in the Bihisht Bāgh there, *Ma,āṣir-i-'Ālamgīri*, 395, *Tārikh-i-Muhammadi*, year 1118 H., and Kām Rāj, *'Ibratnāmah*, fol. 69*a*, Bhīm Sen, *Nuskhah-i-dilkushā*, fol. 157*b*.

[3] *Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīri*, 202, 203.

[4] Mirzā 'Abd-us-salām, first Mūmin Khan, then Ṣafi Khān, died early in Rajab 1137 H. (March 1725) at Dihlī, aged over 70 years. He was son-in-law of his uncle, Ashraf Khān (d. 1097 H., 1685-6). His brother, Islām Khān (Mīr Aḥmad, formerly Barkhūrdār Khān) died in 1144 H. (1731-2) aged 77. Their father was Ṣafi Khān (d. 1105 H., 1693-4), second son of Islām Khān, Mashhadi, (Mīr 'Abd-us-salām) whose first title was Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān, (d. 1057 H., 1647-8), *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, I., 162-167, I. 272, II. 741, *Tārikh-i-Muḥammadi*, years 1057, 1097, 1105, 1137, 1144 H., *Burhān-ul-futūḥ*, 162*a*, 167*a*.

up in this Āgrah rising were Rūp Lāl, Kāyath, brother of Hirā Lāl, the *dīwān* of Sher Afgan Khān, Pānipatī, and one Himmat, a *hazārī*, or officer of garrison artillery. But there can be no doubt that the prime mover was Mitr Sen, a Nāgar Brahman.[1]

This Mitr Sen resided in the fort of Āgrah, in the employ of Prince Nekūsīyar. He had some knowledge of physic. Through this means, and money-lending, he acquired considerable influence among the *hazārīs* and *Baksarīyahs* forming the garrison.[2] When, a few months before this time Ḥusain 'Alī Khān passed through Agrah, on his way from the Dakhin to Dihlī, Mitr Sen, introduced by some of the Bakhshī's attendants and some fellow-Brahmans, obtained access to the audience-hall, and thus became known by sight to the Mīr Bakhshī.[3]

Some of the Sayyad's old wounds having opened afresh and given him trouble, Mitr Sen offered his services as surgeon, and in this way obtained private speech with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. From some of the Mīr Bakhshī's intimates he had wormed out the secret that Farrukh-siyar would soon be dethroned. This inspired him with the idea that Nekūsīyar might be proposed as a candidate for the vacant throne. The artillery officers entered into the plan. Mitr Sen thereupon, without gaining over any great noble, or even consulting Nekūsiyar, made overtures in the prince's name to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. The latter, enraged that his secret intention should have been divined, directed that Mitr Sen should no longer be admitted to his presence.[4]

Mitr Sen made his escape. He is supposed to have gone now to Rājah Jai Singh at Amber, where conditions were agreed on with him, and a letter addressed by Rājah Jai Singh to Rājah Chabelah Rām, governor of Allahābād, was made over to him. It was also believed that Mitr Sen visited Niẓām-ul-mulk when he passed through Āgrah, but from him no definite answer was obtained. The secret of this interview was not kept; and it was the receipt of a report about it that

[1] Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 267, styles him a Tīwārī, which is a sub-division of the Gaur Brahmans. Kāmwar Khān, 180, *Burhān-ul-fatuḥ*, 167*a*.

[2] *Hazārī* (literally, "having a thousand") is the name for a captain of artillery. Sometimes they are called by the Turkish word *minkbāshī*, "head of one thousand." *Baksarīyah* means a footsoldier or militia man. Apparently the name is derived from Baksar on the Ganges, a fort in *parganah* Bhojpur of *Ṣūbah* Bahār, if we are to trust Rāe Chatarman, *Chahār gulshan*, fol. 127*b*, who in an itinerary from Bareli to Patnah enters "Baksar, original home of the Baksarīyahs."

[3] I doubt if Āgrah can be the right place of meeting, for Ḥusain 'Alī Khān does not seem to have passed through it on his way to Dihlī. I tell the story as Khāfī Khān does: the rest of the facts are probably correct.

[4] Khāfī Khān, II, 825.

led to the appointment of Samandar Khān, a man of high rank, as a new commander in the fort.[1]

When Samandar Khān reached Gāo-ghāt on the Jamnah, a few miles north-west of Āgrah, he called upon the garrison and all the establishments to come out to greet him and escort him into the fort. Instead of obeying this order, the garrison after a consultation returned word that their pay for three years was due, that they did not know who was now emperor, that they were not acquainted with any *qila'h-dār* of the name of Samandar Khān. Mitr Sen was in the plot. On the 29th Jamādī II, (18th May, 1719), Nekūsīyar and his two nephews were brought out by the soldiers; the former was placed on a throne and homage was paid to him as emperor. Coin was issued in his name with the inscription:

Ba zar zad sikkah sāḥib-qirānī
Shāh Nekūsīyar, Taimūr-i-ṣānī.

"On gold struck coin the Lord of the Fortunate Conjunction,
"The Emperor Nekūsīyar, a second Taimūr.[2]"

Mitr Sen was raised to the rank of commander of 7,000 horse with the title of Rājah Bīrbal and the office of *wazīr*. One *kror* and eighty *lākhs* of rupees were withdrawn from the treasure-house and distributed among the garrison. The next day Nekūsīyar with two nephews was brought to an open building[3] over the main gate, a royal umbrella being held over his head. With both hands the prince made reassuring gestures in the direction of the crowd, which had assembled in the open space below the gate, while Mitr Sen, now become Rājah Bīrbal, poured gold over his head. Soon men hurried to the fort from all directions and offered to enlist. Blacksmiths, bullet-founders, and other artisans were brought into the fort, and a new *koṭwāl*, or chief police officer, was placed in charge of the city on behalf of the pretender.[4]

Hostilities were commenced by the garrison firing upon the mansion (known as that of Islām Khān) occupied by Ghairat Khān, the new *nāẓim* of the province. This house was in a very exposed position, to the west of and almost immediately under the fort. Ghairat Khān,

1 Samandar Khān's rank was 3000, 2000 horse, Shiū Dās, fol. 27*a*.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, 825. *Ṣāḥib-i-qirān* is one of the titles of Taimūr, the founder of the dynasty. In the British Museum collection there is no coin with this distich. The one assigned to Nekūsīyar ("Catalogue," p. 197) is hardly likely to be his; it is more probably an abnormal issue of Muḥammad Shāh's coinage. Th same objection applies to those in Rodgers, p. 209.

3 It is called a *bangalah*, i.e., four pillars supporting a roof.

4 Shiū Dās, 27*a*, Khāfī Khān, II, 827.

most of whose men were dispersed in the *ṣūbah* for the purpose of bringing in revenue, wished to abandon the house. He was, however, dissuaded by his officers, Sanjar Khān and Shamsher Khān, *Wālā-shāhīs.* He therefore maintained his position, recalled his horsemen, and proceeded to enlist more troops. The facts were reported to the *Wazīr* at Dihlī.[1]

As soon as a camel-rider had brought the news to Dihlī, Rājah Bhīm Singh, Hāḍā, and Curāman Jāṭ,[2] the latter of whom had been for some time a sort of prisoner at large, were hurried off to reinforce the *Nāẓim.* With them went Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, 'Iwaz Khān and Asad 'Alī Khān. The sons of Ṣafī Khān and his brother, Islām Khān, were arrested and sent to prison, their *jāgīrs* being also confiscated. The Sayyad brothers held a consultation, and it was decided that one or the other must proceed to Āgrah at the head of an army. The duty was undertaken by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. On the 7th Rajab 1131 H. (25th May, 1719) he marched to Bārahpulah, south of the city, and there began to collect his men and make other preparations. A letter was written to Ghairat Khān assuring him of the speedy arrival of the Amīr-ul-umarā.[3]

Section 5.—Events at Āgrah.

Nekūsiyar's partisans, instead of coming out and taking advantage of Ghairat Khān's weakness, clung to the shelter of the fort walls. They lost in this way their only chance of striking a vigorous blow for their new master. In two or three days Ghairat Khān had recovered from his surprize, and his troops began to pour in to his succour. He was soon at the head of four or five thousand men, and able to take the offensive. His right-hand man at this difficult moment was Ḥaidar Qulī Khān.[4] This officer having fallen into disgrace for his oppressive

[1] There is a copy of the report in Shiū Dās, 28*a*; see also *id.* 27*a* and Khāfī Khān, II, 828.

[2] According to Kām Rāj, *'Ibratnāmah*, 68*a*, Curāman now received a gift of the country twenty days' journey in length and breadth, extending from the Bārah-pulah bridge outside Dihlī to the borders of Gwāliyār. This means that he was appointed to be *rāhdār* or road-guardian of this extent of country.

[3] There is a copy of the letter in Shiū Dās, fol. 28*b*.

[4] In 1126 H. (1714-15) Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, Isfarāinī, was made *dīwān* of the Dakhin, and all appointments and removals were left to him. Niẓām-ul-mulk, then *nāẓim*, did not get on with him, *Burhān*, 165*a*, Khāfī Khān, II, 740. He reached court on return from the Dakhin on the 6th Ẓū,l Qa'dah 1127H. (2nd November, 1715), Kāmwar Khān, 158. He was appointed to Bandar Sūrat on the 3rd Muḥarram 1128H (28th December, 1715), *id*, 161, and made *faujdār* of Sorāth, 21st Sha'bān 1128 H. (9th August, 1716), *id.*, 166; he was sent for to court on the 22nd Rajab 1130H (20th June 1718) *id*, 179.

measures, had not long before passed through Āgrah on his way from Aḥmadābād to Dihlī, where a very hostile reception awaited him. On arriving at Akbarābād he propitiated Ghairat Khān so effectively that through him he gained the good offices of Ratn Cand, the *wazīr's* chief advisor. As soon as the disturbance broke out at Āgrah, he was sent off in great haste from Dihlī to the assistance of Ghairat Khān. In a short time the activity he displayed in the operations at Agrah so won for him the good opinion of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, that he made an intimate friend of him, and finally obtained his pardon from Quṭb-ul-mulk, the *wazīr*.[1]

Meanwhile the rebellion had made no progress: it had not spread outside the walls of the fort. Rājah Jai Singh had, indeed, come out several stages from Amber as far as Todah Tānk,[2] but before declaring himself further, he awaited news from Niẓām-ul-mulk and Chabelah Rām. From a letter which fell afterwards into Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's hands, it would appear that Niẓām-ul-mulk gave no encouragement; while Chabelah Rām was detained in his province by the revolt of Jasan Singh, a zamīndār of Kālpī, who was encouraged to resist by messages from the *wazīr* conveyed through Muḥammad Khān, Bangash. Meanwhile, although unable to make any impression on the fort, Ghairāt Khān held his own. Curāman, Jāṭ, had managed to collect men of his own tribe, the chief leaders being Gobind Singh, Jāṭ, and the sons of Nandā, Jāṭ. Sayyad Ḥasan Khān from Gwāliyār and the Rājah of Bhadāwar had also joined the besiegers. There was some fighting, but Ṣafī Khān, owing to the arrest at Dihlī of his children and brother, was dejected, and did not act with much vigour. Still, some sorties were attempted. One night the Jāṭ and other peasant levies made an attack on the camp. Suddenly a store-house for the grain and grass which had been brought in from the surrounding country, was set on fire, but before the flames reached any height, heavy rain began to fall, and little damage was done. Deserters from the besieging force began to make their way into the fort. One day four of them were caught. Ḥaidar Qulī Khān condemned them to be blown away from guns in the presence of the whole army.[3] From that time Ḥaidar Qulī Khān in person took the roll-call of the army, and further desertions ceased.[4]

1 Khāfī Khān, II, 823, 824, 828.

2 This must mean the Todah about sixty miles east of Jaipur and eighty miles south-west of Āgrah.

3 For the providential escape of one of these men, see Khāfī Khān, II, 834.

4 *Siwānih-i-khizrī*, and Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 269.

Section 6.—Nekūsīyar Makes Overtures.

Letters in the name of Nekūsīyar came to the two Sayyads and other high-placed nobles, such as Muḥammad Amīn Khān, offering terms, if they would accept him as emperor. The letters said: "What "new-born child is this that has been placed on the throne of Hindū-"stān? Never before has anyone thought, or even dreamt, of passing "over an elder for a younger heir. As for the seizure, imprisonment, "and death of Muḥammad Farrukhsīyar, those events had been decreed "by the Eternal. Let them (*i.e.*, the Sayyads) wrapping the head "of shame in the skirt of humbleness, make due submission. No "revenge will be taken, but all their rank and dignities will be main-"tained as before." Quṭb-ul-mulk, always ready to take the easiest way out of a difficulty, proposed to make terms with Nekūsīyar and bring him to Dihlī. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, on the other hand, looking on the Āgrah revolt as a sort of personal insult, would hear of no compromise. For a long time Quṭb-ul-mulk was not satisfied, and even after his brother had moved out to Bārahpulah, visited him there several times with the object of persuading him to accept Nekūsīyar's proposal.[1]

Quṭb-ul-mulk argued that they had no quarrel with the prince, why should they meet him with force? Why not seat him on the throne? Even if he should try to form a party among the nobles, he, Quṭb-ul-mulk, saw no one from whom any danger need be anticipated. Ḥusain 'Ali Khān could not be moved from his own ideas. "If Āgrah "were a fort of steel set in an encircling ocean, he would with one blow "from his finger strike it down, so that beyond a little mud and dust, "no sign of it should be left on earth." Who were these "crows," these few wretches, who had dared to interfere with their designs! All haste must be made to suppress the outbreak by force.[2]

Section 7.—The Sayyads' Conduct towards Rafī'-ud-darajāt.

During the few months that he was Emperor, Rafī'-ud-darajāt was completely in the power of the two Sayyads. Until this time, the emperors, however much they might leave state affairs in the hands of a minister or favourite, retained complete control over their own palace and person, and no man could be prevented from access to them. Ultimate power resided in their hands, and they could at any time transfer authority from one minister to another. In this reign all this was

[1] Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 270.

[2] Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 272, 273, Anonymous History, B. M. Oriental MS. No. 1747.

changed. At first, the palace was guarded by the Sayyads' most trusted soldiers, and all offices within it were held by their nominees. On the 14th Jamādī I (3rd May, 1719) a concession to propriety was so far made that the hereditary doorkeepers and palace servants were allowed to return to duty. But the change was more nominal than real. It is asserted that even then the Emperor's meals were not served without the express order of his tutor, Himmat Khān, a Bārhah Sayyad. The young Emperor was allowed little liberty, and in his short reign, he seldom left the palace. He visited Quṭb-ul-mulk on the 19th Jamādī I (8th April, 1719) at his house in the Motī Bāgh, to condole with him on the death of a daughter. He paid another visit to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān on the 14th Jamādī II (3rd May, 1719); and he also went on one hunting expedition to Shakkarpur (24th Jamādī I, 3rd April).[1]

In addition to keeping the strictest watch over Rafī'-ud-darajāt, the Sayyads' conduct was in other respects indecorous and reprehensible. Quṭb-ul-mulk, a man of pleasure, not content with a harem already filled with women collected from far and near, carried off two or three of the most beautiful women from the imperial harem. One writer, Khushḥāl Cand, makes a still more scandalous accusation against him. Through Ṣadr-un-nissā, head of the harem, he sent a message to 'Ināyat Bāno, the Emperor's wife, that he had fallen in love with her. The go-between executed her task, only to meet with an absolute refusal. Again she was sent to urge his suit; "like a longing lover, he was fast bound by the long curling locks of that fairy." 'Ināyat Bāno writhed at the insult, undid her hair, which was over a yard long, cut it off, and threw it in the face of her tempter.[2] The younger brother's sin being pride, he displayed his disrespect in another manner. One day he was present alone with Rafī'-ud-darajāt in his private chapel (*tasbīḥkhānah*). The Emperor sat down on his chair. At once, without waiting for permission, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, sat down in front of him.[3] Highly-placed orientals are rarely at fault on such occasions, and Rafī'-ud-darajāt showed his usual readiness at rebuking an affront. Stretching out his feet in the direction of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, he said: "Draw

1 Kāmwar Khān, 200, *Siwānih-i-Khizrī.*

2 In spite of the evidence of Khushḥāl Cand, a contemporary and a resident of Dihlī, I fear that this story about the princess' cutting off her hair, must be treated as what lawyers call "common form." It is also related by N. Manucci, Phillips MS. No. 1945, Part I, p. 261, in regard to Ra'nā Dil, one of the widows of Dārā Shukoh, when summoned to his harem by 'Ālamgīr.

3 No one sat in the Emperor's presence without his order or permission. Yaḥyā Khān, 127*a*, has a version of this story, but he ascribes it to Rafī'-ud-daulah.

off my stockings (*mozah*)." Although inwardly raging, Ḥusain 'Ali Khān could do nothing else but comply.[1]

That the young man was not altogether devoid of sense, is proved by the story of a dispute that arose once between Quṭb-ul-mulk and Rafi'-ud-darajāt. A warrant of appointment having been signed, next day the *wazīr* brought a second order giving the same post to another nominee. The Emperor asked: "Is it the same village, or another with the same name?" He was told it was the same one, but this man was fit for the place and offered more than the other. The Emperor said it was foolishness to act like that, and threw the paper on the floor.[2]

Section 8.—The Emperor's Deposition and Death.

In the confusion and hurry attending his accession, no heed had been paid to the state of Rafi'-ud-darajāt's health. He was afterwards found to be far advanced in consumption, he was also addicted to the use of opium; and from the day that he ascended the throne, he became weaker and weaker. By the middle of Rajab (June) it was evident that his days were numbered. He then told the Sayyads that if they would comply with his most earnest desire, and raise to the throne his elder brother, Rafi'-ud-daulah, he should die happy. Accordingly on the 17th Rajab (4th June 1719) Rafi'-ud-darajāt was deposed and sent back into the harem. Two days afterwards (6th June, 1719), Rafi'-ud-daulah was seated on the throne in the Public Audience-hall within the palace at Dihlī. On the 24th Rajab (11th June, 1719) Rafi'-ud-darajāt expired, and was buried near the shrine of Khwājah Quṭb-ud-dīn.[3]

Appendix (Rafi'-ud-darajāt).

Age. At his death Rafi'-ud-darajāt was about twenty years of age; the words *wāriṣ-i-tāj* (1111 H.), "heir to the crown," giving the year of his birth, Khāfī Khān, II, 816. The *Jām-i-Jam* gives the precise date as the 8th Jamādī II, 1111 H. (30th November, 1699); Mirzā Muḥammad, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, declares that he was only sixteen or seventeen years of age at his death. A chronogram for that event is:—

Cūn jān-i-Shahanshāh Rafī'-ud-darajāt
Rah just ba sāyah-i-nihāl-i-ṭūbā,
Riẓwān ba dar-i-bihisht iqdām kunān
Guftā: "khuld-i-barīn maqām o māwā."

[1] Khāfī Khān, II, 821, Khūshḥal Cand, B.M. MS. No. 3288, fol. 415a.
[2] Yaḥyā Khān, 127b.
[3] Wārid, 159a, *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffari*, 165.

"When the soul of the Lord of Lords, Rafi'-ud-darajāt
"Sought the shade of the tree of goodness,
"Riẓwān greeting him at the gate of Paradise
"Cried: 'Most blessed of abodes and asylums.'"

(*Jām-i-Jam*, and *Miftāḥ*, 304).

Reign. He reigned from his accession on the 9th Rabi' II to his deposition on the 17th Rajab 1131 H., for a period of three months and nine days.

Titles.—His style and title as Emperor was Abū-l-barakāt, Sulṭān Shams-ud-dīn, Muḥammad Rafi'-ud-darajāt, Bādshāh, Ghāzī. (Mirzā Muḥammad, *Tazkirah*, 470).

Coin.—The distich placed upon his coin was:

Zad sikkah ba Hind bā hazārān barakāt
Shāhan-shāh-i-baḥr-o-bar, Rafī'-ud-darajāt.

"Coin was struck in Hind, with a thousand blessings,
"By the king of kings on land and sea, Rafi'-ud-darajāt."

But on the second day of the reign Quṭb-ul-mulk called on Fatḥ Khān, Fāẓil, to provide a couplet which should allow of a different word for gold coins (*ashrafi*) and silver coins (rupees), as was the case with 'Ālamgīr's coinage. The poet on the spur of the moment produced the following lines:

Sikkah zad Shāh Rafī'-ud-darajāt
Mihr-mānind ba yamīn-o-barakāt.

"The Emperor Rafi'-ud-darajāt struck coin,
"Sun-like, with power and felicity."

On the rupee the word *badr* (moon) was substituted for *mihr* (sun). It is not known whether these lines were ever actually brought into use, as we have no coin on which they appear; but there is another variant on one coin in the Lahore Museum:

Sikkah-i-mubārik-i-bādshāh-i-ghāzī, Rafī'-ud-darajāt.[1]

There are twenty-three coins of this reign in the three public collections at London, Calcutta, and Lahore; four of gold and nineteen of silver, all circular in shape. All except one are dated according to the Hijra or the regnal year, or both. All except one coin can be classed under the *ṣūbahs* in which their place of mintage was situated. These twenty-two coins belong to ten mints in eight out of the twenty-one provinces; Kashmīr, Taṭṭhah, Ajmer, Gujarāt, Mālwah, Bengal, Orissa and the six Dakhin *ṣūbahs* being unrepresented. The number of coins

1 British Museum Catalogue, p. 372, Lahore Museum Catalogue, p. 206, Kāmwar Khān, 197, Mirzā Muḥammad, 470.

from each mint is: Kābul (1), Lāhor (4), Multān (1), Shāhjahānābād (5), Akbarābād (5), Gwaliyār (1), Iṭāwah (2), Mu'azzamābād, *i.e.*, Audh (1), Korā (1), Paṭnah (1). It is curious that in such a short reign a distant province like Kābul should have issued any coin; but the other places were well within control of the court. In the gold coins the weights are 160, 168, 169, and 169·5 grains, and the diameters ·77, ·8, ·85, and ·94 of an inch. For the silver coins the weight and the diameter are respectively 172 (2), 173 (4), 174 (1), 174·5 (2), 175 (5), 176 (2), 177 (1), 178 (1), and 179 (1), grains, and ·82 (1), ·85 (2), ·90 (5), ·95 (5), ·96 (1), ·97 (1), 1·0 (3), 1·03 (1) of an inch. Mr. M. Longworth Dames ("Numismatic Chronicle," Fourth Series, II, 275-309) has three coins of this reign; adding thereby two more mints to the above, *viz.*, Burhānpur and Sihrīnd.

Family.—The only reference to Rafī'-ud-darajāt's wife or wives is to be found in the story given a page or two back, from which we learn the name of one wife, 'Ināyat Bāno. He seems to have left no children. One notable point about him was his descent on both sides from 'Ālamgīr, his mother being the daughter of prince Akbar, that monarch's fourth son. With such an ancestry it is strange that he did not display more of the energy and ability characteristic of the earlier generations of his house.

Chapter VI.—Rafī'-ud-daulah (1719).

Section 1.—The Accession.

On the 19th Rajab 1131 H. (6th June, 1719), Rafī'-ud-daulah, middle son of Prince Rafī'-ush-shān, third son of Bahādur Shāh, ascended the throne in the audience-hall at Dihlī in succession to his brother, Rafī'-ud-darajāt. He was eighteen months older than his predecessor. He received the title of Shāhjahān Ṣānī, or the second Shāhjahān. At his accession no changes took place, except the insertion of his name on the coin and in the Friday prayer. He remained like his brother in the hands of Quṭb-ul-mulk's nominees. His coming out and going in, his appearances in the audience-hall, what he ate and what he wore, his every act was under the control of Himmat Khān, Bārhah. He was not allowed to attend the public prayers on Friday, to go hunting, or to converse with any noble, unless one of the two Sayyads or his guardian was present. His first formal audience was held in the *ramnah* or hunting preserve of Khiẓrābād on the 24th Rajab (11th June, 1719) when the generals appointed for duty at Āgrah were presented and took their leave. After this the *Khuṭbah* was read at the great

mosque in the new Emperor's presence on the 26th of the same month (13th June, 1719).[1]

Section 2.—Rising of Shāistah Khān at Dihlī.

Shāistah Khān, maternal uncle of the late Emperor,[2] Farrukhsīyar, was naturally discontented with the new régime, and at the instigation of Rājah Jai Singh, began to collect soldiers, with the intention of escaping from Dihlī and joining the Rājah, then on his march to the assistance of Nekūsīyar. Meanwhile he kept the Rājah well informed of all that was going on at Dihlī. Khān Daurān, (Khwājah A'ṣim) and other great men attempted to dissuade Shāistah Khān from this dangerous course. He paid no heed to them and continued his preparations. Then by accident a letter addressed by him to Rājah Jai Singh fell into the hands of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. By this time the malcontent was reported to have collected seven or eight thousand men.[3]

On the 23rd Rajab 1131 H. (10th June, 1719), Ẓafar Khān and Nāhar Khān, Hansawī[4] were sent against Shāistah Khān with a strong force. They stormed his mansion and, taking him a prisoner, conveyed him to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān then at Bārahpulah, where he had been encamped since the 7th Rajab, (25th May, 1719). Shāistah Khān's property in cash and goods, his horses and his elephants, his cows and his asses, were given up to plunder. This incident aroused suspicions in the Sayyads' hearts with regard to many other of the nobles. But at

[1] Kāmwar Khān, 203. Khāfī Khān, II, 831, fixes the 20th Rajab for the accession, perhaps to suit his chronogram: *Shambah bistam-i-mah-i-Rajab būd*, (1131 H.). Nor was it possible for the 20th to have fallen on a Saturday; it was either a Wednesday or a Thursday. The author of the *Risālah-i-Muḥammad Shāh*, B. M. Or. Ms. No. 180, fol. 75, says he composed two *tārīkh* for the accession. The first is the same as that claimed by Khāfī Khān as his own.

The other is:—

Pāe 'adū afgand Shāh Rafī'-ul-qadr, Rafī'-ud-daulah.

This is, he tells us, a *ta'amah*, giving 6 in excess, but if the foot (*pāe*) of *'adū*, i.e., the letter "waw" (=6) is thrown out (*afgand*) we get the exact date. But on adding up the figures, I make them come to 1431 instead of 1131. The Khiẓrābād referred to is about five miles south of the new city or Shāhjahānābād, and near the Jamnah river.

[2] Khwājah 'Ināyatullah, Kashmīrī, entitled Shāistah Khān, died early in Rajab 1141 H. (January, February, 1729,) at Shāhjahānābād, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥdi*.

[3] Khāfī Khān, II, 831, Kāmwar Khān, 204, and *Siwānih-i-Khizrī*.

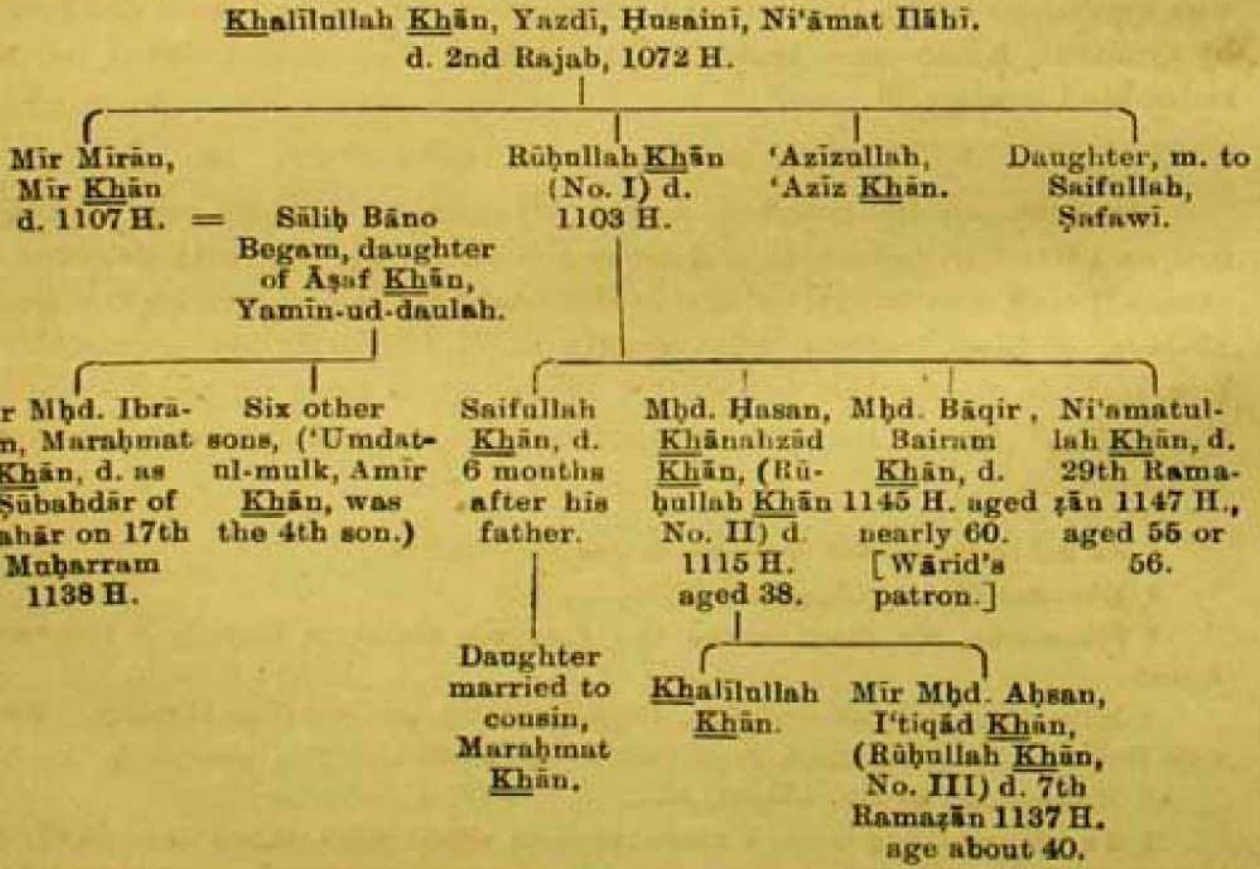
[4] That is "native of Hānsī." He was either a Rānghar (a Mahomedan Rājput) or a Khānzādah. Possibly he is identical with the Nāhar Khān, Shekhzādah, of Hānsī, mentioned as *faujdār* of Dholkah in Gujarāt, see Kāmwar Khān, p. 200, entry of 24th Jamādī I, 1131 H. Kām Rāj, '*Ibratnāmah*, 69*a*, says S. Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, Bakhshī of the *wazīr*, was also sent against Shāistah Khān.

such a critical moment silence seemed the wisest thing. Of those suspected, only a few men openly declared themselves. Rūḥullah Khān, III, son of Rūḥullah Khān, the second of that title[1] had been appointed *faujdār* of Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt, but on his way to that place had turned aside and joined Rājāh Jai Singh. Tahavvar Khān, Turānī, had also escaped secretly from Dihlī a week after Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had started for Āgrah, and he, too, repaired to Jai Singh's camp by forced marches. Quṭb-ul-mulk sent horsemen in pursuit, but they were unable to overtake the fugitive. Another of these absconders to Jai Singh was Sayyad Ṣalābat Khān, brother-in-law of Farrukhsiyar and lately commander of the imperial artillery.[2]

Section 3.—Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's Campaign at Āgrah.

At length on the 6th Sha'bān (23rd June, 1719) Ḥusain 'Alī Khān commenced his march.[3] Under his orders were Muḥammad Amīn Khān, Cīn; Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah, Khān Daurān; Ẓafar Khān and others.

[1] The following particulars of this family are taken from the *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā* I, 277, 775, II, 309–315, 315–317, 823, 839, III, 713.



[2] See *ante* p. 6, for this man's origin and connections. Kāmwar Khān, 204, Mḥd Qāsim Lāhori, 272, Khāfī Khān, II, 832, *Siwānīḥ-i-Khiẓrī.*

[3] Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, author of the *'Ibratnāmah*, went on this campaign, p. 275. He was in the service of Sūrat Singh, one of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's officers.

Muḥammad Khān, Baugash, came in from Sa'dābād[1] on the 20th Sha'bān (7th July, 1719) and followed the main body. At this time many rumours were prevalent. As usual in such cases, dreams or the opinions of soothsayers and astrologers favourable to Nekūsīyar, passed from mouth to mouth. Rājah Jai Singh, people said, was marching from Amber on Āgrah; Chabelah Ram was on his way from Allahābād at the head of thirty thousand men; Niẓām-ul-mulk had started to reinforce them with a mighty army; Nekūsīyar, in the garb of a faqīr, had escaped from Āgrah and reached the camp of Rājah Jai Singh. Of all these statements the only true one was that Rājah Jai Singh had come out one stage from Amber at the head of nine or ten thousand horsemen, and there awaited the advance of Chabelah Rām. The latter, however, was still busily occupied with the revolt of Jasan Singh of Kālpī, who was backed up by the Afghāns. Niẓām-ul-mulk showed no serious intention of taking up the cause of Nekūsīyar.[2]

On the 21st Sha'bān (8th July, 1719) Ḥusain 'Alī Khān reached Sikandrah,[3] within sight of Āgrah; the weather was extremely hot, and a halt was made for three days. On the 25th (12th July) camp was moved to Bāgh Dahr-ārāe.[4] The siege which had been commenced by Ghairat Khān and Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, was now pressed on with redoubled energy.[5]

Section 4.—Siege of Āgrah Fort.

As soon as he reached Āgrah, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān rode round the fort and fixed in person the sites for the batteries, the side selected for attack being the south, where is the bastion then known as the *Bangālā-burj*, a place which was weakly defended and had no earthwork (*pushtah*) to strengthen the wall. Heavy guns were brought to bear on the walls;[6] but as the wet weather had begun and the rain was heavy,

[1] Sa'dābād, a town in the Ganges-Jamnah *dūābah*.

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 205, Khāfī Khan, II, 832.

[3] Sikandrah, the place where the Emperor Akbar is buried; it lies west of Āgrah.

[4] Kām Rāj, *'Ibratnāmah*, 69*a*, Bāgh Dahr-ārā, two *kos* from the city. See also *ante* Reign of Bahādur Shāh, p. 26 (not yet published).

[5] Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 277.

[6] These guns had each a name, such as *Ghāzī Khān* (Lord Champion), *Sher-dahān* (Tiger-mouth), *Dhūm-dhām* (The noisy), and so forth. They carried balls from thirty Shāhjahānī *sers* to one and a quarter *man* in weight; attached to each were from one to four elephants, and from six hundred to seventeen hundred draught oxen.

ten and in some cases twenty days were occupied in dragging these cannon the distance, only a mile or two, which separated the camp from the fort. The route through the lanes and bazārs being very narrow, the dwelling-houses and shops were pulled down to allow of the passage of the artillery. Within the fort there are said to have been thirteen hundred cannon, counting those of every kind. From these the garrison artillerymen (the *Baksarīyah*) kept up an incessant fire, not allowing themselves a respite even during the night. Damage was done on both sides. Even persons resorting to the river bank to draw water were fired on from the fort, and fell victims. The governor's mansion near the fort was destroyed, the mosque known as the Begam Ṣāḥib's, standing opposite to the citadel, was injured, the tower and marble steps being struck by shot, and the buildings of the Tirpoliyā or triple gate, suffered equally. The besiegers returned the fire and injured the battlements on all four walls, doing also some damage to the Moti Masjid. Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, who had under his command many Europeans, whom he had brought from Sūrat, drove several saps towards the walls. Little effect was, however, produced on the fort; nor did the garrison show any enterprize, or try to open a way through the investing lines and join their friends outside. The attacking force had succeeded in causing the besieged to withdraw within the fort; but beyond this advantage nothing was gained, except that Ghairat Khān and Shamsher Khān, after a good deal of fighting, took the *cabūtrah* or police office at the fort gate.[1]

The garrison were evidently reserving themselves until they had learnt of the advance of their hoped-for allies. Time passed, and of these helpers there was no word or sign. After a month provisions began to be scarce. Many of those who had joined from the country round began to desert, getting over the walls at night, only to be seized by the Nawāb's sentries. These fugitives informed Ḥusain 'Alī of the disheartened and suffering condition of the garrison and the depression in Mitr Sen's mind. All the good grain had been used up; and nothing was left but inferior pulses, and these had been stored over seven years and smelt so strongly, that even the four-footed beasts would not eat them with avidity. Attempts were made to bring in small supplies of flour, which were dragged up by ropes let down from the battlement. Even some of the artillery in the besieging force engaged in this traffic. After this fact was found out, the strictness of watch was redoubled, anything moving in the river at night was shot at, and

[1] Shiū Dās, 29*a*, *Risālah-i-Muḥammad Shāh*, fol. 76*b*, and Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 280.

expert swimmers were kept ready to pursue and seize any one who attempted to escape by way of the river.

Secret overtures were accordingly made to the garrison. In Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's artillery a man was serving named Curā, who had acquaintances within the fort; and through him a message was sent to these men guaranteeing to them their lives and property, if they delivered up Prince Nekūsīyar together with the fort. Curāman Jāṭ, who commanded at an entrenchment near the fort, opened up similar negociations. The garrison called these two Curās within the fort, where they placed a pot of Ganges water on their heads and made them swear an oath to carry out faithfully the terms agreed on.[1]

About this time the *ḥażārīs*, or captains of artillery, had told Mitr Sen that they could not continue the defence. Mitr Sen sent a confidential secretary, Nath Mall, to reassure them. This Nath Mall was the son of Bhūkan Mall, who had been high in the service of Asad Khān, 'Ālamgir's *wazīr*. Instead of listening to his remonstrances, the artillerymen seized Nath Mall and made him over to their friends outside. He was brought before Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, and in his pen-box were found communications to Nekūsīyar from many of the nobles holding commands in the besieging force or offices round the Emperor's person. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān dissembled in this matter as much as possible but his bosom friend, Asad 'Alī Khān, a connection of the celebrated 'Alī Mardān Khān[2] was publicly disgraced. Among the letters found were some from Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah and Ẓafar Khān Roshan-ud-daulah.[3]

Others captured were Rūp Lāl and his companions, seven men in all, who had been sent to some of the besieging nobles in the hope of winning their adherence to Nekūsīyar's cause. Their captor was Khiẓr Khān, Pannī; Rūp Lāl was executed. Sayyad Fīrūz 'Alī Khān also made prisoners of Sulaimān Beg and six others. A large sum was offered by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān to anyone who would surrender the fort.[4]

1 Shiū Dās, 30*a*, Mḥd. Qāsim, 281, 286, 287.

2 For 'Alī Mardān Khān, *d.* 1067 H., 1656-7, see *Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, II, 795. He had four sons: one, Ibrahīm Khān, *d.* end of Ṣafar or early in Rabī' I., 1122 H. (1710), *id.*, I. 295. This man's son, Zabardast Khān, died in 1125 H. (1713). Asad 'Alī Khān, Jaulāq, had been employed by Ḥusain 'Alī Khān in the Dakhin, having been put in charge of *Ṣūbah* Barār after the defeat of Dā,ūd Khān, Pannī, *M-ul-u* I, 354.

3 Khāfī Khān, II, 836, 837. *Siwānih-i-Khiẓrī.*

4 Kām Rāj, *'Ibratnāmah*, 69*b*.

Shortly afterwards Mirzā Aṣghari, brother's son of Nekūsiyar,[1] tried to make his escape from the fort (22nd Ramaẓān 1131 H., 7th August, 1719), with the hope of reaching Rājah Jai Singh at Amber, or Chabelah Rām at Allahābād. He intended to come out on the side facing the river, but Manohar, Jāṭ, one of the garrison, sent notice to Curāman, Jāṭ, who commanded in that direction. From sunset Curāman took up his station near the river at the head of two hundred men. When Mirzā Aṣgharī, followed by twelve servants, made his appearance, he was forthwith seized and detained till the morning. At day-break he was taken before Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, who ordered him to be kept a prisoner in the custody of Muta'mad Khān. The money which he had brought out to bribe Curāman, was made over to that chief, together with an elephant.[2]

A plan was now devised to overcome Ṣafi Khān's reluctance to give in, and to induce him to abandon the struggle. A letter purporting to be from his brother, Islām Khān, then a prisoner at Dihlī, was prepared, and on it Quṭb-ul-mulk impressed the seal of Islām Khān. It urged Ṣafi Khān to resist no longer, but make over the fort and the pretender to Ghairat Khān. Ṣafi Khān sent this letter on to Ghairat Khān, expressing his willingness to surrender, if he were promised a pardon. Ghairat Khān hurried off to Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and obtained from him a written promise of pardon, attested by his seal and signature. Thereupon Ṣafi Khān came out of the fort and delivered up letters which he had received from many of the great nobles, instigating him to bring forward Nekūsiyar as a claimant for the throne. Among the rest was one bearing the private seal of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān himself. He was struck with amazement. On enquiring, he found that Mitr Sen at the time when he had access to the Nawāb's *darbār*, had prepared it and sent it to Ṣafi Khān.[3]

Section 5.—Surrender of Āgrah Fort and of Nekūsiyar.

At length on the 27th Ramaẓān 1131 H.[4] (12th August, 1719) the garrison surrendered. Ghairat Khān was sent in with a force to take possession, while Rājah Muḥkam Singh and Samandar Khān brought

[1] Kām Rāj, *'Ibratnāmah*, 69*b*, says it was the other son of Buland Akhtar, *viz.*, Fatḥ-ul-mubīn, who tried to escape.

[2] *Siyaqiḥ-i-Khiẓri*, Khāfī Khān II, 836, Kāmwar Khān, 207.

[3] *Siyāqiḥ-i-Khiẓri* of Khiẓr Khān, Pannī.

[4] It is the 29th Ramaẓān in Muḥammad Qāsim, 289, and so also in the *Tabṣirat-un-nāẓirīn*, year 1131 H., p. 129, where is to be found 'Abd-ul-jalīl's *qaṣīdah* in honour of the occasion. The poet was present on the spot.

out Nekūsīyar and his other nephew, Bābā Mughal.[1] At the gate of the fort the two princes were placed on elephants and escorted to the camp. A great crowd had assembled to see them, through which they passed with hanging heads, looking neither to the right nor to the left. As they dismounted, Ḥusain 'Alī Khān advanced to greet them and conducted them to the tent already allotted to Mirzā Aṣgharī. There they were made to sit on one carpet of honour (*masnad*), while the Bakhshī stood before them humbly, with folded hands. But Nekūsīyar, whose life had been passed in the harem, rose at once, and in the dialect used by women began to beg and pray for his life, accompanying his words by prostrations utterly opposed to usage. Anxious to maintain the usual decorum, the nawab took his hand, and remonstrating, said, "Let your mind be at rest, and count this place as your own. Until this time you were in the hands of infidels." Nekūsīyar uttered bitter complaints against those who had made use of him for their own purposes; and asked that some eunuch might be sent at once to allay the terror of his mother and the other women, by informing them of the kind reception he and his nephews had received. They were then furnished with carpets, pillows and other necessaries.[2]

Before the imperial soldiers could seize him, Mitr Sen had made an end of himself by plunging a dagger into his own breast. While still a little breath was left in the body, the soldiers, to prove their zeal, lifted it up and carried it into the presence of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. He ordered them to sever the head from the body and send it to Quṭb-ul-mulk. For three days the drums were beaten in honour of the victory, and in the end Nekūsīyar was sent to Dihlī to be placed with the other captive princes in Salīmgaṛh: he died there on the 6th Rajab 1135 H. (11th March, 1723) and was buried at the Quṭb.[3]

The next pressing work was to obtain possession of the hoards of treasure and other property. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān in person proceeded to the fort, where he placed Ḥaidar Qulī Khān in general charge, and Ghairat Khān was told off to search for treasure. Trusty men were placed as sentries at the gates and no one, whether belonging to the army or not, was allowed to pass without being strictly searched. Ancient treasurers and guards of 'Ālamgīr's time, who had long left the service, were summoned from their homes. By much urging and the offer

[1] Bābā Mughal is, I suppose, the same as the prince called Fatḥ-ul-mubīn by Kām Rāj, *'Ibratnāmah*, fol. 69*b*.

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 208, Shiū Dās 30*b*, Khāfī Khān, II, 836, Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 289.

[3] *Burhān-uṣ-ṣafā*, 167*b*, Kāmwar Khān, 208, Khāfī Khān, II, 837, *Tārīkh-i-Mḥdi*, year 1135, *Siwaniḥ-i-Khiẓrī*, p. 3.

of rewards they were induced to point out the underground storehouses. In one place thirty-five *lakhs* of *tankah* minted in the time of Sikandar Lodī (1488–1516) were recovered; and in another seventy-eight *lakhs* of Shāhjahān's silver coinage, with ten thousand gold coins of Akbar's reign. The papers of account were also recovered. These showed that the money had been placed by 'Ālamgīr in the custody of Shāistah Khān, Amīr-ul-umarā; but upon that emperor's death in the Dakhin, no further notice had been taken of these hoards. They were not discovered in Bahādur Shāh's or Jahāndār Shāh's time. In the wardroble was a shawl studded with jewels which had belonged to Nūr Jahān Begam, a sword used by the Emperor Jahāngīr, and the sheet sprinkled with pearls which Shāhjahān caused to be prepared for the tomb of Mumtāz Maḥal. One valuation puts the property at 1,80,00,000 rupees (£1,800,000), 1,40,00,000 rupees in cash and the rest in goods. Khāfī Khan puts it still higher, namely, at two to three *krors* of rupees (£2,000,000 to £3,000,000).[1]

Section 6.—The Emperor and Quṭb-ul-Mulk Start from Dihlī for Āgrah.

When news was received at Dihlī that Jai Singh had so far declared himself as to move out from Amber in the direction of Biānah and Āgrah, 'Abdullah Khān decided upon taking the field with the emperor in person. Accordingly the advance tents were sent out to Masjid-i-Moth, a distance of three kos, on the 26th Sha'bān 1131 H. (13th July, 1719). Sayyad Khān Jahan[2] was left in charge of the city and the palace. On the 28th the emperor visited the Quṭb and next day he marched to Khiẓrābād. After three more marches they reached Sikrī on the 8th Ramaẓān (24th July, 1719), and the rain being very heavy, a halt was made for two or three days. On the 19th Ramaẓān (4th August, 1719) they were between Karabkah and Korī; and here Rājah Ajīt Singh received permission to proceed to Mathurā to bathe in the Ganges. At the stage of Kosī, about thirty miles north-west of Mathurā, it was decided, from reasons of prudence, not to march straight towards Amber, but to keep more to the left and make for Fatḥpur Sikrī. One camp was at Kurāolī, eight kos from Āgrah; thence the *wazīr* and his brother moved to Fatḥpur, eight or nine miles farther to the west.[3]

[1] Mḥd. Qāsim, Lāhorī, 292, Shiū Dās, 306, Khāfī Khān, II, 837, *Siyāniḥ-i-Khiẓrī*, p. 3.

[2] Khān Jahān died on the 12th Shawwāl 1132 H. (16th August, 1720).

[3] Mḥd. Qāsim, 282, 283, Kāmwar Khān, 209, Khāfī Khān, II, 833, Kam Rāj, *Ibratnāmah*, 70a. Masjid-i-Moth, see *ante*, chapt. 4, Farrukhsiyar's reign. It

SECTION 7.—FURRAKHSIYAR'S WIDOW IS MADE OVER TO HER FATHER, AJIT SINGH.

At the time of setting out from Dihlī, Ajit Singh had been appointed to command the vanguard. Thereupon he commenced to make excuses, on the ground that if he left his daughter, Farrukhsiyar's widow, behind him, she would either poison herself or her name and fame would be assailed. Yielding to these pleas, 'Abdullah Khān made the lady over to her father. She performed a ceremony of purification in the Hindū fashion, and gave up her Mahomedan attire. Then, with all her property, estimated to exceed 1,00,00,000 rupees (£1,000,000) in value, she was sent off to her native country of Jodhpur. Great indignation was felt by the Mahomedans, especially by the more bigoted class of those learned in the law. The *qāẓī* issued a ruling that the giving back of a convert was entirely opposed to Mahomedan law. But, in spite of this opposition, 'Abdullah Khān insisted on conciliating Ajīt Singh, although on no previous occasion had a Rājput princess been restored to her own people after she had once entered the imperial harem.[1]

SECTION 8.—THE EMPEROR AND 'ABDULLAH KHĀN MARCH TOWARDS ĀGRAH.

When Ḥusain 'Alī Khān learnt that his brother had left the capital, a movement undertaken without his previous knowledge, he wrote an urgent remonstrance. He begged that no advance might be made into Rājah Jai Singh's country, for he had already taken all the precautions that were necessary. His *bakhshī*, Sayyad Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, with Mīr Mushrif and Ẓafar Khān, Ṭurrah-i-bāz, had been sent early in the rains to reduce a fort called Fatḥpur, held by Khāmā, Jāṭ. This force had now been directed to block the way to Rājah Jai Singh, and nothing more was required in that direction. 'Abdullah Khān might either encamp where he was, or come on to Āgrah.[2]

On the 27th Ramaẓān (12th August, 1719) a messenger brought word to 'Abdullah Khān that his brother had just obtained possession of Āgrah fort, and was then busied in appropriating its contents to his

lies about 5½ miles south of the Dihlī gate of the city, and on the road to the Qutb. Khiẓrābād lies east of Moth kī Masjid and nearer the Jamnah, see *ante*. For Kosī see Indian Atlas, sheet No. 49, and Thornton, 523; it is 29 m. N.W. of Mathurā, lat. 27° 48′, long. 77° 29′. Korī and Karahkat I cannot trace on the Indian Atlas. Lurāoli is on sheet No. 50, about 15 m. west of Āgrah.

1 *Siwāniḥ-i-Khiẓrī*, Khāfī Khān, II, 833.

2 Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 283.

own use. Although the victory was a cause of rejoicing, the thought of exclusion from his share of the booty depressed the *wazīr's* mind. An immediate advance was resolved upon. On the 29th Ramaẓān (14th August, 1719) the camp was at Sarsī, and on the 11th Shawwāl (26th August, 1719) at Ol, where Ajit Singh rejoined from Mathurā. On the 17th of that month they reached the village of Bidyāpur, not far from Fatḥpur Sikrī.[1]

On the 19th Shawwāl (4th September, 1719) a report was received that Ḥusain 'Alī Khān was near Kurāolī on his way from Āgrah with Nekūsīyar and the other captives. Next day he arrived, and one day after his arrival he was presented in audience. The quarrel which had broken out between the brothers over the booty taken at Āgrah, was here made up through the exertions of Rājah Ratn Cand. 'Abdullah Khān received twenty-one, or, as some say,[2] twenty-eight *lakhs* of rupees, a sum which was supposed to represent his half-share, after all the expenses of the campaign had been deducted. The sword of Jahāngīr and the shawl of Nūr Jahān were retained by the Emperor, but the rest of the booty was granted to the two brothers.[3]

Section 9.—Illness and Death of Rafī'-ud-daulah.

Rafī'-ud-daulah turned out to be as sickly and weakly as his brother and predecessor, being like him given to excess in the use of opium. On ascending the throne he gave up the habit, but the sudden abstinence produced diarrhœa. About the time that he started from Dihlī he fell seriously ill. Accusations of poison are freely made by some writers, notably by Kāmwar Khān: but this man's views on the subject can be readily accounted for. He had risen in the service of Rafī'-ush-shān, the father of this and the previous emperor, and naturally he expected much personal benefit from their coming to the throne. In this he was entirely disappointed. From fear of the Sayyads, the two princes had discouraged the applications of their own dependants, such as Kāmwar Khān, and by reason of their shortlived tenure of the throne such hopes of preferment were dashed to the

[1] Kāmwar Khān, 208. Sarsī I cannot trace; Ol is on the Indian Atlas, sheet 50, as Ou, about 27 m. N.W. of Āgrah and about 15 m. S.W. of Mathurā. Bidyāpur is not traceable on the Indian Atlas map; it was the birth-place of Khiẓr Khān, Pannī, the hero of the *Siyāniḥ-i-Khiẓrī* so often quoted. Through the kindness of Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, C.S., Commissioner of Agrah, I learn that it is opposite mile-stone No. 17 on the metalled road from Agrah to Fathpur Sikrī. For Kurāoli see *ante*; it is about 15 miles W. of Āgrah.

[2] The *Tārīkh-i-muẓaffarī* has 30 *lakhs* of rupees.

[3] Khāfi Khān, II, 837, *Siyāniḥ-i-Khiẓrī*, p. 4.

ground. Instigated by his sorrow for their early death and by regret at his own vanished prospects, is it to be wondered at that he lost his judgment, and too readily believed that his young masters had been made away with? He was ready to accept any assertion, however improbable it might be, about the two Sayyads. The only overt act he can adduce is the substitution of the physician, 'Ulwī Khān, for Mahdī-Qulī Khān, as head of the royal kitchen. Then in a later entry, 20th Shawwāl (4th September), he insists that the attack of diarrhœa from which the young emperor suffered, was due to the Sayyads' "cunning devices." Finally, on the 28th Shawwāl (12th September), when Masīḥ-uz-zamān, 'Abdullah Khān, and other physicians were called to the emperor's bedside, Kāmwar Khān can only say that "they took counsel for his departure." These vague accusations cannot for a moment be entertained. To refute them it is enough to remember how much the Sayyads were interested in keeping the prince alive, if they could. They could in no way benefit by such gratuitous iniquity as the poisoning of an inoffensive prince, with whom they had no quarrel, and from whom they could anticipate no injury. The truth is that Rafī'-ud-daulah was not only of a weak constitution, but was addicted to opium. This fact sufficiently accounts for his succumbing under an attack of the kind from which he was suffering, as that disease when once set up in an opium-eater is almost incurable. His death occurred in camp at Bidyāpur on the 4th or 5th Ẓū'l Qa'dah 1131 H. (17th or 18th September, 1719)[1] but the fact was concealed until the arrival from Dihlī of some other prince to be his successor. A week or more before his death the Sayyads' nephew, Ghulām 'Alī Khān, and other nobles had been despatched in all haste to Dihlī for that purpose.[2]

According to one author, various stories more or less absurd were in circulation about the early death of these two emperors. Some said that the Sayyads, having found the two youths devoid of learning, deficient in knowledge of men,[3] and wanting in valour, became convinced that they were useless as sovereigns, and had therefore removed them by poison. Again, others hinted that by reading the stars it was found that these princes were doomed to misfortune, and the Sayyads

1 Khūshḥāl Cand, Berlin Ms. 495, fol. 996*a*, says it was the 7th, and quotes the verse :—

Haftam ẓi Qā'dah az in kuhnah-dair
Kard sūe bāgh-i-khapān 'azam-i-sair.
"On the 7th of Ẓi Qa'dah from this old tavern
"For the silent grove he resolved to set out."

2 *Tārīkh-i-muẓaffarī*, p. 166.

3 *Qiyāfat-shināsī*, literally, "physiognomy."

were impelled to their removal by the fear of being themselves involved. Or, as some suggested, the Sayyads had resolved on killing out by degrees the whole of Taimūr's race. When the way was open, they meant to claim the throne for themselves, Quṭb-ul-mulk taking Hindūstān, and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, the Dakhin and Mālwah. The author in question sums up in favour of the third supposition, and blames the Sayyads for forgetting that :—

"He who chooses to leave the beaten path
"Will never reach his journey's end."[1]

Appendix (Rafī'-ud-daulah).

Length of reign.—Rafi'-ud-daulah reigned four months and sixteen days. As the month or year of his birth is nowhere stated in any first-class authority, we do not know his exact age. If he was eighteen months older than his brother, Rafi'-ud-darajāt, he must have been between twenty and twenty-one years old at the time of death.[2]

Title.—On his accession he received the title of Shāhjahān Ṣānī (the second), but his full style is nowhere given.

Coin.—There are nineteen of this emperor's coins in the three public collections before referred to; three of gold and sixteen of silver, all circular. Except one, all are dated, bearing the year 1131 H. These nineteen coins come from ten mints in eight out of the twenty-one provinces: coins from Kābul, Kashmīr, Multān, Ajmer, Audh, Allahābād, Mālwah, Orissah, and five out of the six Dakhin *ṣūbahs* are absent. The mints from which there are coins are Lāhor (2), Taṭṭhah (1), Shāhjahānābād (6), Barelī (2), Sūrat (1), Akbarābād (2), Islāmābād (1), Paṭnah (1), Murshidābād (2), Aurangābād (1). Taṭṭhah, strange to say, re-appears in the list of active mints after some interval. For the gold coins the weights are 167,168·5, and 169 grains respectively, and the diameters ·8, ·85, and ·9 of an inch. For the silver coins the weights are 172 grains (1), 173 (2), 174 (1), 174·5 (2), 175 (3), 176 (1), 177 (3), 178 (1), 179·3 (1), 180 (1); and the diameters, ·80 of an inch (2), ·81 (1), ·85 (1), ·86 (1), ·88 (1), ·90 (3), ·95 (5), 1·0 (1), 1·03 (1). The inscription as given by Rodgers, "Lahore Catalogue," 207, is *Sikkah-i-mubārik-i-Bādshāh-i-ghāzī Shāh Jahān.* I

[1] *Aḥwāl-i-khawāqīn*, fol. 172*a*.
Khilāf-i-mamarr kase rah guzīd
Kih hargiz ba manzil na khwāhad rasīd.

[2] The *Jām-i-Jam*, a non-contemporary work, makes him a *younger* brother, and gives his birthday as the 5th Ṣafar 1113 H. (11th July, 1701).

reject his seventh coin from Māhā Indarpur (*i.e.*, Bhartpur, see *id.* p. 264), as I believe it belongs to the other Shāhjahān of 1174 H. (also commonly called "Ṣānī," or the second). In 1131 H. Bhartpur had not become the chief place of the Jāṭs, nor was it then more than an obscure village, whereas in 1174 H. it was the capital of one of the chief partizans of the minister, 'Imād-ul-mulk, who in 1173 H. (December, 1759) had placed this third Shāhjahān upon the throne after the assassination of 'Ālamgīr II.

Family.—We do not know if Rafī'-ud-daulah was married, or if he was, who his wife was; nor do we hear of his having left any children. On the 13th Ẕū,l Qa'dah (21st September, 1719) his bier was sent to Dihlī, and he was buried beside his brother near the shrine of Quṭb-ud-dīn.

Chapter VII.

Muḥammad Shāh (1719-1748).

During the few days which elapsed between the death of Rafi'-ud-daulah and the arrival of his successor, the *Wazīr* and his brother made their usual daily visit to the imperial quarters and returned with robes of honour, as if newly conferred on them, thus deceiving the common people into the belief that the emperor was still alive.[1]

At length on the 11th Ẕū'l Qa'dah 1131 H. (24th September, 1719), Ghulām 'Alī Khān arrived in the camp at Bidyāpur, a village three kos to the north of Fatḥpur Sīkrī. He brought with him Prince Roshan Akhtar, the son of the late Khujistah Akhtar, Jahān Shāh, fourth son of the Emperor Bahādur Shāh.[2] The death of Rafī'-ud-daulah was now (26th September, 1719) made public, his bier brought out, and his body despatched for burial to Dihlī. Arrangements were at once made for the enthronement of his successor.[3]

This enthronement took place at Bidyāpur[4] on the 15th Zū,l Qa'dah 1131 H. (28th September, 1719) and Roshan Akhtar was proclaimed under

1 Shiū Dās, 32*b*. A newly-conferred *khila't* was worn for twenty-four hours, and nothing was allowed to be put on over it.

2 Rustam 'Alī, *Tārīkh-i-hindī*, fol. 237*a*, says the prince was brought from Dihlī in three days, travelling in a boat down the Jamnah.

3 Kāmwar Khān, 211; Khāfī Khān, II, 840.

4 From the tahsildar's report kindly obtained for me by Mr. Reynolds, as already stated, I find that there is a place Tājpur, four miles west of Bidyāpur. From the name, and the fact that the village is a perpetual *mu'āfi*, I infer that Tājpur may be the actual place of enthronement.

the titles of Abu,l Fatḥ,[1] Nāṣir-ud-dīn, Muḥammad Shāh, Bādshāh, Ghāzī. He was a handsome and, at that time, fairly intelligent young man, and having been born at Ghaznī on the 23rd Rabī' I 1114 H.[2] (16th August, 1702), was now in his eighteenth (lunar) year. Coin was issued and the *Khuṭbah* read in his name; and it was directed that the commencement of the reign should be antedated, and fixed from the removal of Farrukhsīyar from the throne. All other arrangements were continued as in the last two reigns, and no new appointments were made. All the persons surrounding the sovereign were as before the nominees of the two Sayyads, and Himmat Khān continued as before to act as tutor and guardian. Muḥammad Shāh deferred to him in everything, and asked of him permission to attend the public prayers on Friday or to go out shooting. On the march men in the confidence of the Sayyads surrounded the young emperor and prevented any access to him.[3]

Section 2.—Terms Made with Jai Singh.

It was now given out that the emperor, after worshipping at the tomb of Shekh Salīm, Cishtī, in Fathpur, would march on to Ajmer and visit the shrine of Mu'īn-ud-dīn Cishtī. The hidden motive was to overawe Rājah Jai Singh who, since the removal of Farrukhsīyar, had been at little pains to conceal his hostile intentions. He had received some aid in money from the Rānā of Udepur, as is shown by his letter to that prince's minister, dated the 4th Bhādoṇ Sambat 1776 (9th August, 1719), wherein he asserts that Niẓām-ul-mulk had started from Ujjain and Chabelah Rām had crossed the Jamnah at Kālpī, both of which statements were false.[4] When he learnt of the rising at Āgrah, he came out from his capital, Amber, with much ostentation. Following the Rajput custom when resolved on death or victory, he and his men had clothed themselves in saffron raiment and sprinkled their

1 *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī*, 166. But Ghulām 'Alī Khān, *Muqaddamah-i-Shāh 'Ālam-nāmah*, 45*a*, states that on the 3rd Jamādī II, 1134 H. (20th March, 1722), the style was changed from "Abu,l Fatḥ" to "Abu,l Muẓaffar."

2 The *Tārīkh-i-Muẓaffarī* has the 22nd Rabi' I, and Khushḥāl Cand, Berlin Ms. 495, fol. 995*a*, the 24th. The latter writer gives a chronogram of six lines, of which the last is:

"*Khudeo-i-gaihān-parwar*" (1114) *khudāe kard ījād.*

3 Kāmwar Khān, 213; Khūshḥāl Cand, Berlin Ms. No. 495, fol. 995*a* has, for date, "middle of Ẓu,l Qa'dah."

4 He was further encouraged in his hostility by Tahavvar Khān, Turānī, Ṣalābat Khān, the late *Mir Ātash*, Raḥmatullah Khān, and the other refugees from Dihli already referred to.

heads with green grass.[1] He announced publicly that he had bestowed the city of Amber on the Brahmans as a sacred gift (*dān* and *arthān*). He had marched as far as parganah Todah Tānk, about eighty miles south-west of Āgrah, and there waited to see which way events would turn. He was watched by a force under Sayyad Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, which barred his further advance northwards.[2]

Mahārājah Ajīt Singh had offered himself as mediator, but his leisurely procedure, protracted in the way usual to him and his fellow-rājahs, did not accord with the fiery temperament of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān It was with a view to bring this matter to a head that an advance from Fatḥpur Sikrī towards Ajmer was proposed. A few marches were made to places in the neighbourhood, but no real start was attempted. The camp was between Malikpur and Muminābad on the 24th Ẕū,l Qa'dah (7th October, 1719) and here Ḥusain 'Alī Khān came in from Fatḥpur to pay his respects. Another stage was travelled on the 26th (9th October).[3]

On the 1st Ẕū,l Ḥijjah (14th October, 1719) the emperor's mother, now styled Nawāb Qudsiyah, and other women of the harem, who had been sent for from Dihlī arrived in camp. The Begam had acted most warily, avoiding everything that could arouse the suspicions of the Sayyads. When the messengers of the Sayyads came to Dilhī to fetch her son, she bestowed on them, on the men who were to accompany him, and on all office-holders at Dihlī, the customary dresses of honour. But learning that this assumption of authority had displeased the Sayyads, she sent away all subsequent applicants. In the same manner, when she arrived in camp, she warned all persons who had any connection with her late husband, Jahān Shāh, to abstain from appearing on the road to greet or escort her. She studied the susceptibilities of the Sayyads in every particular. A sum of fifteen thousand rupees monthly was set apart for her expenses and those of the other women.[4]

1 I read *gyāhe*, "grass," in Muḥammad Qāsim, but Tod, I, 506, speaks of their wearing on such occasions the *maur* or bridal crown, which is probably much the same thing in other words—John Christian, "Behar Proverbs," p. 197, No. 426, tells us that the bridegroom's head-dress "is made of talipot leaves and in some places of date (palm) leaves." That it is sometimes actually made of *grass* may be inferred from W. Crooke's "Tribes and Castes of the N.-W. Provinces," Vol. II, p. 62, sixth line from foot.

2 Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 282, 297, Tod, "Annals," I, 380.

3 Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 294. There is a Malikpur about five miles east of Fatḥpur, Indian Atlas, Sheet 50; Muminābād, I am unable to trace.

4 Kāmwar Khān, 214, Khāfī Khān, II, 841.

As the negociations with Jai Singh were still in progress and no satisfactory terms could be arranged, Ajīt Singh, who was extremely anxious to return home, offered to visit Jai Singh in person on his way to Jodhpur. Accordingly he was dismissed to his home, and on the 2nd Ẕū,l Ḥijjah (15th October, 1719) the report came in that three days before (12th October), Jai Singh had quitted Todah on his return to Amber. The fugitive nobles, Tahavvar Khān, Ṣalābat Khān, and Rūḥullah Khān, were at his request pardoned and left with him unmolested. The great persuasive in his withdrawal was the large sum of money that he received. Some say the amount was as much as twenty lakhs of rupees. This money was paid to him on the plea that it was required to buy back Amber from the Brahmans. To the public it was announced as a gift on his marriage with the daughter of Ajīt Singh, to whom he had long been betrothed. As part of these negociations Rajah Jai Singh obtained the government of *Sarkār* Sorath (*Ṣūbah* Aḥmadābād). But the rest of Aḥmadābād remained under Ajīt Singh, with the addition of the whole of Ajmer. That rājah's formal appointment to the latter *ṣūbah* was announced on the 23rd Ẕū,l Ḥijjah (5th November, 1719.) In this way the country from a point sixty miles south of Dihlī to the shores of the ocean at Sūrat was in the hands of these two rājahs, very untrustworthy sentinels for the Mughals on this exposed frontier.[1]

Section 3.—The Emperor moves from Fatḥpur to Āgrah.

From the date of his arrival in camp, 11th Ẕū,l Qa'dah (24th September, 1719) until the 20th Ẕū,l Ḥijjah, Muḥammad Shāh had never moved far from Fatḥpur Sīkrī. He kept the *'Īd* festival (10th Ẕū,l Ḥijjah) in his tents at Fatḥpur, and visited the tomb of Shāh Salīm, Cishtī, at that place on the 14th of the same month. On the 20th he started for Āgrah, and three days later (5th November, 1719) he camped at Tālāb Kelā Nāth. On the 15th Muḥarram 1132 H. (27th November, 1719) quarters were taken up for a few days at the palace within the fort of Āgrah, but on the 2nd Ṣafar (14th December, 1719) the emperor returned to his tents at his former encampment. At this time Sayyad Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, *bakhshī* of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's army, was sent towards Jālesar and Sa'dābād in the *Dūābah* to punish the Jāṭs, who had lately carried off over one hundred of the imperial camels.[2]

[1] Kāmwar Khān, 214, 216, Khāfī Khān, II, 838, Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 297, Shiū Dās, 32*a*.

[2] Kāmwar Khān, 215, Muḥammad Qāsim, Lāhorī, 2nd recension, 402.

Section 4.—Campaign against Bondī.

As already mentioned,[1] there had been for several years a dispute between Budh Singh, Hāḍā, and his relation Bhīm Singh, about the country of Bondī in Rājputānah. Budh Singh who was in possession, had thrown in his lot with Farrukhsīyar and Rājah Jaī Singh, Sawāe. Bhīm Singh had sided with the minister and his brother. As a reward his restoration was now decided upon, Budh Singh having recently added to his former iniquities by himself assisting Girdhar Bahādur, the rebellious governor of Allahābād, and instigating Chatarsāl, Bundelah, to do the same. On the 5th Muḥarram 1132 H. (17th November, 1719) Bhīm Singh was sent on this enterprize and Dost Muḥammad Khān, Afghān,[2] of Mālwah was, at the rajah's request, given a high *manṣab* and placed under his orders. Sayyad Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, *bakhshī* of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's army, who had lately returned from his expedition against the Jāṭs, received orders to proceed to Bondī with a well-equipped force of fifteen thousand horsemen. Gaj Singh of Narwar was also ordered to join. In addition to the avowed object of their march, they carried with them secret instructions to remain on the borders of Mālwah until it was known whether their services might not be required in that direction. Bhīm Singh had been promised the title of Mahārajah and the rank 7,000, 7,000 horse, with the fish standard, if he took part in a successful campaign against Niẓām-ul-mulk in Mālwah.[3]

On the 3rd Rabī' II, 1132 H. (12th February, 1720) the report was received that Rāo Bhīm Singh and Dilāwar 'Alī Khān had fought a battle with the uncle of Rāo Budh Singh, in which their opponent was defeated and slain, along with five or six thousand of his clan.[4]

1 In the reign of Bahādur Shāh, 1707–1712, not yet printed.

2 Founder of the Bhopāl State. At this time he was on bad terms with Niẓām-ul-mulk, then *ṣūbahdār* of Mālwah.

3 Khāfī Khān, II, 844; Kāmwar Khān, 216; Khiẓr Khān, 41.

4 Khāfī Khān, II, 851; Kāmwar Khān, 218.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF HĀḌĀ RĀJAHS OF KOTAH AND BONDI.

(*Note A.* to Section 4, Chapter VII.)

AUTHORITIES.—Tod, II, 507, the *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī, the Ma,āṣir-ul-umarā*, II, 323 (Rām Singh), II, 113 (Surjan, Hāḍā), II, 141 (Rāo Bhoj), II, 208 (Rāo Ratn), II, 260 (Rāo Sattarsāl), II, 305 (Rāo Bhāo Singh), III, 453 (Mādhū Singh) III, 509 (Mukand Singh), *Tārīkh-i-tuḥfah-i-Rājastān*, by Mḥd'Ubaidullah (1889).

Surjan, Hāḍā.
Fourth in descent from Rāo Dewā,
founder of Bondī in 1341 A.D.

Rāo Bhoj,
[BONDI]
D. 1016 H., 1607-8.
Received Bondī from Akbar
in the 22nd year (1578 ?).

Rāo Ratn
D. 1630-1 at Bālāghāt in the Dakhin.

Gopīnath,
Predeceased his father.

Rāo Sattarsāl,
[BONDI]
Killed 1068 H. (1658)
at Samūgarh.

Rāo Bhāo Singh,
D.s.p. 1088 H.
(1677-8), Tod says
1681.

Bhagwant Singh,

Kishn Singh,
committed suicide
1088 H. (1677-8).

Eleven
other
sons.

I. Mādhū Singh
[KOTAH]
D. 1648.

II. Mukand Singh,
[KOTAH]
Killed S. 1715, 1658 A.D.
25th April.

III. Jagat Singh,
D.s.p. 25th year of
'Ālamgīr, 1681-2.

Mohan Singh,
[POLAITA]
Killed S. 1715,
1658 A.D.
25th April.

Jujārh Singh
[first of KOTRA
then of RAMGARH
RELAWEN]
Killed S. 1715,
1658 A.D.
25th April.

Kuni Rām
[KOELAH,
DIH, and
GOORAH]
Killed S. 1715,
1658 A.D.
25th April.

IV. Pem Singh,
deposed after six
months (1682).

V. Kishor (or Krishn)
Singh
[SANGOD]
Killed at Arkāt
S. 1745, 1688 A.D.

Anarudh Singh,
D. S. 1738 (1671 A.D.) in the Mogul service at Lāhor or Kābul. 'Ubaidullah, p. 304, says 1762 S. (1707).

Rāo Rājah Budh Singh, married to a sister of Jai Singh, Sawāe, in 1707. Lived long at Kābul with Shāh 'Ālam, Mḥd. Mu'azzam, who in 1707 made him Rāo Rājah, *mansab* 3,000. Ejected 1730, died in exile at Baigū, his 2nd wife's home, in 1739.

Usurper,
Dalel Singh of Karwar, son-in-law of Jai Singh, Sawāe, of Amber (Tod, II, 465). He died at Mathurā, 28th Feb. 1747.

Umed Singh,
son of Budh Singh, recovered Bondī, 1748, abdicated 1770, D. 15th August 1804.

Ajīt Singh,
The murderer of Rānā Ursi (1772) died, circa 1778.

Kishn (or Bishn) Singh,
succeeded as an infant, died 14th July 1821 of cholera, aged 48.

Rāo Rājah Rām Singh, Installed August 1821 at the age of eleven, alive in 1889.

Mahārājah Gopāl Singh, a few months younger.

Bishn Singh,
[deprived of the Rāj and given ANTAH as appanage.]

Pirthī Singh

X. Ajīt Singh
D. S. 1816, 1759 A.D.

XI. Chattar Sāl, adopted by Durj n Sāl, D. s.p shortly after 1761.

XII. Gumān Singh, D. 1770.

XIII. Umed Singh, D. November 1819.

XIV. Kishor Singh, (Aged 40 in 1819).

Bishn Singh, (37 in 1819).

Pirthī Singh, (under 30 in 1819, Killed 1st October 1821

VI. Rām Singh [KOTAH and MOMIDANAH]
Usurped Bondī,
Killed at Jājau
S. 1764, 18th June 1707.

Harnāth Singh.

VII. Bhīm Singh, [MOMIDANAH]
Killed S. 1777, 20th June 1720.

VIII. Arjun Singh, D. 1723.

Syām Singh, Killed Dec. 1723.

IX. Durjan Sāl D. s.p. S. 1813, 1756 A.D.

Gopāl Singh.

Some Kolarian riddles current among the Mundaris in Chota Nagpur, Bengal.—*By* Rev. Paul Wagner, *G.E.L. Mission, Purulia.*

[Read November 2nd, 1904.]

Since the time when Tickell first described the Ho dialect (J.A.S.B. 1840, Part II p. 997), the investigation into the Kolarian languages has made slow, but steady progress. The grammatical structure of some of the languages generally called "Kolarian" has been elaborated, as that of the Santali, Mundari and Asur languages. As the Kolarian languages were all unwritten the literature of course is very limited still. It consists in its greatest part of translations of the Bible, and the rest of it consists of tracts and some school-books. That certainly adds to a great extent to the knowledge of those languages, but much more has to be done yet.

It is astonishing how little these languages have been influenced by others. The Mundari language, for instance, is spoken now nearly as it was spoken centuries ago. The few foreign (Hindi and Bengali and a few other) words which are found here and there, are satisfactorily explained by the wanderings of this tribe. They came on their way into contact with other nations and adopted a few words and phrases and perhaps even some ideas from them. But on the whole that increase is very little, and when we hear a Mundari speaking to-day, we may be sure he speaks the language of his forefathers, and expresses his feelings and his ideas, as they did. One would certainly fail to understand these people, if one does not try to learn directly from them.

Most certainly they want education, and education alone can ensure that they are not absorbed by other natives. They have up to date kept separate from others and that shows that they have a right to exist, and so we have, when teaching them, at the same time to learn from them. Only thus they can develop, otherwise they will certainly degenerate. Who can deny that education very often has proved a curse instead of a blessing, and just in such measure as the teacher did not understand the pupil? The way of education is not the same for all, and education can further only if it leads to organic growth, if it develops: otherwise it will be a strange element and will only be a means of destroying the good which really exists; instead of a naturally grown plant, forced flowers will be produced, which have no long life and are destitute of the natural fragrance.

It is worth while to gather unwritten material; to bring such a contribution is the intention of the following pages.

On investigation I found amongst the Mundari-speaking people a great predilection for puzzling questions of their own. Most of them sound so strange that they can scarcely be understood without explanation. Some may have been accepted from other tribes, but those which seemed to me to be doubtful in their origin, have been excluded.

I give here a collection of 100, a number which could easily be doubled.

The horizon is very limited: the house, the field, the daily work, animals, plants, trees, the weather and the sky, that is nearly all they speak about; yet interesting, though sometimes very strange, are the comparisons they use.

1. *Question.*—Houkō parpīr, engā ṭeṭeyā ?
   Answer—Jō; jdaru.
   The children fly away, the mother remains ?
   The fruit; the tree.
2. *Q.*—Engāte dō lapuā, honte dō dagumā ?
   A.—Bengrā.
   The mother (is) weak, the child strong ?
   A bulbiferous plant; the withering herb being the weak mother, the bulk the strong child.
3. *Q.*—Merom dōë burumā (tōlakangiā), joṛā dōë atingā ?
   A.—Kakru.
   The lamb is lying down (has been tied), the string (scil. by which it has been tied), is ascending ?
   The cucumber.
4. *Q.*—Dubmō diṛṛā, disuming honortingtana ?
   A.—Kakru.
   Sit down, fat fellow, I go further to the country ?
   The cucumber (it is spoken to by the creeper.)
5. *Q.*—Sirmarē goṭkōā, otere udarkōā ?
   A.—Madukam.
   Above (*lit.* in heaven) flocks, beneath (*lit.* on earth) they gather them (as they gather the cows and sheep at noon and at sunset, to drive them home, in flocks) ?
   The flower of the Mahua tree.
6. *Q.*—Mayom dō sibilā, jilu dō haṛadā ?
   A.—Madukam.
   The blood is sweet, the flesh bitter ?
   The flower of the Mahua tree.

The blood is the juice, used in liquor-making.

7. *Q.*—Apu hon miyad nutum, ṭhemkā koṛā eṭa nutum ?

Father and son (have) one name, the grandson (has) another name ?

A.—Madukam ; ḍolā.

The Madukam tree and the flower (both have the same name: Madukam or Mahua (H)) ; the grandson is the fruit which is called ḍolā.

8. *Q.*—Soben jāti heṛeyanā, miyad jāti kā heṛeyana ?

All sorts (of fruits) have peels, one has no peels ?

A.—Ḍolā.

The fruit of the Mahua tree. The whole fruit is used in making bread.

9. *Q.*—Honkō do risāte risā, engā kō do silabolōtanā ?

The children have dishevelled hair, the mothers are smooth ?

A.—Jarā daru ; jarā jo'.

The jara tree and its thorn-covered fruit (used for dying purposes) The jara is growing very rapidly. The trunk has very short branches and the thorny fruits are hidden in the crown of the tree. The colour is used for thread-colouring and the juice as lubricating oil.

The question is also put thus: Engā sehel beheltan, hon dō risā ?

Sehel behel (sigil bigil) means smooth.

10. *Q.*—Risā simā jilu rebedgia ?

The flesh of a dishevelled cock (as in cock fight) is sticking to the teeth ?

A.—Mungā aṛā.

Munga-vegetable. The young leaves of the Munga tree are the pieces of flesh of the dishevelled cock ; it is difficult to clean the teeth after eating Munga vegetable, as the fibres are sitting fast in the teeth.

11. *Q.*—Riti piti sakamteā kaṛad lekā jō'teā ?

Very small leaves and a spinning wheel-iron as fruit.

A.—Mungā jō.

The long fruits of the Munga thin pods, are likened to the iron of a spinning wheel, holding the wool.

12. *Q.*—Chechā oṛarō bongā hon kō inungtanā?
A.—Jondṛā atā.

In a ruinous house are small evil spirits dancing?
Maize flour.
The Indian corn is roasted in a broken earthen-pot, filled with sand; when hot, the corns are jumping hither and thither. The evil spirits surround the men everywhere according to the belief of the Mundaris.

13. *Q.*—Jū, honkō, senope! Aing kucharuāṛenā?
A.—Lamā' chaṭā.

Go on, boys, I will curl serpent-like?
The splitting of the Lama-creeper.
In the month of Aghan (November-December) the fruit of the Lama-creeper splits asunder, by and by the fruit dries up and the seed is curling like a serpent.

14. *Q.*—Guli gāy kerātanæ, kunchi gāy ṭoṭokojæ?
A.—Janum jō.'

The fat cow roams, the cow with the head bent down rushes in?
Fruit of the Janum (thorn) tree.
The tempting round fruit invites, but the man who breaks the fruit will be pierced by the thorn.

15. *Q.*—Dud mundite charā,' ankri te bakoā?
Or, Duing, duingteng charā'liā, bankuteng bakuliā?
A.—Janum jō'.

On the round fruit is hair and it pricks with a thorn.
I am covered with small hairs, piercing with a hook.
Fruit of the thorn-tree.

16. *Q.*—Rājā rānikōā piṭi kam ōṭā daṛia?
A.—Haṭna jō'.

The king's and queen's baskets you cannot open?
The fruit of the Haṭna tree.
It is impossible to open the fruit, without an instrument.

"Rājā rānikōā" is often used to denote something peerless or fabulous.

17. *A.*—Rājā chetanrē ghasi dubakanāe ?
A Ghasi is sitting on a king ?

A.—Sōsō jō' (Bhelwā.)
The Sōsō (Bhelwā) fruit.
It consists of the lower red and the upper black part. Only the former is eaten. Black is a despised colour: therefore this part is thrown away. The red colour is that of usefulness and beauty.

Or:

Arā' haṛāā chetanrē dhichuā dubakanāe ?
On a red cow a quail is sitting; the uneatable black part thrown away being likened to the bird flying away.

18. *Q.*—Mā'tāe mindi sirmagi sangilā ?
A beheaded sheep looks towards heaven ?

A.—Naṛā.
Stubbles on the rice-field.

19. *Q.*—Miyad oṛe aprobrē jaromeā ?
A bird lays eggs under the wings ?

A.—Meral jō.'
The fruit of the Meral tree (which is hidden within the leaves of the branches.)

20. *Q.*—Sirmā (rē) diyuñ, ote (rē) korej ?
Hanging high (*lit.* in heaven), on earth the mouth full of water ?

A.—Jōjō; uli.
The tamarind (the sour taste); the mango (the sweet taste).

21. *Q.*—Jarkam turkam sāe ṭakā soāvā ?
Dirty, filthy, but 100 Rs. have room in it ?

A.—Kanṭaṛ; kōā.
The jack-tree; the flesh around the seeds.

22. *Q.*—Miyad koṛa dō goṭā hoṛmoē daṭakanā ?
A man covered with teeth over the whole body ?

A.—Kanṭaṛ; kōā.
The jack-fruit.

23.—*Q.*—Engā dō risā risā, hondō jurur jurur ?
The mother has dishevelled hair, the child is smooth ?

A.—Kanṭaṛ; kōā.
The jack-fruit.

24. *Q.*—Kavrā setā' poṭā isu sibilā ?
A.—Kanṭar ; kōā.

The speckled dog's intestines are very sweet ?
The jack-fruit.

25. *Q.*—Jiyam, lāe logor pogor ?
A.—Kanṭar ; kōā.

Grandson, thy stomach makes a noise, as if there was water in it ?
The jack-fruit.

26. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛō nakiē bahatadāe ?
A.—Koronjō jō'.

A man has combs in his hair, (*lit.* adorned his head with combs instead of flowers) ?
The fruit of the Karanj-oil-tree.
The oval shape of the fruit is that of the comb, used amongst the Mundaris, stuck in the hair.

27. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛō daṭā re guchuakana ?
A.—Jondṛā.

A man has hair on his teeth ? (*Lit.* a moustache.)
Indian corn.

28. *Q.*—"Kotemtanā, rese kondem? "
"Jategi, risuṛi."
A.—Kā'som. Jambur-bing.

"Where are you going, you curled one ?" "Anywhere you man, showing your teeth."
The jambur-snake.
The cotton-tree.
The cotton-tree is supposed to scold the snake, lying under it, speaking to it in an abusive manner. The snake returns the abuse by pointing to the open fruit of the cotton-tree, looking like one showing his teeth.

29. *Q.*—Pundite pundi ſgotkōā rang birang udarkōā ?
A.—Kā'som.

They are driving in white (sheep) flocks ?
The cotton (when the ripe fruit splits asunder and the cotton is blown far away, being gathered by the women and children).

30. *Q.*—Aṭāmatā birkō talārē saṅṛkō tolakajā ?
A.—Lusam.

In the dense forest bulls have been tied ?
The cocoons.

31. *Q.*—Gāe-hon jang, jang-hon chui ?
A.—Jarom ; simhon.

The young of a cow is a bone ; the young of the bone a calf ?
The egg ; the chicken.

32. *Q.*—Rāja rānikōā piṭi kam tiring daṛiyā ?

You cannot put the king's and the queen's baskets one on the other ?

A.—Jarom.

The egg.

Or thus: Rājā rānikōā poṭom kam tiring daṛiyā ?

Potom = the large rice-bales.

Or, Singbongā' potom kā tiringoa ?

Singbonga's rice-bales cannot be put one on the other. Singbonga, the highest power, the Sungod as the possessor of all non-plus-ultra power.

33. *Q.*—Kundam kundam hāthīpoṭā ?

In the places behind the houses (it is called "kundam") are thrown elephant-intestines ?

A.—Bor.

The rice-straw-rope for tying the rice bales (poṭom) which are thrown away. This is a sign of a rich landlord, as the poor people keep the "bor" from year to year. Therefore it is also said of a rich man :

Kundam kundam rē hāthipoṭā sōāōā ?

Elephant-intestines are decaying in the places behind the houses?

34. *Q.*—Hāthia lairē kuru duru ?

(There is) conversation (heard) within the elephant's stomach ?

A.—Oṛā.

The house.

Or, Hāthiā lairē mainākō chēṛē bērē ?

The myna birds are chirping in the elephant's stomach ?

A.—Hoṛokō.

The people (inside the house.)

35. *Q.*—Seneyarkō balad-bilid ? (palad-pilid ; palab-pilib.)

Bamboo sticks (are moved) up and down ?

A.—Chuṭuā chalom.

The tails of the mice.

"Seneyar" is the split bamboo, used in thatching. The tails of the mice, sporting in the straw of the roof are now seen and then disappearing.

Or thus :

Aṭāmaṭā birkō talārē suikō ugurtadā ?

In the dense forest needles are disappearing.

36. *Q.*—Hañ, huñ ghaṭi oṭā-

Ringing open bells are to be seen,

kete nelrē samromrā piti, enrē gohomrā lad menā ?
A.—Hurumsuku.

golden baskets and inside there is wheat-bread ?
The honey.

37. *Q.*—Miyad dariyārē marang kunṭa bidākanā, en kuntārā chetanrē oṛā bayākanā, enrē isu pura khurji dōākanā; khurji lō'ōā, oṛā kā lō'ōā ?
A.—Hukka.

In an ocean a big stump is stuck; on the top of it a house is built in which heaps of treasures are stored up; the treasure burns, but the house will not burn ?
The hubble-bubble.
The ocean is the lower part, the reservoir for water, generally a cocoanut. In the middle of it is the wooden tube, on the upper end of which the earthen top is put, containing the tobacco and charcoal.

38. *Q.*—Latarrēkō basangeā, chetanrē sengelkō tingeā ?
A.—Hukka.

Below they cook water, (but) the fire they put above ?
The hubble-bubble.

39. *Q.*—Chaṭu chaṭu tiringākanā ?
A.—Hukka.

Earthen pots are put one on the other ?
The hubble-bubble.

40. *Q.*—Duniyārē bar hoṛōge nidā singi senhorātanāking ?
A.—Singi; chandu.

In the world are two men walking all night and day ?
The sun and the moon.

41. *Q.*—Mid damra sunumte goṭā disum marsalākanā ?
A.—Singi.

The whole country is illuminated by a small oil-filled lamp ?
The sun.

42. *Q.*—Disumrē bariāgiā goeñṭa ?
A.—Singi, chandu.

There are two cow-dung flat cakes in the world ?
The sun and the moon.
This very strange comparison will be understood by those who have seen how the poor ones are gathering the cow-dung on the streets and in the fields forming it into round flat-cakes and pasting it to the walls of their houses to use them when dried as fuel.

43. *Q.*—Bariāge buṭakanā goṭā disum dabāōākanā ?
A.—Singi, chandu.

Two trees are spreading their branches over the whole world ?
The sun and the moon.
The all-pervading power of the light is compared with the shadow of the wide-spread branches of the trees.

44. *Q.*—Daruko ṭupung, rājkōṭang ?
A.—Setā.

The trees are being cut, the land (is resounding from) the noise (of the axe) ?
The dog.
The colour of the Pariah-dog is likened to the bark of a tree.
The short barking sound is the blow of the axe.

45. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛō'kōkō'sōṭāgi idibarayā ?
Instead of "kōkō' sōṭā" also is used "datrom" the sickle; or "karkad" the small stick, used as tooth-brush.
A.—Setā' chalom.

A man is strolling about with a crooked stick ?
The dog's tail.

46. *Q.*—Miyad delkā (dhelkā, dēlā, dhēlā) ēā puṭākanā ?
A.—Bō'.

A clod has seven holes ?
The head.

47. *Q.*—Miyad haṛā miyad bunumke jal biyuryadāe ?
A.—Bō'; naki.

A cow is licking (grazing on) the four sides of an ant-hill ?
The head; the comb (the grazing cow); [or also the razors are called thus].

48. *Q.*—Rō'tae sim kakrādae ?
A.—Taṛki (ṭaṭki).

A clucked hen is cackling ?
The wooden cow-bell.

49. *Q.*—Āyarrē datrom, talārē dhaki, tayomrē jouō' ?
A.—Haṛā.

In front a sickle, in the middle a basket, at the end a broom ?
The cow.
"Datrom" means as well the sickle-like horns as the sickle-like cutting of the grass with the teeth.

50. *Q.*—Miyad kuri apiā tōākanā ?

A woman has three nipples ?

A.—Chulā.

The cooking-place (with its three holes for the cooking vessels).

51. *Q.*—Bariā kuriking moyod tarkitoking tārkiakanā?

Two women are adorned with one necklace?

A.—Saũrsom.

A pair of tongs.

The two hands of the tongs are the two women and the join (the screw) in the middle is the necklace.

52. *Q.*—Gaṛā gaṛāte pundi hisir atuna?

In the rivers white hisir-necklaces are swimming?

A.—Hae mēd.

The eyes of the fish.

53. *Q.*—Nauā kiringākan kundam rēkō do'yā?

The newly-bought (things) they throw (into the pit) behind the house?

A.—Tarpat.

The ear-ring.

"Kundam," because the woman self cannot see the ring in the ear.

54. *Q.*—Hanar kimin miyad gandurēking dubakanā?

Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are sitting on one chair?

(This is not allowed, therefore mentioned as a very strange fact.)

A.—Uri diring.

The horns of the ox.

Also; Miyad gandurē bar horōking dubakana?

Two men are sitting on one chair?

55. *Q.*—Miyad kuṛi begar dumangte susuntanae?

A woman is dancing without the (sound of a) drum?

A.—Chapuā sipud kuṛi.

The woman treading the bellows of the blacksmith.

The rule is: nobody dances without the sound of the drum.

56. *Q.*—Bariā kuṛiking āyar tayōmking ugud lapātanā?

Two women are bending forward and backward to the ground (as in dancing)?

A.—Chapuā kunutid.

The two bamboo-sticks of the bellows.

At the end of two bamboo-sticks, dug in the ground, two strings are fastened to the bellows, two skin-covered round frames, standing on the earth. Each of the

two skin-covered frames, has a hole in the middle which is now covered and then uncovered by the treading women (or coolie).

57. *Q.*—Goyākan uri sāyadeā ?
Dead cows are sighing ?

A.—Chapuā.
The bellows (covered with cow-skin).

58. *Y.*—Miyad kulā bariā uri-king misāte oṭākingae ?
One tiger (the treading woman or coolie) is jumping on two cows (the skin-coverd frames) at one time ?

A.—Chapuā.
The bellows.

59. *Q.*—Bariā keṛaking a r aũra kedkingchi isuking saya-deā, aṛātekingchi kāking sayadea ?
Two oxen are sighing heavily when the yoke is put on them, but not when the yoke is taken off ?

A.—Chapuā.
The bellows.
"The yoke" means the string tied for the use of the bellows and untied afterwards.

60. *Q.*—Hende simdoe abarumā, pundi sim har uṛunga ?
A black hen is sitting and hatches a white hen ?

A.—nubā ; marsal.
Night ; day (*lit.* light).

61. *Q.*—Miyad chi'chi' cheñre goṭā disume marsaleae ?
A very small bird brings light to the whole country ?

A.—diyā.
The small oil-lamp.
When it dawns, the country is supposed to be awakened by the birds bringing, as it were, light in their beaks.

62. *Q.*—Mid gelā bābāte goṭā oṛā perējōā ?
By one rice-ear the whole house is filled ?

A.—diyā.
The oil-lamp.
This is an allusion to the story told about Singbonga. When coming to the earth in the disguise of a youth, he was ordered to take care of the rice ; but he allowed the fowls to pick up the rice, and when scolded, he took one rice-corn by which in a

miraculous way all the earthen vessels and the whole house were filled. (Cp. the similar story told about Krishna.)

63. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛō janmo hulange terā gōjō hulange sama hoṛmoe duṛuma ?
A man is sleeping naked from his birthday to his death ?

A.—Sirā.
The wick in the oil-lamp.

64. *Q.*—Mod hoṛo kōsā'samange nelurumōāe, kōsā'doyā do ka ?
The face of a man can be seen, but not his back ?

A.—Lijā.
The cloth.

65. *Q.*—Kubā ōsarrā sondrō isu sibilā ?
The pus of a crooked (bent-down) cow is very sweet ?

A.—Kadal.
The plantain.

Or :

Kubā osarrā tōā (the milk) isu sibilā ?
The comparison of the hanging cluster of the plantain tree to an abscess is very strange.

66. *Q.*—Chechā haṭā' ding dang ?
Broken bamboo-shovels are moving hither and thither with a sound ?

A.—Kadalrā sakam.
The leaves of the plaintain.

67. *Q.*—Kubi gundiā hatang isu sibila ?
The brain of the bowing *lit.* (crooked) plough cow is very sweet ?

A.—Kadal.
The plantain.
"Gundi" also is the same as "holong" = the flour. This mixed with cow or sheep's brain is a favourite dish of the Mundaries.

68. *Q.*—Chetanrē aṛkatā, bitarrē sauri, chilka ṭekāṛā ?
Beams above and straw underneath, how can that be (scil. in the roof of a house) ?

A.—Gungu.
The leaf-cover.
By this cover worn in the rainy season when at work, people are covered altogether, having only their hands free to work.

The cover is almost water-tight, the leaves being fastened together and above sewn together with small sticks, in the above question compared to the beams of a roof.

69. *Q.*—Moṛe hageyākō miyad cheped latārēkō misāte bōlōā ?
Five brothers are entering at one time a flat hollow ?

A.—Sarsarkō.
The fingers (at meal-time).

70. *Q.*—Moṛe hoṛōtekō sī'ya, gel hoṛōtekō karayā ?
They are ploughing with five men, but harrowing with ten ?

A.—Karkad.
The cleaning of the mouth in the morning.

The "tooth-brush," generally a branch of the Sakua-tree, is first used for cleansing the teeth ; after it is well chewed at both ends, it is broken in two places and the "harrowing" (the cleansing of the tongue) begins. While the former is done with one hand, both hands are necessary for the latter.

71. *Q.*—Atom atomte dōē janggiā, talārē dōē jilugiā ?
On the sides are the bones, the flesh inside ?

A.—Pārkom.
The bedstead.

The bones are the wooden frame, the flesh is the man, resting on the bed.

72. *Q.*—Miyad oṛārē kirki menā ; en kirkirē oṛā paromōtanā, batikam oṛāren hoṛōkō en kirkirē kākō paromdariya ?
In a house is a window; the (whole) house goes through the window ; but the inmates of the house cannot pass through the window ?

A.—Dā' ; jāl ; hae.
The water; the fisher-net; the fishes.

73. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛō dō garā garāte rā' berayā ?
A man is going on crying in the rivers ?

A.—Chand.
The bamboo-weel for catching fish.

Or:

Miyad sandi haṛā garā garāte huñkar argu huñkār rakabeyā?

A male buffalo in the water is ascending with roar and descending with roar?

74. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛō jang, jilumayom banōā, batikam goṭā disume honorā?

A man has neither bones, nor flesh, nor blood; still he is wandering through the whole country?

A.—Sengel.

The fire.

75. *Q.*—Jaṭā kanted dōē jomeā, holong lopongāe baharōā?

He is eating branches and leaves, and flour and powder is all what is left?

A.—Sengel.

The fire.

76. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛō goṭā disumra khurji jom chabairēō kāe biyuā?

A man is not satisfied even after having eaten up all the riches of the whole country?

A.—Sengel.

The fire.

77. *Q.*—Gō'taniā kaṭā kā nelōā, gō'kaiñ murdārā upun kaṭā nelōā?

The bearer's feet are not seen, but four of the corpse he takes away?

A.—Bing; choke.

The snake; the frog.

The snake killed a frog and took it away.

Sometimes is added: Nenelniyā bō' banōā.

The onlooker (katkom = cancer) has no head.

78. *Q.*—Chinam aingkem nelinga? Ingā alang senōā, amā jiluing jomeā?

Do you see me? When my tongue will go, I will eat all your flesh?

A.—Bing.

The snake.

79. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛō bururē higi higi kumbāe bayākadā?

A man has built his huts in hill-holes?

A.—Dardēgā-bing.

The mountain snake.

The 'huts' are understood to mean such watching huts of the most simple manufacture, built in the fields to watch the crops.

80. *Q.*—Miyad dundu-bing bariā bō'akanā?

A Dundu snake has two heads?

A.—Jaṭi (paṭi[ya]).

The grass mat.

It is plaited in single, long, narrow pieces which afterwards are sewn together with grass. The

two heads are the ends turned over, to avoid unravelling.

81. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛō doyāsā'rē datākanā ?
A.—Jaṭi (paṭi[ya]).

A man has teeth on his back ?

The grass-mat. The mats in common use are of very rough make, only the surface is looking smooth.

82. Q.—Miyad hāthi duarrē goṭā hoṛmōē paromjanā, batikam cha'lomrē ṭēkedjanā ?

A.—Riṅṛiṅ.

An elephant has passed with his whole body through the door, but his tail has been caught ? (*lit.* 'but he has been stopped on the tail.)

The debt.

Debts are not finished, that is the meaning, until the last farthing has been returned.

83. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛō senō dōē daṛiyā, hiju do kāe daṛiya ?
A.—Sār (*ṭuṭṭi*) ; kaji.

A man can go out, but he cannot return ?

The arrow ; the word.

84. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛō piṛi rē dōē biakangiā orārē dōē chepa'-kangiā ?
A.—ā'sār.

A man is satisfied when abroad, but hungry (*lit.* flat) when at home ?

The bow.

85. *Q.*—Ni senōāe, ni nā'dō hijulenāe ?
A.—Mēd.

Now he is going away far off, now he returned ?

The eye (seeing both things near and far away).

86. *Q.*—Pragaṭ nelōtankō āyar-jomtanāko, pragaṭ kā nelō-tankō jaromtanā ?
A.—Lutur menōtankō ; lutur banōtankō.

The visible ones are begetting children ; the invisible ones lay eggs ?

Beings with ears, beings without ears.

87. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛōe isu purā kaklakā', oṛārē dō mandi-mandite kepad bōlōāe?
A.—Hake.
Or also :
Senōredōe hape hapete senōāe, piṛirē dōe kaklākā'?

A man makes great noise (in the forest), but entering home, he is silent?

The axe.

When going he is quite silent, but making great noise in the open field ?

88. *Q.*—Rājā rānikōā charim chatayā ?
Can you split the king's or the queen's thin bamboo ?
"Chari" is the small thin bamboo-stick [or any other small stick], used in fastening the leaves, representing the plates for keeping rice or other food.

A.—Ub.
The hair.

89. *Q.*—Jiyam, tikita aṛā'm ud daṛiyā ?
Grandson, can you eat the roasted vegetable ?

A.—Ub.
The hair.
"Roasted" because of the black colour of the hair.

90. *Q.*—Hende tonangrē haṛā-kō tōlākanā ?
In a black forest buffaloes have been tied ?

A.—Ubrē sikriṅkō.
The lice in the hair.

91. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛō dō setā'rē "dolabu, aba, jilugedte" meneyā ?
A man says in the morning : "Go on, father, to chop the flesh" (as it is done at the time of a dinner when guests have been invited).

A.—Painā.
The ploughman's stick (the iron head of which wounds the ox severely).

92. *Q.*—Miyad hoṛō setā'rē unumae, tikinenange oṛongōā ?
A man bathes in the morning, and comes out (of the water) at noon ?

A.—Nayal.
The plough.

93. *Q.*—Chinam nelingā ? Emadmēaing ?
Why do you look at me (*i.e.*, with an angry look) ? Have I not given you something ?

A.—Diri ; delkā.
The stone ; clod.
The stone (clod), lying on the ricefield is supposed to speak to the ploughman. The thing it has supplied to the ploughman is its knock.

94. *Q.*—Jargi hetēteyod miyadge kaṭatiya ?
The waterbird in the rainy season has only one foot ?

A.—Chatom.
The bamboo umbrella.
The man holding it in his hands,

is covered almost by it; and he standing under it, is called the one foot of the umbrella.

95. *Q.*—Mid puru jondṛā atām lekayā?
A.—Ipilkō.
Can you count the flour of Indian corn in a leaf-bowl?
The stars.

96. *Q.*—Rōṛ darute, dā'setengōā?
A.—Kulu (kulhu).
Water comes out of a withered tree?
The oil-press.

97. *Q.*—Pundi diri tā' te iditukaingme, enteng ainging sēnōā?
A.—Jomeā.
Bring me to the white stones (the teeth), then I will go (alone)?
The food.

98. *Q.*—Miyad undute pandubing bolōtanāē?
A.—Denki (dhenki).
A cobra is disappearing in a hole?
The rice-tamping-iron (beam).

99. *Q.*—Pundi otōre hende bābāko hereyā?
A.—Onol.
On a white field black rice is sown?
Writing.

100. *Q.*—"Eā, jilu?"
"Chiā, jang?"
"Dolā, nirālang."
"Okōe hijutana?"
"Arē mukā pandubing hijutanāe."
"Okoe kajitana?"
"Mahañ goējan hoṛōe-kajitana."
A. Choke; diri (delka).
Halloh, flesh!
What is it, bone?
Come on, we will run away.
Who is coming then?
A cobra is coming, nine hands long.
Who says that?
The man who died last year, says it.
The frog; the stone (clod).
(Or also the "flesh"=the clod; and the "bone"=the stubbles on the field).

Both have a conversation together. Until the time of preparing the field comes near, both frog and clod were the masters of the field. Then the stone (clod) says to the frog: "Halloh, flesh," and it is answering with the question: "What is it, bone?" And then the former

explains the approaching danger: A cobra, nine hands long (the man) is coming. The nine hands are the upper and lower arms, the upper and lower legs and the whole body, reckoned as one. The stone (clod) has received reliable information from the man who died last year. This man is the rain which has stopped a long time, since last year. Now clouds are seen, the work will begin again, but clod and frog have to run away.

The Hierarchy of the Dalai Lama (1406-1745).—*By Rai* SARAT CHANDRA DAS *Bahadur*, C.I.E.

The reformed Buddhist Church called *Shwa-ser*[1] the school of yellow-cap Lamas, founded by Tsongkhapa acquired such a celebrity within a few years of its birth that in the year 1406 Yûnglo, the third Emperor of the Tā Ming dynasty, sent an invitation to the great reformer to visit Peking. Finding his time fully necessary for scriptural as well as monastic reformation, Tsongkhapa was unable to comply with Yûnglo's wish. He, however, sent his principal disciple to enlighten the devout monarch in the mysteries of Lamaism as developed in the reformed school, in the following year.

On his arrival at Pekıng, Çākya Yeçes[2] found the Emperor suffering from a serious illness. He performed several religious ceremonies, which were believed to have effected a speedy recovery. Under his direction a huge image of Maitreya, the coming Buddha, called Cham-chen,[3] was constructed and placed in the monastery of Yûng-ho-kung * founded by Yûng-lo himself. Çākya Yeçes was appointed high priest of this monastery and given the title of Chamchen Choije.[4] He founded the great monastery of Hwang-sze or Yellow Temple in one of the imperial gardens situated to the north of Peking.† On his return journey to Tibet he took the circuitous Mongolian route and paid a visit to his tutor and chief Tsongkhapa, making large presents to him. Shortly, after his return to Lhasa, in the year 1418, he founded the great monastery of Sera Theg cheling[5] with the wealth which he had amassed during his residence in the capital of China. Sera, in time, rose to great distinction and was resorted to by Lamas as a seat of learning. It now contains 5,500 monks and is second only to Dapûng[6] in rank.

* This monastery is now presided over by an incarnate Lama and contains about 1,000 monks, mostly, Mongolians. I visited it several times during my residence in Peking, in 1885.

† During my residence in Peking I was accommodated in this monastery as the guest of Kusho Kudub-pa, agent of the grand Lama of Lhasa. It contains the marble tomb of great artistic workmanship and beauty erected by Emperor Kuenlong in honour of the *Tashi Lama* Paldan Yeçes, Warren Hasting's friend, who died of smallpox in Peking.

[1] ཞྭ་སེར་ [2] ཤཱཀྱ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ [3] བྱམས་ཆེན་

[4] བྱམས་ཆེན་ཆོས་རྗེ་ [5] སེ་ར་ཐེག་ཆེ་གླིང་ [6] འབྲས་སྤུངས་

In 1408, shortly after establishing the grand annual congregational assembly called *Monlam chenpo*[1] at Lhasa, Tsoñgkhapa founded the great monastery of Gahdan[2] with 3,300 monks at a place some 20 miles to the East of Lhasa, and presided over it as the minister of the reformed Church till his death. He laid down the rule that his successors in the ministerial chair of Gahdan should be elected from among the most pious and learned of the brotherhood irrespective of their position in birth. Constitutionally, therefore, the Gahdan Thipa[3] became as his successor in the ministry, the hierarch of the Yellow-cap Church.*

From that time Gahdan became the chief seat of the reformed Church, the monks of which put on the yellow-cap to distinguish themselves from the followers of the older sects who generally wore the red-cap[4] (*shwa-mar*) and were, therefore, called Shwa-ser Ge-lugs-pa,[5] *i.e.*, the order of which the religious badge was the yellow-cap. They were also called *Gahdan-pa* from the name of their monastery.

In 1415, one of Tsongkhapa's disciples named Jam-yang Choije[6] founded Dapûng now the premier monastery of Tibet with 7,700 monks under the patronage of Namkha Zangpo,[7] the then ruler of Tibet. In the year of the foundation of the monastery of Sera, the great reformer, whose real name was Lozang Tagpa[8] but who is better known as *Tsongkhapa* from the name of his birthplace *Tsongkha* (onion bank), in Amdo, passed away from mundane existence.

In 1446, Gadûn dûb[9] one of the later disciples of Tsogkhapa founded the grand monastery of Tashilhûnpo[10] in Tsang. The establishment of these four great monasteries,—first Gahdan, then Dapûng and Sera, and, lastly, Tashilhûnpo,—which have played such an important part in the political administration of the country, made

* In the recent negotiations with the British Government at Lhasa the Regent who signed the Treaty with Colonel Younghusband, was Gahdan T'hipa (incorrectly named as Te-lama) in whose hands the Dalai Lama, at the time of his flight from Lhasa, had left the keys of the palace of Potala.

[1] སྨོན་ལམ་ཆེན་པོ literally, the great prayer meeting. [2] དགའ་ལྡན

[3] ཁྲི chair, པ one of, *i.e.*, chairman. [4] ཞྭ་དམར

ཞྭ་སེར་དགེ་ལུགས་པ [6] འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཆོས་རྗེ [7] ནམ་མཁའ་བཟང་པོ

[8] ཚོང་ཁ་བཟང་གྲགས་པ [9] དགེ་འདུན་གྲུབ [10] བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་པོ

the provinces of Ûi and Tsang the headquarters of the Yellow Church. On account of his profound learning and holiness, though of humble and obscure parentage, Gadûndûb was regarded as a saint. He himself never pretended to have been of saintly origin, but people believed that he must have possessed in him the spirit of *Bodhisattva* Avalokiteçvara—the guardian saint of Tibet. About three years after Gadûndûb's death the possibility of the reappearance of the spirits of deceased Lamas for the first time dawned in the minds of the members of the reformed Church. The monks of Dapûng over which Gadûndûb had latterly presided thought that the spirit of one who had loved his country and all living beings so much could hardly have become freed from his longings, to work for them even when he had passed out of his mortal tenements. They, therefore, sent emissaries to the different places which the Lama had visited during his lifetime, to inquire if there was born, seven weeks after his demise, any child in whom could be traced the signs of its indicating any incidents of Gadûndûb's life. They also consulted their tutelary deities for guidance in the right identification of Gadûndûb's spirit should it have re-appeared in any child.

At last, a child was discovered at Tanag born in the family of Sreg-ton Darma, who had settled in Tsang from Lower Kham. It revealed some signs of having been the re-embodiment of the Lama's spirit and successfully claimed as his own certain articles for which Gadûndûb used to evince much liking and which were kept mixed up with other people's properties. This fortunate child was removed to Tashilhûnpo for religious and monastic education. His father, who was a lay *Tantrik* priest of the Ñiñ-ma sect, instructed him in the *Tantrik* cult. When twelve years old he took the vows of an *Upāsaka* (lay devotee) from Panchen Lûngrig Gya-tsho of Tashilhûnpo; after which he was admitted into monkhood by the abbot of Ne-ñiñ.[2] When he passed all the examinations in the sacred scriptures he was elevated to the highest rank in the order of monkhood, after being given the name of Gadûn gya-tsho[1] and placed on the high priest's chair in 1511. He ably presided over the monastery of Tashilhûnpo for a period of five years. He received instruction in the Buddhist scriptures and metaphysics from such eminent scholars as Ye-çes zang, hierarch of Gahdan, Yontan Gya-tsho of Tsang and Panchen yeçes tse of Tashilhûnpo. He founded the monastery of Choikhor Gyal in the plain of Metog thang in 1508. In the 43rd year of his age, in the year 1516, he was appointed to the

[1] དགེ་འདུན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ [2] གནས་རྙིང་དགོན་པ

abbotship of Dapûng where he was better known by the title of Dapûng *Talku*[1] or *Avatār*. In later times this *Avatār*, in his successive incarnations, received the titles of *Gyal-wa Rinphché*, *Gyalwai Wangpo*, *Talé Lama*, *etc.*

With him, in fact, originated the institution of incarnations in Tibet which was but little known before and which since then has become general all over Tibet and Mongolia.

In the 52nd year of his age the Lamas of Sera elected him as their high priest, which office he held till his death in 1541. Since Kyisho, the district of which Lhasa is the chief town, had passed under the ruler of Tsang named Rinchen Pûng-pa, for a period of nineteen years, the Lamas of Sangphu and Karma sects presided over the annual prayer assembly of Lhasa called the Monlam Chenpo. Under the auspices of Gadûn Gya-tsho the Lamas of Sera and Dapûng regained their lost authority over the grand institution. Gadûn wrote several works on the different branches of the sacred literature. At the age of 68, in the year called *Water-tiger*, he departed from this life.

His spirit was discovered in a lad of four years born in the family of Ma Rinchen Chog[2] at Toilûng[3] in the year 1546. When this boy was ten years old the Lamas of Dapûng placed him on the chair of their high priest under the title of Sonam Gya-tsho.[4] Formerly, when the Tartar Emperor Khublai Khan made rich presents to his spiritual tutor Lama Phag-pa,[5] the latter had predicted that in time to come he would reappear on this earth as a Lama bearing the name—"Ocean," which in Mongolian was called Tālé—*Dalai*, while the Emperor himself would reign as a king of the name *Altan* signifying gold—in Mongolian.

Altan, the powerful Khan who ruled over Thumed Mongolia, being told by an astrologer that in a former life he was the great Khan of China, wished to know what became of the spirit of the Lama who had exercised so much influence over Emperor Khublai. Being informed that he too was reborn in the person of Sonam Gya-tsho, the incarnate Lama of Dapûng, the monarch sent his general Tashi Rabdan to bring him to Mongolia.

In 1557, Sonam Gya-tsho became High Priest of Sera. Being in charge of both Sera and Dapûng, he exercised great influence at Lhasa. In 1563, he took the final vows of monkhood. In 1573, he founded

[1] འབྲས་སྤུངས་སྤྱལ་སྐུ [2] མ་རིན་ཆེན་མཆོག [3] སྟོད་ལུང

[4] བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ [5] ཕྗགས་པ

the monastery of Namgyal Ta-tshang[1] on Potala, but the *Shwa-mar* (red-cap) Lamas whose power was again ascendant under the auspices of the ruler of Tsang, dispossessed him of this institution, converting it at the same time to a monastery of their own school. In 1574, the Tsang army under Rinchen Pûng-pa invaded Ü[2] and after subjugating it, withdrew to Tsang. About this time, the messenger of Altan Khan arrived and Sonam Gya-tsho was but too glad to accept the invitation for the purpose of converting the Mongolians to his creed. He set out on his journey to Mongolia in the company of the Khan's messenger, but owing to the numerous invitations he received on the way from the various chiefs and nobles of Tibet and who importuned him for his blessings, his journey was retarded. Tashi Rabdan, therefore, parted company with him at Radeng[3] and proceeded to Mongolia, in advance of the Lama. Being informed that the incarnate Phagpa was coming, Altan Khan deputed three of his generals to welcome him. While passing through Arig-thang, Ñan-tsho and upper Mongolia, the Lama received the deputations which brought the tidings of the welcome that would be accorded him by the Khan. Altan himself advanced up to Tshab-cha, at the source of the Hoangho, a place situated to the South East of Lake Kokonor. At the first meeting the Khan addressed the Lama by the title—Talé Lama *Vajradhara*,[4] *Talé* being the Mongolian equivalent of *Gya-tsho*[5] which signifies "Ocean." But the Lama's real name was Sonam Gya-tsho which signified "The ocean of merit." Thus originated the name Dalai (from *Talé*) Lama by which the Buddhist hierarchs of the line of Gadûn-dûb came to be known in Mongolia, China and Tibet. From that time *Gya-tsho* became a necessary and inseparable part of the name of Gadûn-dûb's successors. The Mongolians readily embraced Buddhism and became devout followers of the Yellow-cap Church. With a view to commemorate his visit to Mongolia, Sonam Gya-tsho, under the auspices of the Khan, founded the monastery of Choikhorling[6] in the Mongol capital. About this time the monastery of Kumbum* was founded at the birth place of Tsoñgkhapa in Amdo.

On his return journey Sonam Gya-tsho visited Khukukhukto[7]

* ཀུམ་བུམ Kumbum, it may be remembered, was visited by Abbe Huc and Gabet and later on by Mr. W. W. Rockhill.

[1] རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྲྭ་ཚང [2] དབུས [3] རྡ་སྤྲེད

[4] རྡོ་རྗེ་འཆང the holder of the unchangeable state, *i.e.*, *Nirvāṇa* [5] རྒྱ་མཚོ་

[6] ཆོས་འཁོར་གླིང [7] མགོན་སྤྱོན་པོ in Tibetan.

Lithang, Chamdo, Kham, Lithang, Apo, Chakhyungtag, Ngan-tig Jomokhan, Chambabomling, &c., thus propagating the Buddhist faith in Mongolia and the border lands of Tibet. Having been worshipped by all classes of people—from the Khans of Mongolia down to the barbarians of Ulterior Tibet, he returned to Tibet, full of glory. He died in 1587. The spirit of Sonam Gya-tsho was discovered in Mongolia, the favourite place of his sojourn, in the family of Sumi Thaiji, a direct descendant of Jenghis Khan, the great Tartar conqueror. The child was named Yontan Gya-tsho[1] the 'ocean of good quality.' This happy incident made the Mongolians firmly attached to the Yellow Church. They kept him in their country till the 15th year of his age. The authorities of Dapûng, fearing lest the morals of their incarnate Lama might get stained by his continued residence in a country where chastity in the fair sex was unknown, brought him to Tibet at the budding of his youth. They gave him a good religious education before entrusting him with the duties of the high-priest of their monastery. About the time of Sonam Gya-tsho, the Kalmuk Tartars of Khalkha had set up a third hierarch of the Yellow-cap sect under the name of Je-tsun-Dampa[2] at Urga—the city of tents. A question arose as to the relative position, in spiritual rank, of the high priest of the Mongolian monastery of Gahdan and the Khalka hierarch. The Tartars of the upper and lower Mongolia were about to go to war for its solution.

In 1605, the young chief of the Œleuth Mongols effected reconciliation between the Kalmuks and his own tribe who had been quarrelling for some time on the question of precedence between Gahdan and Urga. For this service the Emperor of China conferred on him the Buddhist title of Tā Kau-sri, from which circumstance he became known by the name of Gushi Khan.

In the year 1609, the armies of Tsang again invaded Ü, but encountering much opposition they were forced to withdraw from there. In 1611, Phun-tshog Namgyal[3] who patronized the *Shwa-mar* (red-cap) Lamas, became the supreme ruler of Tibet. In the beginning of the 17th century the province of Tsang came to prominence on account of the power of its *Deba* or chief. He belonged to the Karmapa hierarchy known by the name of *Shwa-mar* which had its headquarters at Tshorpu and Ralûng. With a view to put to shade Tashilhûnpo they erected a large monastery in its immediate vicinity.

In the year 1615, Yontan Gya-tsho died, an event which was followed by the seige of the monasteries of Sera and Dapûng by the armies

[1] ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ [2] རྗེ་བཙུན་དམ་པ [3] ཕུན་ཚོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ

of the *Deba* of Tsang in which several thousand yellow-cap Lamas were killed. The news of this disaster to the Yellow Church enraged the Œleuth Mongols, whose general marched with a large army to Tibet and fought a fierce battle with the Tsang army at Kyang-thang-gang, and killed several thousand Tibetans. In 1620, the Mongolians retired after restoring the lost territorial endowments of the Yellow Church to the monasteries of Sera, Dapûng and Gahdan. About this time Sera and Dapûng were presided over by the grand Lama of Tashilhûnpo. In 1621, the boy Lozang Gya-tsho,[1] in whom the spirit of Yontan Gya-tsho had passed in 1616, was brought to Dapûng. In 1623, he was ordained and installed as the high priest of Dapûng. About this time the *Shwa-mar* Lamas had regained their lost position and were vigorously persecuting the Yellow Church.

They had, in the meantime, influenced the Kulmuk Mongols whose chief had become a convert to their creed. In the year 1636, Gushi Khan espoused the cause of the Yellow Church and entered Kokonor with a large army. At the outset of this invasion he had to encounter with the Kulmuk Mongols who had taken up the side of the *Shwa-mar* Lamas. He completely defeated them after several engagements. From Kokonor, while proceeding towards Tibet, he heard that king Beri of Kham, who was a follower of the Bon* religion, was preparing to invade Tibet. He, therefore, marched against him and reduced him to subjection. He again invaded Kham in 1639; this time, putting Beri to death, he annexed his territories to his Mongolian kingdom.

In the year 1641, at the invitation and earnest entreaty of the Dalai Lama Ngag-wang Lozang Gya-tsho, he entered Tibet with 30,000 Tartars and fought several battles with the Tsang army led by the powerful *Deba* of Tsang. After capturing Lhasa and other towns which had been in the occupation of the *Deba*, he put him to prison, annexed Upper Tsang† of which Gyan-tse was the chief town, and proclaimed himself the supreme king of Tibet, assuming the Tibetan name of Tanzing Choi-Gyal—the upholder of Religion or *Dharma Rājā*.

* The pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet, called Yûñ-drûñ Bon, a form of fetischism in which exorcism and incantations were the chief features. It now prevails in some parts of Tibet, particularly, Kham, but in a greatly modified and partly Buddhicised form.

† He left lower Tsang, with Shiga-tse as its capital, to the possession of the Grand Lama of Tashilhûnpo which continues to belong to that hierarchy up to this day.

[1] བློ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ

He appointed Sonam Choiphel as *Desrid* (governor) to rule over the country in his absence. Henceforth Tibet became a dependency of the Mongolian kingdom founded by Gushi Khan, the Œleuth chief, who owed but nominal allegiance to China. In 1643, six great nobles of China conspired against the last Tā-ming emperor Khrungtin (Tûng-tin), and their leader usurped the imperial authority for some time. Shortly after, Shun-ti (also called Shunchi), a Mantchu chief, seized the throne and displaced the Tā-Ming dynasty. So, owing to troubles in China and confusion during the period which preceded this dynastic change, no armed protest came from Peking against Gushi Khan's military operations in Tibet and Kham. In 1644, Gushi Khan built a castle on the famous hill of Potala for the accommodation of his court.

As soon as Shun-ti found himself secure and firmly seated on the imperial throne, he took up the foreign affairs in hand. With a view to bring Tibet again under his direct control he sent an invitation to the Dalai Lama to visit Peking. In 1651, Ngag-wang Lozang reached Peking where he was fêted and loaded with honours. The Emperor, who with his whole family embraced the Lamaism of the Yellow-Church in preference to that of the red-cap school to which the Tā-Mings were attached, decorated him with the exalted title of Tā-kausri. On this occasion, the Dalai Lama was greatly impressed with the power and splendour of the Emperor's court as well as the vastness of his dominions. With a view to make the position of his church secure in Tibet he prayed to the Emperor that China might take over the protectorate of Tibet in the manner it was done by Khublai Khan, the founder of the Tā-Yen dynasty, when the Emperor himself had embraced the Lamaism of the Sakya-pa school. He also explained that the Tā-Mings from the time they had displaced the Tartar dynasty proved themselves very staunch supporters of Lamaism and became pledged to the tenets of the Red-cap sect of the Karma-pa hierarchy. Shun-ti very gladly acceded to the prayer. From that time the Man-tchu dynasty became vouched, under solemn promises, to the protection of the authority of the Dalai Lama in Tibet.

Shortly after this, Shun-ti proceeded to Mukden, his Man-tchu capital, for offering prayers in the tombs of his ancestors. Lozang Gya-tsho accompanied him thither. At the end of the year 1652 the Lama returned to Tibet, visiting on the way the great monastery of Gon-lung in Amdo, then a flourishing Yellow-Church institution with 10,000 monks.

In 1653, Gushi Khan was succeeded by his son Da-yen Khan who appointed Lama Tin-léh Gya-tsho as *Desrid* of Tibet. The government

having passed from the hands of a Tartar General to those of a Lama, the power of the Dalai Lama, who had lately returned from China, full of glory, greatly increased. Lozang Gya-tsho, besides being a scholar, well read in the sacred literature, was a shrewd statesman of great ability. He made Tin-léh unconsciously subservient to his wishes in the government of the country. In 1668, the *Desrid* died leaving the Government in the hands of a layman named Choipon Deba, an incident which afforded Lozang Gya-tsho a still better opportunity to exercise his influence more effectually in the affairs of the state.

In 1670, Da-yen Khan died leaving the throne to his son Ratna Talai Khan. On the retirement of Choipon Deba in 1674, Lama Lozang Jin-pa was appointed *Desrid* of Tibet. Since the conquest of Tibet by Gushi Khan, the internal administration of the country, which was vested in the *Desrid*, had been practically directed by Lozang Gya-tsho, who, since his return from China, was considered as the holiest man on the face of the earth on account of his having become the spiritual tutor of the Emperor of China. He was reverentially called Gongsa-nga-pachenpo,[1] the fifth supreme Lama, the four who preceded him being Gadûndûb the founder of the hierarchy, Gadûn Gya-tsho, Sonam Gya-tsho and Yontan Gya-tsho.

Tālai Khan having become powerless in Mongolia itself, his *Desrid* became a non-entity in Tibet. In the year 1678, Lozang Gya-tsho assumed the supreme control of the country and appointed Sangye-Gya-tsho, a layman of great wisdom and learning, as *Desrid* in the place of Lozang Jin-pa. Thus the sovereignty over Tibet and Kham practically passed from Tālai Ratna Khan, the great-grandson of Gushi Khan, to the *Tālé Lama* Ñag-wang Lozang Gya-tsho, the supreme hierarch.

The ancient castle of Sroñtsan-Gampo, the first Buddhist King of Tibet, which stood on the hill called *Marpoi-ri* (the red hill), was selected by Lozang Gya-tsho for his court. He transferred his residence and court called Chyog-lé Namgyal from Dapûng to there, and laid the foundation of the famous palace of Phodang Marpo, now called *Gahdan Phodang Chyoglé Namgyal.*[2]

The name of the hill at the same time became changed into Potala, because the residence of *Bodhisattva* Avalokiteçvara, the patron saint of Tibet, whose spirit was believed to have appeared both in King Srong-tsan Gampo and himself, was mentioned in the sacred books to have

[1] གོང་སྨ་ལྔ་པ་ཆེན་པོ། [2] དགའ་ལྡན་ཕོ་བྲང་པུ་ཏལ་མམ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ།

been on the top of a hill called Potala-giri (the habour-hill)* somewhere in the south of India. Henceforth, from this circumstance, Potala became the chief place of pilgrimage of the Buddhist of the northern school who regarded the Dalai Lama as the holiest of holies. His young *Desrid*, an adept in statecraft, than whom a greater statesman has not appeared in Tibet, in course of three years, firmly established the grand Lama's temporal authority all over the country, including Kham and Amdo. In 1681, Lozang Gya-tsho died, but the wily *Desrid* managed to keep the occurrence secret from the public. He gave out that the Dalai Lama, whose spirit was in communion with the gods, had entered into a *samadhi* (deep-meditation) under a solemn vow not to come out to public view for a period of twelve years. He now dressed himself in *lamaic* robes, and assumed a holy character, for it was not desirable for a *Desrid* not to be looked upon as a holy man. He was regarded as a wise minister and efficient ruler: in 1683 he wrote a valuable work on astronomy, astrology and chronology called *Vaidurya Karpo*. In 1693, he completed the nine-storeyed building called Phobrang Mar-po (the red-palace) on Potala, and entombed the remains of Gongsa-nga-pa chen-po, in the central hall, in a golden Chorten (*chaitya*). In the same year he installed, under the name of Tshang-yang Gya-tsho,[1] a child, three years old, as the incarnation of the deceased Dalai who had passed out of his body at the termination of his twelve years trance in profound *samādhi*. During this long period the *Desrid* had consolidated the Dalai Lama's authority, having governed the country with consummate skill. He being the central figure in the government, and a layman, too, was called *De-ba*, and his government came to be known by the name of *shûng*.[2] At the close of the year, with a view to commemorate the accession of his late master to the sovereignty of Tibet, he inaugurated the Tshog-choi[3] the congregational service in connexion with the annual prayer meeting called *Monlam Chenpo*, of Lhasa, founded by Tsong-khapa. In 1697, he wrote the work called *Vai Ser-Choijûng*, the history of the rise of the Yellow Church. The boy Dalai

* The Sanskrit name *Potala* in Tibetan, is Gru-*bdsin* (སྒྲུ་བཟང་) meaning 'harbour.' The Chinese Buddhists have located Potala the residence of their favourite saint Kwan-yin (Avalokiteçvara in his Chinese form) in the island of Patoshan, situated on the coast of China about 200 miles off Shanghai, N.N.E., where pilgrims from China and Mongolia go annually in large number.

Alex-Csoma de Kōrōs, by mistake, located Potala in the neighbourhood of the town of Khara Tata in the mouth of the Indus in Sinde.

[1] ཚངས་དབྱངས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ [2] གཞུང་ signifying the central. [3] ཚོགས་ཆོས

Lama, as he grew up in age, shewed indifference to the performance of his religious duties. He failed in almost all the examinations that he was required to pass through, before his ordination. He, however, displayed a tendency towards love-literature in which he acquired some proficiency. He selected from among the monks of Namgyal Ta-tshang young men for his companions. He composed love songs and generally spent his time in the royal groves in the suburbs of Lhasa, where men and women of all classes and age came to receive his blessings. Here he got facilities for indulging in the pleasures of life, the enjoyment of which was strictly prohibited to monks. His attention to young ladies alarmed the Lamas. At first the courtiers interpreted this unholy tendency of the youthful Lama as a mark of his communion with the *Khan-do* (female angels) who, it was given out, paid him secret visits in the guise of young maidens for initiating him in the mysteries of *Tantrik* Buddhism; but later on, when the grand Lama ran to excesses, and sung love songs and behaved in utter disregard of the canonical rules, the public became undeceived. The Lamaic authorities of the monasteries of Sera, Dapûng and Gahdan took steps for his removal from the hierarchial throne.

About this time the Chungar or the left branch of the Œleuth Mongols under the leadership of Tshe-wang Rab-dan had become very powerful, in consequence of which the influence of Kushi Khan's line over the Tartars greatly waned. The ambitous Tshe-wang Rabdan, who had made his power felt even in Russia in the north, was waiting for an opportunity to overrun Tibet.

The friends of the *Desrid* now courted his help against the enemies of the government who had reported the matter to the Emperor of China. In the year 1701, the abbots of the great monasteries with the help of the *Desrid* induced the prodigal youth to formally renounce the vows* of celebacy and monkhood which he had taken from the grand Lama of Tashilhûnpo. An incarnate Lama named Yeçes Gya-tsho, who had come to Lhasa for that work, now took up the spiritual business appertaining to the Dalai Lama.

In 1702 *Desrid* Sangye Gya-tsho resigned his office and retired to private life. In 1705, the unfortunate Dalai Lama was removed from Tibet under a Chinese escort. He died on the way near lake

* It is customary with the incarnate Lamas of Tibet to take religious vows from their seniors in the order. The grand Lama of Tashilhunpo being spiritually of equal rank with the Dalai Lama is competent to ordain him in the holy order. In the same manner the Tashi Lama, when junior in age, receives his religious vows and ordination from the Dalai Lama. They are related to each other as spiritual brothers and called (Gyalsras or *Jinaputra*) sons of Buddha.

Kokonur. When this news reached Peking, Emperor Kanghi ordered that a child in whom the spirit of Nag-wang Lozang may be discovered should be reported to him. In 1703, Lhabzang, son of *Talai* Ratna Khan, declared himself ruler of Tibet. He dismissed the militia and raised an army from among the Tartars. His first act was to surround the residence of the retired *Desrid*, his former chief, with a number of armed men and to kill him with four hundred of his devoted followers. In 1704, orders came from the Emperor to deport Tshang yang Gya-tsho to China. The faction in the Yellow-Church which was inimical to Lhabzang took immediate steps to elect a new Dalai Lama. They gave out that Nag-wang Lozang Gya-tsho, who was reported to have entered *Samadhi*, had actually died in the year 1681, and his spirit reappeared in one Pakār dsin-pa Ye-çes Gya-tsho in 1685, whose claim to the hierarchial throne was set aside by the *Desrid*. Pakār dsin-pa, who was an ordained monk of pure morals, was, however, was holding the office of the high priest of Dupûng. Accordingly, they set him up as the real Dalai Lama in 1706, but the public hesitated to accept the new pretender as their grand hierarch.

Lhabzang submitted to Chinese authority. The Lamas of the Yellow-Church were now on their wit's end, being required to solve a problem of a novel nature. Emissaries were, therefore, sent to the different great monasteries of the Yellow-Church in search of a new incarnation of the Dalai Lama. Applications came from the parents of different child-pretenders to the exalted office, which were carefully examined. At last the real embodiment of the Dalai Lama was found at Kûmbûm—the birth-place of Tsong-khapa, the founder of the Yellow-Church. The council of Buddhist cardinals comprising of the abbots of Sera, Dapûng and Gahdan, with the Tashi Lama as president, on whom devolved the responsibility of the right identification, resorted to all manner of religious rites and consultations with the gods for the purpose. All evidence having pointed towards and in favour of the discovery at Kûmbûm, in a child born in 1707, the matter was reported to the Emperor. Sanction having come, the princely child named Kalzang Gya-tsho was declared Dalai Lama, but, on account of his tender age, the child could not be brought in state to Tibet and installed on the throne of Potala. Kanghi, however, invested him with the insignia of an imperial order in 1709. But fresh dangers had in the meantime sprung forth which threatened Lhasa and also taxed the energies of the Emperor.

Tshe wang Rabdan, the powerful chief of Chungar or the left branch of the Œleuth Mongols who had risen to eminence on the downfall of Gushi Khan's kingdom, had espoused the cause of the Tibetans. The friends of *Desrid* Sangye Gya-tsho, with a view to avenge his death

and to overthrow Lhabzang, had communicated to him all that had happened in Tibet. Accordingly, Tshewang Rabdan sent a large army to Tibet for punishing the enemies of the Yellow-Church. In 1716 the Chinese and Tibetan troops fought a great battle with the Chungar army but were defeated, Lhabzang being slain in the field. In 1717, the victorious Chungars, at the instance of the yellow-cap Lamas, sacked the monasteries of rival sects such as Tshur-phu, Samding, Namgyaling, Dorje Tag, Mindolling and others, situated in the valley of the Tsangpo. In 1718 they returned to Mongolia.

About the time of the Chungar invasion the Tibetans had endeavoured to be independent, but Kanghi was determined to re-establish his authority over the whole of Mongolia and Tibet. In 1718, when order was restored in Tibet, the Chungar Mongolians being fully subjugated by the victorious Chinese, the young Dalai Lama was brought back to Lhasa from Kûmbûm by the command of the Emperor, who sent two high Commissioners ostensibly to protect the Dalai Lama but really to form an imperial residency at Lhasa which has since been controlling the political and military affairs of the country.

In 1722, the Chungars and the Œleuth Mongals of Kokonur fought with the imperial forces and were defeated. The Chinese killed upwards of seven hundred monks of all grades, including the abbot of Ser-Khog-Gon, called Chûzang-Rinpo-che, and destroyed many religious objects and burnt down many shrines and congregation halls. They demolished the great monastery of Shwa-khog. Many aged monks of Kumbum were also killed by them. In Amdo, in the following year, the Chinese generals Kûng and Yo-u theü destroyed the temples and grand congregation halls of the Gon-lûng monastery. In 1725 and 1726 there arose internal dissensions in the Government at Lhasa, the *Kahlons* or ministers having risen against the *Desrid* Shang Khang Chenpo and killed him. About this time, general Phola Theji * who had gone to Upper Tibet returned to Lhasa with troops from Ladak, Ngahri and Tsang. He slew upwards of one thousand men who had been drawn from Û and Kong-po by the rebel ministers, and for a time restored order in the country. In 1727, Chinese troops came to his help and he was enabled to suppress the rebellion of Û by killing the three

* On account of his gallant and meritorious services Phola Theji was invested with the title of Chun-wang and appointed *Desrid* by Emperor Yung-ting. Henceforth he became known in Tibet by the name Gyalpo Mi-wang. In 1734, by the command of the same Emperor, Chankya Rinpo-che brought back the Dalai Lama Lhasa from Kahdag, (Ka-thóg) and thereby restored peace and prosperity in Tibet and Kham.

ministers who had headed it. He removed the Dalai Lama to Kahdag, or Kathog monastery in Kham, thinking it would be unsafe to keep him in Lhasa at the time.

NOTE.—This paper has been compiled from Tibetan histories such as Pagsam-jonzang, &c.

Tibet under the Tartar Emperors of China in the 13th Century A.D.—

(By *Rai* Sarat Chandra Das, *Bahadur*, C.I.E.)

The Hierarchy of Sakya.

Legendary account.—Once on a time there descended on the pure and lofty tableland of Ngah-ri in Upper Tibet three brothers called *Nam lha* or heavenly gods. The eldest of them was *Namlha* Chyiring, the second *Namlha* Yuring, and the youngest *Namlha* Waseh.

These three brothers were entreated by the people of Ngah-ri to take up the sovereignty of their country. The youngest brother, choosing to dwell upon earth, became king and married the reigning chief's daughter.

To him were born four sons, who became known as the four Sijili brothers. They became involved in disputes with the tribe of Dong and the eighteen ancient tribes of Tibet. With the assistance of *Namlha* Yu-ring the princes compelled the eighteen tribes to submit to their authority. *Namlha* Yu-ring also choosing to reside on this earth, married Musa Demba of the family of Mu, by whom he had seven sons. These were well-known as the Musang brothers. The first six of them, together with their father, are said to have been lifted up to heaven by means of a noose called *Muthag* or *Kyang-thag* which had been stretched down by the gods for their delivery.

The youngest son married Thog-Cham Oorma, the daughter of Hoichen, the god of thunder and light. His son Thog-tsha Paotag married a princess of the *Nāga* named Tama, who presented him with a son who was brave and handsome. He married Monzah, a princess of the royal family of *Mon* (Sub-Himalaya). They lived at the limit of vegetation on the slope of a snowy peak of that great mountain and named their son Ya-pang-kye or one born in the higher grass-land. He killed the *Srin-mo* (demon) named Kya-ring Thagmeh and carried away his beautiful wife YabumSilema to his mountain house. By her he had a son who, being born of a woman captured by fight or *Khon*, was named *Khon* Barkyeh, born in the mid-region. Hence originated the great family of *Khon* which played an important part in the medieval history of Tibet. *Khon* Barkyeh married a Himalayan princess named Tsan-cham Mon. Their son was Kon-jeh, the accomplished one. Being a man of rare intelligence, valour and promise to achieve extraordinary feats, he wanted to rule over a country. His father sent him to Gang-zang-lha. There observing the eight signs of a good country he made his

residence on the slopes of the lofty Ngan-tse thang mountain. At this time[1] there reigned in Tibet the mighty king Thi-srong-deu tsan.

Early History.—In later times the family of *Khon* multiplied in the valley of Shab-chu in Tsang. One of its principal members named *Khon* Konchog Gyalpo, having received religious instructions and precepts from some learned Lamas, became famous for his learning in Western Tibet. On the occasion of a religious festival which took place at Doh he witnessed a Lama dance. In it, many Lamas who pretended to be very holy, took part. Some of them wore the frightful masks of the twenty-eight goddesses called Wang-chug-ma, and with different weapons in their hands, danced before the assembled people in a fantastic manner. Some *Tantrik* Lamas, who wore the flowing and clotted locks of the *Matrika* or *Mamo* nymphs, also danced to the music of drums and cymbals. Konchog Gyalpo returning home, described what he had seen to his brother, who observed: "Now the time of the degeneration of the Nying-ma mysticism has arrived. Henceforth, in Tibet, none among the Nying-ma Lamas will attain to sainthood. We must now sever our connexion with them. Let us, therefore, take care of our paternal possessions, our religious books and symbols. In Mankhar there is a Buddhist sage named Dogmi *Lochava*. You should go to take religious instructions from him." He then concealed all his sacred books securely underneath some rocks in a cavern.

Konchog Gyalpo could not find Dogmi at Mankhar, but he met Khyin *Lotsāva* in a cemetery at Yahlûng. With him he studied Buddhist metaphysics. Before he could finish his studies the *Lotsāva*[2] died, in consequence of which he had to search out Dogmi *Lotsāva*. He presented his teacher with seventeen pony-loads of valuable things including some beads of precious stones, gold and silver. Having acquired great proficiency in Buddhist metaphysics and in some of the new theories found in the reformed works of Dogmi called "*Sarma Choi*" (new tenets) he became known as a religious professor. He removed his residence to Yahlung. Erecting a small monastery at Taolûng, he also spent a few years there. One day, accompanied by one of his disciples, while he was walking on the top of the hill of Taolûng, he saw a fine site for a monastery in front of Ponpoiri hill—a plot of white land with a river flowing by its right. Noticing that it possessed many auspicious signs, he thought that if he built a monastery upon it, it would contribute much to human happiness and welfare. He asked the advice of his friend Jovo

[1] This was the first part of the 8th Century A.D.

[2] A Tibetan Sanskritist was called *Lochava* or *Lotsā-va* from *locha* to speak.

Dong-nag, who approved of the proposal. He purchased the land by making present of a white mare, one coat of mail, a string of beads of precious stones and a buckler to the owner. In the 40th year of his age, Lama Konchog Gyalpo founded a monastery on the plain of Sakya[1] (A.D. 1073), which in the 13th century became the capital of Tibet and also the chief seat of the Sakyapa hierarchs.

Conquest of Tibet by the Tartars.

The Tartar Chinghis (Jenghis Khan) made the conquest of the whole of Tibet in the year 1203, about which time Behar and Bengal were seized by the Mahomedans under Baktyar Khiliji. After firmly establishing his authority first in China and then in Tibet, he ordered a general census to be taken of the latter country, but, before the work could be taken up by his generals in Tibet, he died. His grandson E-chan Gotan, to whose share fell both Tibet and China, hearing the fame of the *Paṇdit* hierarch of Sakya named Kungah Gyal-tshan, invited him to China and received him in audience at his palace of Tulpai De. Thus the learned Buddhist Hierarch of Tibet gained the opportunity to implant in the mind of the dreaded monarch the doctrine of Buddha—to have compassion over all living beings and to effect one's own salvation by loving others. The humanizing influence of Buddhism touched the minds of the cruel and blood-thirsty Mongols. They now perceived that brute force did not make them superier to the Lamas who believed in the existence of a thing like love which conquered all. So the hierarch, in turn, quietly effected the spiritual conquest of the heartless Tartars. After his return to Tibet Kungah Gyal-tshan appointed Çakya Zangpo as *Pon-chen* (chief governor) of Tibet proper. Kungah Gyal-tsan, better known as Sakya *Panchen* (*Pan*, Pandit and *chen*, great), was so well impressed with the honesty and righteousness of his governor that he ordered all the Lamas with the exception of Huyupa and Sharpa Yeçé Chûng to make salulation to him.

On the death of E-chan Gotan Khan, Khublai Khan (the miraculous king) became Emperor of China. He removed his residence to Peking and built the Tartar city called Khanbalik, *i.e.*, the city of the great Khan. Shortly, after this, he ordered one of his generals named Tāmen to proceed to Tibet to arrange for its better government. When Tāmen came to take leave of him the Emperor addressed him in the following terms:—"The Tibetans are a powerful nation. In ancient times, when there was a monarchial form of government in that country, the Tibetan armies had invaded

[1] Sakya (from *Sa*, land and *kya*, white) signifies white plain.

China several times. During the reign of Emperor Thaijung (Tāi tsūng) of the T'ang dynasty, the Tibetans advanced as far as Utai Shan in Shenzi, and at the command of their general Pa-u-tan hu, all as one man carried out his orders. Since Chinghis Khan's conquest of it there has been no king in Tibet. The grand Lamas of Sakya are appointed by us. They are our spiritual instructors. Go, therefore, at once to Sakya and by the exercise of your diplomatic tact bring all Tibet fully under our rule." To this gracious command Tāmen with profound veneration replied:—"Your Majesty, in obedience to the wish of the son of heaven this servant will proceed to Tibet. The people of the country called Sifan (Western country, *i.e.*, Tibet) being brave and wild are not amenable either to their own laws or to the laws of China. Our frontier guards fail to restrain them from their predatory habits. How will your Majesty's servant proceed to Tibet to subdue them, and what arrangements about the expenses of his mission will be permitted?" The Emperor commanded that he should proceed on his mission and take the necessary funds and articles for presents from the imperial treasury. Arrived at Sakya, he should make division of the country into large and smaller *Jam* (district) for administrative purposes, apportioning lands to each *Jam* with due regard to their extent and nature, *i.e.*, according to the sparseness or density of the population in them.

Furnished with credentials from the Emperor and carrying with him suitable presents for the clergy and the laity, Tāmen proceeded to Tibet with a large armed escort and a number of survey officers Arrived at Sakya he read the edict of the Emperor before a large number of people assembled for the purpose. He sent the survey officers to the different provinces of the country for reconnoitering. On their report he divided the country lying between Sakya and the Chinese frontier into 27 districts or *Jam*. Doh-meh or lower Doh, where the land was fertile was divided into seven *Jam*; Doh-toi (upper Doh) into nine *Jam*; and Ûi and Tsang into eleven *Jam*, of which seven, *viz.*, Sakya, Sog, Tsi-mar, Shag, Sha-pho, Kong and Gonsar, were apportioned to Tsang, and four, *viz.*, Tog, Tshong-dui, Darlûng and Thom Darang, to Ûi. A *Jampon* or district officer was appointed over each *Jam*.

He apportioned these *jam* to the thirteen provinces or *Thikor* into which Tibet was then divided, appointing a *Thipon* or provincial governor over every one of them. He proclaimed all over Tibet the suzerainty of the great Khan or Emperor of China. After making himself fully acquainted with the customs, manners, laws and requirements of Tibet, Tāmen returned to China. The Emperor loaded him with honours and rewards, and in recognition of his merits appointed him

President of the grand Yamen of "Son-ching Wen." In order to supervise the administration of the country now parcelled out into 27 *jam*, and to preserve the imperial supremacy of the country, the Emperor appointed one of his Tartar nobles, named Ijilig, as Resident of Tibet, and conferred on him the Tartar distinction of *Thon-ji*. He was the first minister who was sent by a Chinese Emperor to watch the state affairs of Tibet under the grand hierarchy of SAKYA. Henceforth the connection between the two countries (Tibet and China) becoming closer; free and easy intercourse, both commercial and political, made the Tibetan people happy and prosperous.

After starting *Thon-ji* Ijilig on his mission to Tibet, the Emperor himself led a large army to Jang-yul.[1] No resistance was offered by the people of that country to his victorious army. He annexed two provinces of Amdoh to China, and made over two provinces of Upper Doh (modern Kham) to Tibet.

In the tenth year of Emperor Khublai's reign Lama Phagpa the hierarch of Sakya was appointed spiritual instructor of the Imperial family. As a reward for this service the Emperor made a grant of the following districts to Lama Phagpa: Gacha Rab-kha, Nangso Latog-pa, Gangaitsa Lama Khar, and Dan Khang. The *jam* of Gong, which remained apart from Û and Tsang was also assigned to him. These are said to have contained very fertile soil, a *kang* (Tibetan acre) of which was able to growu 5,000 *tar da* [2] of barley.

Lama Phagpa paid three visits to China, and was every time received with the highest reverence by the Emperor at his grand palace of Taitu. The Emperor, Empress and the princes received religious blessings according to the cult of the Sakyapa school of Buddhism. On the second occasion the thirteen *Thikor* [3] of Tibet were presented to the hierarch by the Emperor for the service of the Lamaic Church.[4] On the third occasion, it is stated, that all Tibet, which was anciently divided into three *cholkha*,[5] was presented to the

[1] This included the Kokonur country and Amdoh.

[2] About 10 lbs.

[3] After the survey, Dsongkha Jong, inclusive of Ngah-ri, Lo Jong and Dol Jong, was constituted into one *Thikor*. Northern and Southern Latoi-cha and Shalu comprised four *Thikor*; Da, Ber, and Khyung formed one *Thikor*; Yamdok and Tshalpa formed one *Thikor*, Gya, Di-khung, Yah, and Phagmodu comprised four *Thikor*; lastly, Jah-yul with 1,000 *hordu*, Duka-pa with 900 *hordu*, formed one *Thikor*. These were the thirteen *Thikhor* of Tibet in the 13th Century.

[4] Very probably one-sixth of the revenue of the thirteen *Thikor* (which was the king's due) was granted to Lama Phagpa for the service of Church and the support of the monasteries.

[5] Formerly, Tibet Proper and Greater Tibet, which is now called Ulterior Tibet,

grand hierarch of Sakya. Such liberality on the part of a monarch was unexampled in the world's history. The Emperor not only assigned the revenue of the whole country for the service of the Church but also kept its government under his direct control for ensuring peace and prosperity to the Land of the Lamas.

In the beginning of the year *earth-dragon* two Commissioners, named Akon and Mingling were deputed by the Emperor to make an official enumeration of the people of Tibet. They, with the help of *Ponchen* Çākya Zangpo, the chief Governor of Tibet, who was invested with the decorations and title of *Zam-du-gun Wen-hu* for his eminent services, took the first census of Tibet. They enumerated all the families residing in the provinces from Ngah-ri to Shalu in Tsang, and Governor Situ Akyi-get worked in the remaining provinces.

Upper Tibet, comprising the valleys of the higher Indus and Sutlej which was divided into three *kor* or circles and therefore, called Ngah-ri Kar-sum,[1] returned altogether 2,635 families, exclusive of 767 families residing within the territories of the *Ngah-Dag*, the hereditary chieftain of Ngah-ri who claimed his descent from king Srong-tsan-Gampo. In the southern districts of La-toi *Lhopa*, there were 1,088 families, while the northern districts, called La-toi *chang* returned 2,250 families.

The total of families in Ngah-ri and Tsang was 15,690, and that of the province of Û (Central Tibet), including Kongpo, was 20,763, giving a grand total of 36,453. The population of Yam Dôk (lake Palti districts), which was at this time divided into six *Leb* and estimated at 750 families, was excluded from the above total. So also all the lands held by the different monasteries were not included in the state list which was made for the levying of revenues. A separate enumeration of the families contained in them was made. In Chumig *Thikor* there were 3,021 families; under Shalu 3,892 families. The Chang-Dôk, including lake Teng-ri-nor or *Nam-tsho*, till then not being included in any of the *Thikor*, was left out in the Census.

Mang-khar and Til-chen owned 120 families; Tsangpa, 87 families;

were included in the three *Cholkha*. All the countries lying between Gung-thang in Ngah-ri and Sog-la Kyavo were included in what was called Choikyi *Cholkha* i.e., the division or province of Buddhism. The provinces between Sog-la Kyavo and Machu (*Hoangho*) headwaters formed the 2nd *Cholkha*, the place of black-headed men. The countries lying between Machu and Gya Chorten Karpo, the gate of the great wall where there was a white chorten, were included in the third *Cholkha*, the original home of the horse.

1 Parang, with the mountains of Kangri, formed one *kor* or circle.
Gugé with numerous defiles and rugged cliffs, formed one *kor*.
Mang-Yul, with its mountain streams and glaciers formed one *kor*.

Bodong-riseb, 77 families; and Tomolung, Rasa, Kha-gangpa, 75 families; Dopeh mar-wa, 125 families; 35 families belonged to the service of the cathedral of Lhasa, in which the central image of Buddha the historical *chovo* or Lord Çākya-muni was located; Rasa-na-kor possessed 30 families, and Marla Thangpa only ten families.

Washi-lago returned 131 families, Gya-mapody contained 50 families, Thang-tsha, 150 families, and Tshong-dui 114 families. Within the division of Geru, including Sakya, Latoi-lho, Kodeh, Do-chung and Yahru, there were 3,630 families. Dangra and Durminyeg contained altogether 30 families.

In the province of Ü:—Under Di-khung monastery there were 3,630 families, consisting of agricultural and pastoral people called *pyopa* and *Dôk-pa*. Under the Tshal-pa Lamas there were 3,702 families. Phog-modu monastery returned 2,438 families, Yazang-pa contained 3,000 families. Gya-ma-wa and Cha-yul jointly returned 5,850 families. Sam-ye and Chim-phu-pa possessed 20 families exclusive of those who resided in the ancient endowments. In Doh there were 70 families. Gung-Khor-pa and Thangpa returned 70 families. Under the Lhasa authorities there were 600 families.

Rab-tsun-pa returned 90 families and the Dûk-pa authorities of Ralūng returned 225 families. The Thang-po-che returned 50 families.

In the district of Du-gu gang and Kharagpo there were 232 and 88 families respectively. This earliest enumeration of the people of Tibet (Ü and Tsang) made during the first establishment of political relations between China and the grand hierarchs of Sakya, was obtained from a manuscript roll of *daphne* paper which contained the seal of the first *Pon-chen*, named Çàkya Zangpo, by the author of the book called Gya-poi Kyi Yig-tshang (records of China and Tibet) in the archives of Sakya and preserved in his book.

During the reigns of Khublai Khan's successors, in land and revenue matters, a clear distinction was made between state and church possessions. At the commencement of the reign of Thakwan Themur, the last Emperor of the Yen or Tartar dynasty, Commissioners Tha-gu Anugan and Kechogtai Ping-chang were deputed to take a general census of Tibet. They were assisted by *Ponchen* Shon-nu Wang in his second administration of that country. The enumeration of men and households was made in the following manner:—

In order to be counted as a *hordu*—a Tartar family was required to possess the following:—

1. A house supported at least by six pillars within its four walls.
2. Land for cultivation comprising an area over which 100 to 1,000lb. of seed-grain could be sown.

3. Husband and wife, together with all the junior brothers who shared with the husband the wife's bed, two children, and a pair of domestic servants—in all even or more.

4. Cattle—one milch cow, one heifer, a pair of plough bullocks, one he-goat and 12 she-goats, one ram with 12 ewes.

These four heads completed the qualifications of a Tibetan family for paying revenue to the state for the lands it held under Government.

Such a family was called *Hordu*, from *hor*, Tartar nomad and *du* smoke. From the top-hole of a Tartar tent issued the smoke of cooking which gave the name of *hordu* to the owner of the tent. Though the term *Pyodu* signified a Tibetan agriculturist's house or family, the two words afterwards became mixed up. The word *tsa-du* a settled family paying revenue, also became mixed up with the other two terms.

Fifty such *Hordu* formed a *Tāgo*.

Two *Tāgo* made a *gya-kor* (circle of 100 families).

Ten *gya-kor* formed a *tong-kor* (circle of 1,000 families).

Ten *tong-kor* formed one *Thīkor* or *Thikhor* (a circle of 10,000 families).

The population of Tibet proper was originally estimated at a million and three hundred thousand souls, out of which 22,000 belonged to the church. Tibet was originally divided into 13 *Thikoron*, each *Thikor* containing circles average 10,000 families or at least 100,000 souls. A *Thipon* (chief over 10,000) was appointed over every *Thikor*.

Ten *Thikor* formed one *Lu*.

Ten *Lu* formed one Shing. Under Emperor Khublai there were eleven such *Shing*, outside of China, over which he ruled from his capital Taitu (Peking). The three great provinces of Tibet, then designated under the name of *Chlokha-sum*, did not form even one *Shing*; yet, out of courtsey, and because it was the headquarters of Buddhism, the Emperor permitted Tibet to be counted as a *Shing*.

From every full *Thikor* Government permitted about 1,000 males to be drawn to the church to be monks for whose support one-sixth of the revenue was made a present of to the hierarchs of Sakya.

It is also stated that in the year *fire-hog*, twenty years after the first census, two Commissioners, named Hosha and Oonukhan, were deputed by the great Yamen of Peking to make a more correct enumeration of the inhabitants of Tibet. Their labours were embodied in a voluminous work *called Losal kungah gyan Rin Theng*.

In the *Debter* (official records) compiled by Du-wensha, Shon-nu-gon, and one of the ministers of Sakya, the following accounts occur:—Tibet was divided into districts and sub-districts called *Jam-chen* (larger district) and *Jam-chung* (smaller district). The province of

Tsang, together with Ngah-ri, was divided into four *Jam-chen*. Every *Jam-chen* was divided among 100 *Go*, or headmen. Sakya was constituted into a separate *Jam-chen*; South Marla thang was formed into a *Jam-chûng*, Shab-khar Ngah-ri, Gyam-ring, and Pong-len, each formed a *Jam-chung*.

The last, *i.e.*, Ponglen, was constituted into what is called *Mag-jam*, districts for military purpose yielding revenue. The *Jam-chung* Mansarawara was held by the authorities of Purang.

Of the 3,892 families of Shalu, 832 were made over to the Chyrog-tshang-pa, 3,060 were included in Tshong-din. So Shalu monastery was made dependent of Tshong-dui authorities. Chyarog tshang was placed under 28 *Tago*. The Shang districts which were included in Tag-jam, were placed under eleven Tago. Yamdôk was divided into 16 *leb*. The *Jam-chung* of Yarsreb was held by the Yamdôk authorities.

The following *jam* were formed in Û :—

1. Gopeh *jam* included Diklûng, with 3,000 *hordu*.
2. Dar *jam* included Chya-yul, with 2,650 *hordu*.
3. Tshal-pai Retsa contained 450 families.
4. Sog-*jam*, in addition to its strength of 2,650 Gyamapa (mixed Tibetan and Chinese) families, included Tshalpa Zung khar, and thereby possessed 3,000 families.
5. Tsi-mar *jam* included Phag-modu with 2,438 *hordu*, Satag with 500 and Lhasa 600 families.
6. Sha-po *jam* comprising Tugu ganj, Kharag Dûkpa, Tama Thang-pa had 200 families. Holkha-pa possessed 400 families.
7. Kong-*Jam*, including Yah zang, contained 3,000 families.

NOTE—*The numeration of these articles is continued from p. 381 of the Journal for 1904.*

IV.

26. *Akbar's Copper Coins of Aḥmadābād.* (With plate).

In the five years that have elapsed since my article on "The Coins of Aḥmadābād" was written for the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, considerable additional material has come to light, thus rendering it possible for me now to supplement, and in some few particulars to modify, the account then given. Only the other day I noticed for the first time that the Akbarī Fulūs struck at Aḥmadābād in the Ilahī years 41 and 42, though of identical type with that of Ilahī 39, differed from my copper coins of Ilahī 40. These last, on the other hand, were not Fulūs at all but Tankas of the same type as the coins struck in Ilahī 44 and 46. This discovery set me on a thorough re-examination of all the specimens now in my possession, with the resultant conviction that the copper coins assigned in the aforementioned article to the year 40 had been misread, and should have been attributed to the years 45 (the مہ = 45, not 40). In order to rectify this mistake and the errors consequent upon it, and with a view to bringing under contribution the most recent information on the subject, I now submit the following description of the Akbarī copper coins of Aḥmadābād :—

The copper coins that issued from the Aḥmadābād Mint in the name of the Emperor Akbar were of three kinds—the Fulūs, the Tanka and the Tānkī or Tănki. All were round coins, and each bore on its obverse its distinctive designation.

A.—THE FULŪS.

Whole Fulūs : weight, 320 grains : diameter, ·85 to ·9 inch.
½ " " 160 " " ·7 inch.
¼ " " 80 " " ·6 inch.

Of the Fulūs three varieties were successively current.

I. The Fulūs struck on Akbar's subjugation of Gujārāt in H. 980 bore the following legends (Fig. 1) :—

Obv.	احمد اباد فلـــوس ضـــرب		*Rev.*	هشتاد نهصـدو سنـه ۹۸۰

but this variety was issued only during the years H. 980 and 981. A half Fulūs of this type is in Mr. Nelson Wright's cabinet.

II. In H. 982 and thereafter for several years the Fulūs exhibited a design more elaborate and ornate (Fig 2). On the obverse the honorific epithet Dār-al-salṭanat was associated with the mint name Aḥmadābād, and across both the obverse and the reverse was inscribed a diameter of dots flanked both above and below by a straight line Thus :—

Obv. احمد آباد / دارالسلطنة / ب فلوس / ضر — *Rev.* دو / هشتاد و / في نهصد / ۹۸۲ / سنه

III. In supersession of this variety there appeared in the year Ilahī 38 (H. 1001), or perhaps earlier, a third form of Fulūs (Fig. 3.) of a markedly different design, the reverse inscription being entirely new. From the obverse legend both the technical term ضرب and the mint's title Dār-al-salṭanat are omitted, so that only the two words Fūlus Aḥmadābād survive. On the reverse above the dotted and linear diameter the term Ilahī is written in full, with its final *ye* swooping backwards right across the coin, while to the right we have in figures the year of issue dating from the Ilahī era. The lower half of the reverse is reserved for the Persian name of the month of issue. Thus :—

(*a*) *Obv.* احمد اباد / فلوس — *Rev.* ۳۸ الهی / ابان

My cabinet contains a sub-variety of this type of Fulūs (Fig 4) in which the ornamental diameter composed of dots and lines is wanting on both obverse and reverse.

(*b*) *Obv.* احمد آباد / فلوس — *Rev.* ۳۸ الهی / بهمن

Mr. Framji also possesses a Fulūs of this type (*b*) of the same year but of the month Dai.

A second sub-variety (Fig. 5) is represented in my collection butagain by only a single specimen. This coin differs but slightly from the normal type (*a*). The final *ye* of the word Ilahī in the reverse legend is now protruded instead of retracted, and the figures indicating the Ilahī year of issue are placed not to the right but to the left. Thus :—

(*c*) *Obv.* Same as (*a*) — *Rev.* الهی ۳۸ / ابان

Two remarkable specimens of the Fulūs are entered in the Indian Museum (Cal.) Catalogue. The obverse of each of the two is identical with that of A. III (*a*). The reverse, however, in one of the coins exhibits the two halves of the reverse of A. III (*a*) in inverted position, the normal upper half occupying the lower portion of this coin, and the normal lower half the upper portion. Thus $\frac{\text{امرداد}}{\text{الهی ۴۰}}$ In the second coin, the reverse which is only partially legible, is entered as $\frac{\text{امرداد ... الهی}}{\text{.. .. .. ..}}$ Both these coins are of so exceptional a character that a full account of them is much to be desired.

B.—The Tanka.

Large Tanka:		weight,	640	grains:	diameter	1·1 inch.
Small	„	„	320	„	„	·9 „
½	„	„	160	„	„	·7 „
¼	„	„	80	„	„	·65 „

The earliest known specimen of an Akbarī tanka from the Aḥmadābād mint is dated the month Amardād of the Ilahī year 44, (Fig. 6). The tanka, in one or other of its denominations (large, small, ½ small, ¼ small), issued from that mint during the next two years. Its legends read as follows :—

Obv. $\frac{\text{تنکه اکبر شاهی}}{\text{ضرب احمد اباد}}$ | *Rev.* $\frac{\text{۴۴ الهی}}{\text{امـــرداد}}$

The reverse inscription is thus, it will be seen, of a type identical with that on the special variety of Fulūs denoted above as A. III (*b*).

It may here be remarked that the sub-divisions, whether of the Fulūs or of the Tanka, are not expressed on the coins themselves. A Fulūs and similarly the Tanka, of any denomination, large or small, is styled simply a Fulūs or Tanka and is so inscribed.

C.—The Tānkī or Tānki.

Chau Tānkī:		weight,	250	grains:	diameter,	·8 inch.
Do	„	„	125	„	„	·65 „
Yak	„	„	62	„	„	·5 „

The year Ilahi 46 witnessed the last change that was to be made in Akbar's copper coinage at Aḥmadābād. From that year till the close of his reign the Tānki took the place of the Tanka (Fig. 7 and 8). The new coin was issued in three denominations, known as the Chau (or Four) Tānkī, the Do (or Two), and the Yak (or One), and on each was inscribed its own special designation. With this exception the legend on

the Tānkī was the same as on the Tanka, the component words, however, being differently arranged. Thus :—

I. (*a*) *Obv.* اکبر شاهی / چو تانکے | *Rev.* فروز دین الهی / ۴۸ احمد اباد / ضرب

Two specimens of a Yak Tănki (not Tânki) are known, one in Mr. Wright's cabinet and the other in my own. These exhibit on the reverse a still further variation in the arrangement of the words. Thus (fig 9.)—

I. (*b*) *Obv.* اکبر شاهی / یک تنکے | *Rev.* ۴۹ الهی / احمداباد اذر / ضرب

The year of issue is probably 49, but on both the specimens the figures are almost entirely obliterated.

In my collection are also two specimens of "mules," each dated Ilahī 44, Amardād, and bearing on both faces a legend identical with the normal reverse of a Tanka. Thus :—

Obv. and *Rev.* ۴۴ الهی / امرداد

The weight of one is 634 grains, and of the other 317, whence we may infer that they are in fact a large Tanka and small Tanka spoiled by some misadventure in the process of minting.

The following list registers all the dated Akbari coins of Aḥmadābād known to me. It also includes those coins of the rarer denominations whose dates are wholly or partially illegible.

N.B.—In this list the expression, say 45 (2, 3, 4, 7) indicates coins of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 7th months of the Ilahī year 45, that is to say, coins dated Ardibihisht, Khūrdād, Tīr, and Mihr of Ilahī 45 : and a like meaning, *mutatis mutandis*, attaches to all the other expressions having the same form. Thus xx (x) denotes a coin of an unknown month of an unknown (Ilahī) year.

A. Fulūs.

Type I	Whole Fulūs	H. 980 ; 981 (Cal.) ; 98 x (Br. Mus.).
	Half Fulūs	H. 981 (Wright).
	Quarter Fulūs	

Type II ...	Whole Fulūs	H. 982; 983; 984; 985; 986; 987; 988. Also 994 (Lāhor); 995 (Lāhor).
	Half Fulūs	
	Quarter Fulūs	H. 985.
Type III (*a*)....	Whole Fulūs	Ilalī 38 (8); ? 39 (4) 3x (11); ? 40 (12); ? 41 (6); 42 (5).
	Half Fulūs	
	Quarter Fulūs.	

Type III (*b*). Whole Fulūs; Ilahī 38 (10) [Framjī]; 38 (11).
Type III (*c*). Whole Fulūs: Ilahī 38 (8).

B. Tanka.

Tanka ...	Large	Ilahī 44 (5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12); 45 (3, 4, 5, 7), 46 (2). "Mule." 44 (5).
	Small	Ilahī 44 (5, 8, 9, 11); ? 45 (1); 45 (2, 3, 4, 7 x); 46 (3). "Mule." 44 (5).
	Half Small	Ilahī 45 (4); 4 x (1); x x (4, 5, 12, x).
	Quarter Small	Ilahī 44 (5, x); x x (x).

C. Tanki.

Type I (*a*)....	Chau Tānkī	46 (9); 47 (1); ? 48 (2); 48 (4, 7, 9 x); 49 (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12); 50 (1, 3, 5); 5 x (2, 4, 6, 7).
	Do Tānkī	46 (11); 47 (4); 4 x (10); 5 x (4); x x (1, 6, x).
	Yak Tānkī	x x (x).

Type I (*b*). Yak Tānkī: ? 49 (9).

From this list it will be seen that within the limits of Akbar's

reign the following periods are still unrepresented by any copper coin of Aḥmadābād :—

Deest ... { H. 989—993; *
H. 996—Ilahī 38 (7);
Il. 42 (6)—44 (4);
Il. 46 (4)—46 (8).

The coins as at present known may thus be roughly classified as follows.

Period.	Class.	Denomination.
H. 980, 981 ...	Fulūs I ...	Whole Fulūs; Half Fulūs.
H. 982—988 ...	Fulūs II ...	Whole Fulūs; Quarter fulūs.
H. 989—993 ...	D e	e s t.
H. 994, 995 ...	Fulūs II	Whole fulūs.
H. 996—Il. 38 (7) ...	D e	e s t.
Il. 38 (8)— 42 (5) ...	Fulūs III, *a*) or *b*) or c)	Whole Fulūs.
Il. 42 (6)—44 (4) ...	D e	e s t.
Il. 44 (5)—46 (2) ...	Tanka	Large; Small; Half Small; Quarter Small.
Il 46 (3)—46 (8) ...	D e	e s t.
Il 46 (9)—50 (7) ...	Tānkī or Tānkī I (*a* or *b*)	Chau; Do; Yak.

GEO. P. TAYLOR.

* It should be borne in mind that in the year H. 991 coins were struck at Aḥmadābād, by the ex-Sulṭān, Muẓaffar III, during the five months of his resumed sovereiguty.

27. *A New Mint of Aurangzeb.*

Æ.
Weight, 177 grains.
Mint, Purbandar.
Date, 1116—4×.

Obv.

عالم گیر
۱۱۱۶
اورنگ زیب
شـــــاه
چو بدر منیر
ســـــــکه
زد در جهان

Rev مانوس
میمنت
۴
سنه جلوس
ضرب
پر بندر

This rupee turned up in a find of 129 coins in the Bhandāra district of the Central Provinces. The mint may probably be identified with Purbandar, commonly spelt Porbandar, a town on the west coast of Kathiāwār, long. 70° lat. 22° and a port of importance in early times: cf. Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, p. 444. It is not far from Junagarh which was a well-known mint in the reign of Aurangzeb.

Two other coins only from this mint are known—one in the Cabinet of Mr. G. B. Bleazby of Allahābād, and the other in the Cabinet of Dr. G. P. Taylor of Ahmadābād. The former is of the reign of Shāh Alam Bahādur Shāh, the latter of Farrukhsiyar dated A. H. 1128—

H. N. Wright.

28. *Coins of the Murshidābād Mint between* 1748 *and* 1793 *A.D.*

(With plate.)

Great difficulty has always been felt in distinguishing between the native coinage of the Murshidābād mint during the early days of the East India Company's administration of Bengal and the Company's own coinage. There appears to be no record shewing exactly when the native coinage ended and the Company's issues began.

A few facts only stand out definitely.

We know that in 1757, after the recapture of Calcutta, the Company received permission to establish a mint in Calcutta, and coins are known of 1171 A.H. (1757-8) bearing the mint name "Calcutta."

It is further known that in 1765 (1178-79), after the battle of Buxār, the Company assumed the right of coinage in Bengal.

From Regulation XXXV of 1793 we learn that the mints at "Patna, Dacca and Murshidābād" were withdrawn "soon after the commencement of the Company's administration,"[1] and that the coinage of sicca rupees was confined thereafter to Calcutta. The latest rupee, so far

1 Mr. Thurston in his paper on the "History of the East India Company Coinage" [J.A.S.B. 1893, p. 61], in talking of the copper coinage, mentions 1772 as the date of withdrawal. He states no authority for this date. The facts I mention indicate an earlier one.

known, bearing the name Calcutta, is of the year 1176 A.H. = 1762-3. Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat. No. 67, p. 277. It is generally supposed that this name was discontinued and Murshidābād substituted when the Company assumed the right of coinage in Bengal; that from 1765 (1178-9 A.H.), till the native mint at Murshidābād was closed, coins were issued bearing the mint name Murshidābād from both the Murshidābād and Calcutta Mints, and that the latter were probably an imitation of the former. Certain facts have, however, come to light which seem to render it doubtful whether the issue of Murshidābād native style rupees from the two mints was ever carried on simultaneously, at any rate prior to 1792 A.D. when a mint was re-established at Murshidābād.

The most recent paper dealing with this subject is a very useful one by Mr. J. M. C. Johnston in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1903, Part I, p. 71. Mr. Johnston says on pp. 75-76:—

"There is little doubt but that the Nawāb of Bengal continued to strike coins at his own mint at Murshidābād side by side with the Company's coins, which bore the same mint name, but were probably struck at Calcutta. The result is that for some years coins of native fabric appear side by side with others struck in a collar in European style, all bearing the mint name Murshidābād."

"In the native style it is impossible to say whether the coins were actually struck by the Nawāb or by the Company, but, as the Province was then under the control of the East India Company, it seems reasonable to place all the coins with the mint Murshidābād after the Hijrah date 1177, or with a higher regnal year than six of the nominal reign of Shāh' Alam, under the British series. All with earlier dates would naturally fall to the Moghul issues."

The classification suggested by Mr. Johnston is a practical one, as coins struck in and after 1765 (1178-9 A.H.) though issued from the Murshidābad mint must have been issued with the permission, tacit or otherwise, of the East India Company, and may therefore rightly be regarded as Company's coins. I venture, however, to hazard the suggestion that the Calcutta mint did not commence to issue Murshidābād native-style rupees until the Murshidābād mint was closed.

A hoard containing, among other coins, 119 native-style rupees of Shāh 'Alam, bearing the mint name Murshidābād, has recently been acquired by Government as treasure-trove, and I have had the opportunity of examining them as Honorary Numismatist to the Asiatic Society. The hoard was discovered in the Dināj pur district of the province of Bengal and contains the following specimens of Murshidābād rupees of Shāh' Alam in native style, which give both the Hijra date on the obverse and the regnal year on the reverse.

Regnal year.		A.H.		A.D.	*Number of coins.*
2		1175	=	1761-62	... 1
3	(1175-6)	1176	=	1762-63	... 2
5	(1177-8)	1178	=	1764-65	... 2
7	(1179-80)	1180	=	1766-67	... 4
8	(1180-81)	1181	=	1767-68	... 1
9	(1181-82)	1181	=	1767-68	... 1
9		1182	=	1768-69	... 7
10	(1182-83)	1183	=	1769-70	... 9
12	(1184-85)	1185	=	1771-72	... 2
12		1186	=	1772-73	... 1
15	(1187-88)	1189	=	1775-76	... 2
15		1190	=	1776-77	... 3
19	(1191-92)	1191	=	1777-78	... 1
19		1192	=	1778-79	... 4
19		1194	=	1780	... 1
19		1197	=	1782-83	... 2
19		1199	=	1784-85	... 1
19		1201	=	1787-88	... 2
19		1202	=	1788-89	... 2
19		1205	=	1791-92	... 2

It will be observed from the above list that, taking the first regnal year of Shāh 'Alam as counting from 4th Jumāda I, 1173 (the day of his accession) to 3rd Jumāda I, 1174 and so on, the Hijra dates are correctly given on the coins up to the 10th year. The British Museum possesses a rupee in native style of the 11th year, also with a correct Hijra date 1184. From the 12th year, however, the Hijra dates on the obverse no longer correspond in all cases with the regnal years given on the reverse. For instance, the date 1186 is found on a rupee of the 12th year which closed on 3rd Jumāda I, 1185; and, similarly, 1189 and 1190 appear on coins of the 15th regnal year which closed in 1188. The presumption is that no native style rupees were struck in the 13th, 14th,[1] 16th, 17th and 18th regnal years bearing the correct regnal years. This is strengthened by a sentence in the regulation of 1793 in which it is stated that, while the 19 san rupee is the established coin of the country, "the rupees of the eleventh, twelfth, and fifteenth san were directed to be considered current equally with the 19th san sicca rupee."

[1] I find on p. 107 of the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta a coin which is assigned to the year 14; but it seems doubtful from the legend given whether 14 is not a misprint for 10.

This latter sentence suggests the question: if rupees of the 11th, 12th and 15th san were to be considered current along with the 19th san rupee, why should rupees of earlier *sanwāt* have been excluded, if equally struck in the Calcutta mint? A possible answer is, I think, disclosed by a close examination of the earlier Murshidābād rupees. The coins of the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 8th and 9th years in the Dinajpur find bear, without exception, on the obverse, between the upward curve of the ل of فضل and the ش of شاه a mint mark which is probably meant to represent a rayed sun. Out of 19 rupees of the 10th year, however, only three coins bear this mark. In the other 16 it is replaced by a crescent. This crescent is borne on all the rupees of the 12th (7), 15th (12) and 19th (51) san. Quære: Does the change from the sun to the crescent mark the closing of the Murshidābād mint and the transfer of the coinage of Murshidābād rupees to the Calcutta mint? It is of course possible that this change in mint marks was only a consequence of a change in mint masters,[1] but it is often a straw which shews the way the wind blows, and the suggestion I have thrown out seems to some extent supported by other circumstantial evidence. We know that the Murshidābād mint was not closed till "soon after the commencement of the Company's administration," *i.e.*, soon after 1765 (the 6-7th year of Shāh'Alam's reign). We find that the earliest European style coinage (indubitably from the Calcutta mint) begins in the 10th year or 1768-9 A.D. (see No. 25 of Mr. Johnston's list); and, thirdly, we have the exclusion in 1793 from the currency of rupees of years prior to the 11th regnal year of Shah-'Alam. (It would be natural to exclude the Calcutta-struck rupees of the 10th year because their inclusion would render difficult the exclusion of the Murshidābād-struck rupees of the same year, and the intention of the legislature seems to have been to render obsolete all native mint coins). These three points may not individually be strong ones, but when taken together and in combination with the change of mint mark also in the 10th regnal year of Shah'Alam, they seem to me sufficient to warrant an inference that the coinage of native style Murshidābād rupees was transferred to Calcutta in 1768 or 1769, and that probably before that date the issue of those coins was confined to Murshidābād.

The Dināj pur find is also interesting in another way. Mr. Johnston, on p. 76 of his paper, suggests another method of distinguishing between native issues and Company's coinage. He says: "Fortunately

[1] The sun mint mark first appears on the coins of Murshidābād in the reign of 'Alamgir II. (1168 A. H.) and continued without interruption till the 10th year of Shah'Alam (1183) A.H.

there is a further distinction than that of date to be drawn between the late Moghul issues, and the continuation of the same series under the Company's rule; it is in the fact that for the first time the latter bear on the reverse the "cinquefoil" a mint mark apparently instituted at Calcutta and adopted at Murshidābād when the Company took over the mint with the administration of the district. The presence, therefore, of this mint mark on a coin bearing the Murshidābād mint name, can be can be taken as evidence that the coin should be classed in the British series."

It is true that the "cinque foil" appears on the earliest Calcutta rupee known (No. 1 in the list appended to Mr. Johnston's paper). The Dinājpur find, however, contains the following rupees of Murshidābād mint bearing, either in whole or part, the "cinque foil" mark, *viz.*, one rupee of Muhammad Shāh of 30th regnal year, six rupees of Ahmad Shāh of 2nd (3), 3rd, 5th and 6th regnal years, and five rupees of Shāh'Alam of the 2nd, 3rd (2) and 5th (2) regnal years, *i.e.*, before the annexation of Bengal. It seems clear then that the presence of the "cinque foil" on the Murshidābād coins cannot be taken as evidence that those coins belong to the British series, as that mark appears on Mughal issues from Murshidābād some years before any mint was founded at Calcutta, and the right of coinage was assumed by the Company. The Calcutta mint must, therefore, have borrowed the "cinquefoil" from Murshidābād under the Mughals.

To summarise the above remarks, two special features of interest appear to me to be disclosed in the Dinājpur find—(1) the conclusive evidence that the "cinquefoil" mint mark is of earlier than Calcutta origin and cannot therefore be a guide to the classification of the "British series" coins; (2) the inferential evidence afforded by the mint marks on the coins and indirectly supported by other material that the closing of the Murshidābād mint occurred in the 10th regnal year of Shah'Alam or 1768-69 A.D., and that before that date native style Murshidābād rupees were struck at Murshidābād only and after that date at Calcutta only.

H. N. Wright.

V.—Miscellaneous.

29. *Note regarding a silver coin found near Gargāon in the Sibsāgar district.* (With plate.)

The specimen sent to me for inspection is a square coin weighing 175 grains. The edges have been clean cut, and the general appearance of the coin is of one which has apparently been recently struck.

The coin contains the following inscriptions :—

Obverse	*Reverse*
[1] Siva Singha Shāh and also the moon-faced Begam Pramatheswari Shāh.	Struck at Gargāon in 1651, being the 15th year of (the king's) auspicious reign.

The year 1651 is of the Sáka Era which corresponds to A.D. 1729. Ṣiva Singha was an Ahom king who reigned from Sáka 1636 to Sáka 1666 (A.D. 1714-1744) according to Kaṣi Nath Tamuli Phukon's Buranji.

The interesting point about the coin is the Persian inscription which is unusual, coins of this period generally bearing an inscription in the Assamese character and being octagonal in shape, not square. The tiger or rather dragon occurs on all the Ahom coins It will be observed that the coin bears the name of the Queen Pramatheswari in addition to that of the Rājā, the explanation being as follows: At a period in Ṣiva Singha's reign the Parbatia Gossain and certain Pandits predicted disaster to the reigning Prince who, in consequence, abdicated in favour of his Queen Phuleswari whose name was then changed to Pramatheswari. The Queen's name was then struck on the coins in conjunction with that of her consort the Rājā Ṣiva Singha (see page 132 of Gunabhiram Barua's Buranji, Calcutta edition).

P. R. T. Gurdon.

The find contained no less than 143 of these coins.

H. N. W.

30. *A local copper currency in the Dewās State, Central India.*
(With plate.)

The following note has been communicated by the Minister to His Highness the Raja of Dewās, Junior Branch, through Mr. W. E. Jardine, formerly Assistant to the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India. Similar notes on the other local currencies alluded to in the Minister's memorandum would be interesting, it being desirable to preserve records of such local currencies before they disappear under the spread of British Indian coinage.

H. N. W.

"Inquiry into the payment of wages to relief-labourers has forced

[1] The following would appear to be a more literal translation : "The coin of Ṣiva Singha Shāh resembling the sun is struck by order of the Queen Pramatheswari Shāh."—H. N. W.

upon my attention the copper coin difficulty similar to that I noticed at Ringnode. In this pargana, the copper coins current are the "Allote" pice. It is very strange that Allote, a pargana subordinate to Dewās, Senior Branch, should have a copper currency of its own. Whatever may have been the case before the adoption of the British Indian currency in the State, it is certainly inexplicable how, after that event, the Senior Branch should not only maintain the Allote copper currency, but even go on manufacturing new pice and putting them on the market. I at first thought that, although the Allote pice are still current, they must be the relics of times prior to the introduction of the British Indian coinage; but on careful inquiry I learn that they are manufactured anew from time to time, and I have actually secured a number of brand-new ones from a shroff, who vouches for their being not more than one month old. I examined the shroff's whole stock—several bagsful—and found "Allote" pice of different degrees of oldness or newness, call it what you like. The shroff tells me that at this very moment the manufacture is going on at Allote. To corroborate his statement, I actually sent for the artizan who is employed in the Senior Branch for the manufacture and have had it verified. He gets Rs. 7 a maund when he makes pice from plates of copper, and Rs. 3 when he simply coins ready pieces. The Allote tahsil turns out pice with a particular mint mark (an image of Śiva with a "Bael" tree). The difference between the metal-value and token value, I presume, comes to the State as profit. The manner in which they manufacture the 'Allote' pice is this: They either cut up new plates of copper of the required thickness into pieces and strike the impression upon them, or recently, since plates have become dearer, they use for this purpose the copper coins of some of the neighbouring States, which are similar to the Allote pice in all respects, except the impression—such as the Kotah pice, the Gangrār pice, the Sitāmau pice, the Sailāna pice and so on. They get these pice, and after effacing the first impression, produce the 'Allote' impression on them, and then the pice pass off as 'Allote' pice. They get the former at 36 annas, which when converted into Allote pice sell at 32 annas. The difference, less cost of conversion, is the Senior Branch's profit."

Note by the Superintendent of the Dewās State, Senior Branch.

1. There are no means to ascertain as to the origin or exact date from which this pice was introduced in the pargana: the oldest surviving residents declare they have seen it current for generations past.

2. Looking at the oldest pice now current, it is seen that the design on the obverse is that of Trisūl (a three-pointed weapon) and drum with the word Shri on either side. As these are the emblems of the deities worshipped by the Puār Rājās, it is clear that this pice must have been introduced some time after the rule of the Puār dynasty was established.

3. Among the pice current, there are some which, in addition to the above designs, bear the mark of a tree as well, and in others there are some other modifications. These changes appear to have been introduced subsequently on additional quantities being struck to meet the requirements of the pargana.

4. It appears that interested parties (bankers) have, on different occasions, bought and withdrawn from circulation a large proportion of these copper coins, in order to force up the rate of exchange and make a profit by selling the same at a higher rate. To counteract such proceedings, the Kamasdārs concerned ordered new supplies to be struck with certain modifications in the original designs of the coin, which accounts for the different changes in the designs on the obverse and reverse of the coin.

5. In Sambat 1928, corresponding to A.D. 1870-71, some change in the design was introduced; and again in the years 1893-94 the mark of a tree was added on to the design. This coin appears to be the latest now in circulation. The weight of the old pice is 13 mashas and that of the new ones is from 10 to 11 mashas.

6. Whenever a new supply was required a contractor was engaged to do the work (with rude moulds or rather iron stamps) without any cost to the State, and so the transaction never appears in the State account.

7. In the year 1893-94 copper coins worth Rs. 5,000 were struck, and the contract was given to Onkurlal Supkaran Das, banker, who had stipulated to buy at $16\frac{1}{4}$ annas and sell at 16 annas for the rupee of Pratāpgarh mint. This contract continued for two years only without any fluctuations in the rate of exchange.

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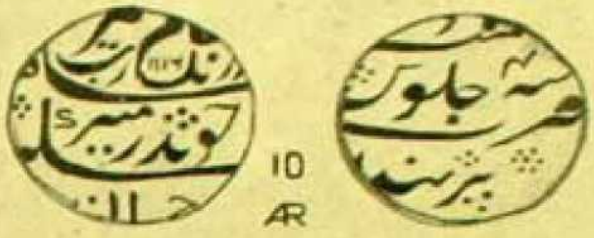

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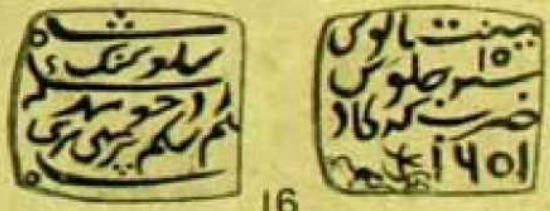

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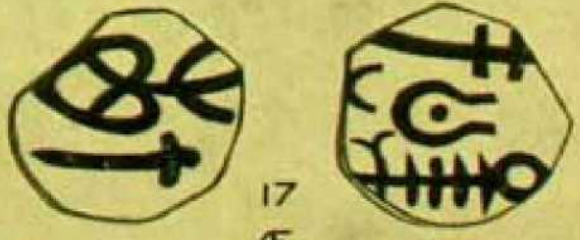

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